

**“The Darkest Tapestry”: Indian Residential School Memorialization at the Keeping
Place at Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan.**

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
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ABSTRACT

“The Darkest Tapestry”: Indian Residential School Memorialization at the Keeping Place at Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan.

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This doctoral research project is a part of the quest for an inclusive telling of Canada’s national identity and will focus on the creation of a memorialization Keeping Place model to commemorate the Indian Residential School system in Canada. My dissertation is interdisciplinary and contributes to the fields of cultural history, memory and post-colonial studies. In response to the TRC recommendation that calls on all Canadians to “develop and implement a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Indigenous peoples to Canada’s history”,¹ this project aims to contribute a unique analysis and discourse to the existing literature as it will focus on developing a process of commemoration of the IRS system by uniting the architectural/geographical location not only as a place/space of colonizing “perpetrator architecture” but also as a Keeping Place and “site of memory/lieu de memoire” or conscience. This project will also engage the concepts of “Indigenous Métissage” and “Cultural Interface” to aid in the creation of an educational commemoration and reconciliation Keeping Place model for all Canadians.

¹ TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 340.

KEYWORDS: Truth and Reconciliation; Keeping Place; Sites of Memory;
Indian Residential Schools; Memorialisation; Settler Colonialism; Saskatchewan; Canada

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Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Source	11
1.1 A Brief History of the Indian Residential School system: 1879- 1986	18
1.2 Foundational Theoretical Concepts	24
Indigenous Métissage	26
The Cultural Interface	29
Keeping Place as an Event, as a Network, as a Place of Memory	31
1.3 A Review of Relevant Literature	33
1.3.1 The Beginning of Memory Studies: Halbwach and Nora	35
1.3.1.2 The Museum as a Conduit of National Memory	39
1.3.2.2 Ecomuseums	42
1.3.3 The Monument & the Counter-Monument: Intentional and Unintentional	47
1.3.3.1 Holocaust Memory, Memorialization and Perpetrator Architecture	59
1.3.3.2 Dark Tourism	76
1.3.4 Virtual Monuments	79
1.3.5 The Keeping Place	81
1.3.5.1 The Evolution of the Keeping Place	82
1.3.5.2 Keeping Places and the preservation of human remains.	87
1.3.5.3 The Virtual Keeping Place	93
1.3.6 Canadian Indigenous Memorials and Museums: A Tourist Experience?	94
1.3.6.1 Canadian Indian Residential School Memorialisation: Indigenous & Settler Memory	98
Chapter 2: The Qu'Appelle Valley: A Métissage Palimpsest	102
2.1 Understanding Métissage.	105
2.2 The Source: The Qu'Appelle Valley region	108
2.3: The Missing Journal of Henry Kelsey	111
2.4 Walking the Line: Indigenous Trails/Maps/Knowledge	119
2.4.1 The Source of the Trail: Moving with the Seasons	121
2.4.2 Trails as Knowledge Artefacts	124

2.4.3 Indigenous Knowledge and the Map	127
2.5 The Pictograph that the Queen of England never saw	134
2.6 A Tale of Two Monuments & the Lost Stone.	144
2.6.1 The way to Treaty 4	146
2.6.2 Edmund Morris and the Settler Monument	149
2.6.3 The Lost Stone: The Smiling Buffalo	153
2.6.4 “Man Holding Eagle”: The Indigenous Monument	161
2.7 Conclusion	168
Chapter 3: Envisioning a Keeping Place at Fort Qu’Appelle.	170
3.1 In a State of Apology: Apologies, Truth Commissions and the Reconciliation of Trauma	173
3.2 X marks the spot: The Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place	181
3.3 Building the Model: The Keeping Place, Monument and Counter-Monument	182
3.3.1 Transparency in the Memorialization of Perpetrator Architecture	183
3.3.2 Finding Memory through Authenticity and Absence	190
3.3.3 Intersecting Lines: Housing Traumatic Memory	192
3.3.4 Reconciling through Memory: Slivers, Bone Coffins and Blankets	205
3.4 Where do we go from here? Community-Based Participatory Research, Indigenous Métissage and the Cultural Interface in the Qu’Appelle Valley	215
3.5 Conceptualizing the Model	225
3.5.1 Fort Qu’Appelle Keeping Place: A Model	225
3.5.2 The Alternate Model: Making Fort Qu’Appelle a Keeping Place by using different spaces in the region	228
Conclusion	230
Bibliography:	231
Journal Articles/Book Chapters/Dissertations:	231
Archival Sources:	244
Internet Sources:	244
Books:	246

List of Illustrations, Maps and Photos:

Boomerang Matrix of Cultural Interface Knowledge	37
Nakata’s Theoretical Model	37
Page from Henry Kelsey’s Journal	119
Pitching Trails and Sites in Saskatchewan	129

Pasqua's Pictograph	146
L'artiste Edmund Morris peignant le chef Chessequim	156
Photo of Tom Two Horns with the Smiling Buffalo stone	163
Photo of the removal of the Smiling Buffalo stone	166
Photo of Treaty 4 monument at Treaty Park, Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask,	174
Photo of Treaty 4 monument at Treaty Park, Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.	174
Photo of "Man Holding Eagle Monument", Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.	175
Photo of "Man Holding Eagle Monument", Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.	175

Introduction

“One of the darkest hues in that tapestry came from the fact that the main thrust of the colonial system’s assimilative strategy had concentrated on the young, on the thousands of Thomas Moores, boys and girls, Indian, Metis, and Inuit, across the land”.²

“Without a substantial change in the circumstances of colonization, there is no basis for considering the historical injustice [of IRS]. The crime of colonialism is present today, as are its perpetrators, and there is yet no moral or logical basis for Indigenous peoples to seek reconciliation with Canada. ...Real change will happen only when settlers are forced into a reckoning of who they are, what they have done, and what they have inherited; then they will be unable to function as colonials and begin instead to engage other peoples as respectful human beings.”³

“Indian Residential Schooling sits uncomfortably in the Canadian national mythology”.⁴

The Indian Residential School was not part of my world before I started my undergraduate degree at Trent University in 2003. In fact, it was not a subject that was taught at my public or high school or in any of my history classes. We did, however, learn about the many accomplishments of settler Canadians (though that term was not then known to me) from confederation to the present including the World Wars. Indigenous studies were relegated to descriptions of tribes or creating models of teepees. There was no mention of the rich cultural history of the various indigenous peoples

² John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian government and the Residential School System*. Vol. 11. Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 2017, 9.

³ Taiaiake Alfred, “Restitution is the real pathway to justice for Indigenous Peoples” in G. Younging, J. Dewar, & M. De Gagne (Eds.), *Response, responsibility and renewal: Canada’s truth and reconciliation journey*, pp. 179–190, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2009).

⁴ Andrew Woolford, “Nodal repair and networks of destruction: residential schools, colonial genocide, and redress in Canada” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, 1 (2013): 65-81, 65.

throughout this land let alone the network of Residential Schools that had criss-crossed the nation for over one hundred years. For many Canadians, education focusing on the Indian Residential School has been systematically absent throughout the 20th and into the 21st century.⁵

It was a life changing moment in my academic career when I attended Professor John S. Milloy's Indigenous history class and became aware of the story of the Indian Residential School. Professor Milloy ended his lecture with a statement that profoundly changed the way that I perceived Indigenous studies. He simply stated that "there was more work to be done for the Residential School story" and those words resonated in my mind. I did not get involved in the Residential School story immediately. At the time, I was interested in studying the history of secret societies and planned on studying the Knight's Templar in ancient Ireland. I went on to complete a master's degree in Medieval History through Trent University and studied Anglo-Norman castles in Ireland for four years. After my graduation, I was signed on to start my PhD focusing on the architecture of medieval cathedrals in Ireland.

I suddenly came to realize after the birth of my daughter that I did not want to study medieval Ireland anymore. I felt that medieval Ireland was not an urgent topic. I wanted to study Canada. When I held my child, I could not imagine what it be like to have her taken away from me. To never see her again, to never know what happened to her. I wanted to make certain that my daughter grew up in a country that acknowledges past wrongs. I wanted to understand what happened to children in Residential Schools. I

⁵ Mario Canseco, "Poll reveals Canadians' view of residential schools." Retrieved February 5, 2020. <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2017/11/23/analysis/poll-reveals-canadians-view-residential-schools>.

wanted to ensure that the injuries committed against Indigenous peoples were never forgotten so it they could never happen again. So, I set myself to study the history of Residential Schools. I went to Professor Milloy and asked if he would consider advising my PhD thesis. In the beginning, I started to look at the architecture of the Residential School. I had a background in “power” architecture from my time studying Anglo-Norman castles in Ireland. This focus changed drastically when Professor Milloy suggested that we move away from the analysis of the actual buildings and move towards the architecture of the network of Indian Residential Schools in Canada (IRS). As Prof. Milloy has a long history writing about the Plains Indians, my preliminary analysis was aimed at the Residential Schools in the Canadian West. Throughout, my discussions with Prof. Milloy, we also examined the importance of addressing memorialization, education and the evidence surrounding survivor and intergenerational trauma in the Residential School story.

This inspired the focus on Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan as my “ground zero”. Furthermore, I decided that it was important to focus on the concept of perpetrator architecture and history in addition to survivor history. Fort Qu’Appelle has a rich historical stratigraphy of numerous sites and moments in memory. There are over 130 different residential school sites across Canada, it is too much geography to handle in one study. However, by focusing on one school, it can become the model for all the schools. With that, Prof. Milloy suggested the work of Professor Jonathan Bordo, a cultural theorist and professor at Trent University. I read his paper, “A Keeping Place (Arising from an Incident on the Land)”. With the region and the institutions in Fort Qu’Appelle as the base, it was agreed that Professor Bordo’s work in “keeping place” theory was a

good fit as inspiration for the creation of a memorialisation model at Fort Qu'Appelle. This was the beginning of the theoretical foundation of my dissertation. Bordo has long engaged the work of Pierre Nora who created the theoretical foundation of the "lieux de memoire" or sites of memory. Nora stated that a "lieux de memoire is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community".⁶ By using Fort Qu'Appelle as the lieu de memoire, it can become a site of collective IRS memory. The keeping place becomes a site where both settler and Indigenous peoples can engage in connecting past and present in order to create a collective IRS history and memorialization.

We live in an age where the subject of memory has surpassed academic scholarship and has entered the national discourse. National memory in Canada, as in other settler societies, is a product of colonialism. The mainstream historical narratives of Canadian collective memory can be traced to the colonial period and settler Canadians continue to tell the same stories over and over again. Stories of discovery, pioneering, settling the wilderness and struggling in a new and harsh environment encompass our national story. Colonial narratives are often "circular" in nature.⁷ They "represent an Odyssey consisting of an outward movement followed by interaction with exotic and colonised Others in foreign surroundings".⁸ Lorenzo Veracini in his work *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* states that "narratives are a fundamental part of everyday life, and their

⁶Pierre Nora, "Preface to English Language Edition: From Lieux de memoire to Realms of Memory", in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* ed. Pierre Nora (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), xvii.

⁷ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 96.

⁸ Veracini, *Settler*, 96.

construction constitutes an act that allows nations, communities, and individuals to make sense of the world”.⁹ However, he distinguishes the narrative of nations that involve settler colonialism as one of “penetration into the interior, settlement, endurance and success”.¹⁰ Veracini points out that “a settler colonial narrative form should be seen as opposed to an indigenous one”.¹¹ However, “history and academic discourse, and the narratives that are produced and reproduced in a variety of contexts are crucial in all processes of indigenous reconciliation in settler polities”.¹²

The discourse surrounding returning to concepts of decolonization or moving into a noncolonial future are fraught with similar difficulties. We cannot move back and decolonize Canada. We cannot move into a “noncolonial future”.¹³ We are seemingly at an impasse. However, this could be due to fact that there is a “lack of a suitable narrative of settler decolonisation”.¹⁴ As long as there is a “deficit” in the construction of a collective narrative between settler and Indigenous peoples, reconciliation cannot progress. As Paulette Regan states, hiding our history has a “ripple effect that encompasses victims, perpetrators, families and communities. This ultimately has a detrimental impact on the moral foundation of a society, as these inequities and injustices permeate its structures and institutions”.¹⁵ Veracini points out that the apology offered by Prime Minister Stephen Harper for past injustices against IRS survivors was intended as an attempt to build a new national narrative, but, it did not offer “a compelling or

⁹ Veracini, *Settler*, 96.

¹⁰ Veracini, *Settler*, 98.

¹¹ Veracini, *Settler*, 101.

¹² Veracini, *Settler*, 112.

¹³ Veracini, *Settler*, 112.

¹⁴ Veracini, *Settler*, 112.

¹⁵ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within, Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2010, 80.

intuitively acceptable story about what should happen *next*".¹⁶ Memory studies have often been used as a tool to reconcile, to heal, and to legitimate national identity.

However, they have also become a space of conflict.

In the Canadian context, national memory has become a touchy subject. Roger Simon states in his work "Towards a Hopeful Practice of Worrying", "a public memory of pathos in public histories has a tendency to inoculate specific remembrance practices against critique as to what pedagogies they enact and what interests they serve".¹⁷ As Simon states, "a public memory of residential schools that heavily relies on pathos to achieve its effect risks diverting attention away from the nexus of government and institutional policies and practices that enacted and subsequently implemented residential school legislation".¹⁸ This creates a "historical amnesia" or "colonial unknowing" that allows settler Canadians to express "sorrow and sympathy as a response...they confirm their 'own humanitarian character' and consequently end up feeling good about feeling bad".¹⁹ This allows for a "'splitting off' of any responsibility for the injury or the injured" and this is what must not happen in Canada's collective history.

My work in this field has not been an easy road. I have been accused of the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge and the "holocaustization" of the history of the IRS system.²⁰ I have also been told on numerous occasions that I am not Indigenous

¹⁶ Veracini, *Settler*, 115.

¹⁷ Roger Simon, "Towards a hopeful practice of worrying: The problematics of listening and the educative responsibilities of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission." in *Reconciling Canada: Critical perspectives on the culture of redress* ed. Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, 129-142, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 133.

¹⁸ Simon, "Towards," 133.

¹⁹ Simon, "Towards," 133.

²⁰ Both Samantha Power and Robert Van Krieken have written about the over use of the term "Holocaust in comparative Genocide Studies. Samantha Power, "To suffer by comparison?." *Daedalus* 128,

enough to write about Residential Schools. However, I strongly believe that this history does not belong to any particular Canadian, whether Indigenous or settler. There is no one who can claim it; it belongs to all Canadians and therefore is our collective responsibility. A new Canadian story is rising. With the work of the TRC, and many other academics, the Indian Residential School story has emerged. It is a story that speaks of the persistence of settler colonialism²¹, of the discourse surrounding cultural genocide, of Indigenous resistance and survival and of hope for settler-Indigenous reconciliation. The occupation and settlement of Canada by settler peoples erased Indigenous place and occupancy in the landscape and settler processes continue to transform and marginalize Indigenous communities. Russell Smandych states that “the concept of settler colonialism may be seen to be both trans-temporal (or timeless) and transnational or global, and also qualitatively different from colonialism”.²² Indigenous languages were forgotten, cultures were destroyed. Smandych points out that “genuine” reconciliation is often obstructed by “deep colonizing” that implies that deep colonizing “is being superseded with movements, at least incrementally, toward accommodation and partnership”.²³ However, this can be viewed as an “illusion” as without addressing settler colonialism “indigenous alterities are still being subsumed/neutralized/extinguished”.²⁴ Settler colonialism and the “failure of the politics of recognition (at least for Indigenous

2 (1999): 31-66. Robert Van Krieken,. "Cultural genocide in Australia." In *The historiography of genocide*, pp. 128-155. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 2.

²¹ Patrick Wolfe in his work *Settler Colonialism* stated that “Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay—invasion is a structure not an event” (New York: Wellington House, 1999), 2.

²² Russell Smandych, “Colonialism, settler colonialism, and law: settler revolutions and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples through law in the long nineteenth century” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, 1 (2013): 82-101, 92.

²³ Smandych, “Colonialism”, 94.

²⁴ Smandych, “Colonialism”, 94.

peoples)” cannot be overcome unless we begin to analyze and understand the “deep-seated ‘defensive mechanisms’ used by both original settler colonists and their descendants to disavow the ‘founding violence’ of settler colonialism”.²⁵ In addition, we cannot redress the IRS system by “inserting the Indigenous person into a reaffirmed colonial universe, where practices of economic, symbolic, and linguistic domination sit unchallenged”.²⁶ This has been reflected in instances such as the “History Wars” and the backlash around statements disavowing a history of colonialism in Canada.

This dissertation will begin to unpack the settler colonial network that has created the current atmosphere between settler and Indigenous peoples. By drawing inspiration from the work of Professor John Milloy and Professor Jonathan Bordo, this dissertation will create a keeping place model at Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan that will provide a “cultural interface” allowing settler and Indigenous peoples to unravel the complexities of the national narrative and work towards creating a new one. The aim of this dissertation is to address the collective forgetting of our colonial past, to educate Canadians on the history of the “collective damage” of the Indian Residential School system and to address the need for reconciliation between settler and Indigenous peoples.²⁷ The keeping place model will introduce theories and methods that can be employed to aid those who are invested in addressing Canada’s collective story and begin to heal the rift between communities across the nation.

My dissertation will unfold in three parts. In my first chapter, I will present the methodology and the theoretical foundation of the project. This chapter will provide a

²⁵ Smandych, “Colonialism”, 94.

²⁶ Woolford, “Nodal,” 77.

²⁷ Woolford, “Nodal,” 77.

brief history of the Indian Residential School system in Canada. This will include a literature review of relevant studies that focus on concepts including Memory, Indigenous Métissage, the Cultural Interface and the Keeping Place. Chapter 2 examines the role of colonialism in the IRS system through examination of the historical geography of the Qu'Appelle Valley region. It examines various historical interactions between Indigenous and settler peoples through a study of historical and cultural objects to better understand the lasting effects of colonization on the past, present and future relationship. Each object is connected to the region of the Fort Qu'Appelle Valley (which will be the "ground zero" for the creation of the Qu'Appelle Valley Keeping Place model). Through the 'reading' of those historical objects, this project will examine the connections between settler and Indigenous individuals; those objects include: "the journal", "the trail/map", "the pictograph", and "the monuments/sacred stone". By tracing the interactions, movement and treatment of certain historical objects, this chapter will focus on a Métissage that is an interface in the historic relationship between Indigenous and settler peoples in the Qu'Appelle Valley region and the Province of Saskatchewan. It is important to note that this is not a general history of the region, nor of the totality of the cross-cultural relationships over time but an analysis of particular moments and or interactions in the historical timeline of the region. The analysis of those interactions facilitates the exploration and identification of the rise of colonial thought and imperialist theory and the means by which they became engrained in a Canadian national collective belief and memory. Of special concern, this analysis will reveal a discourse surrounding the creation and history of the Indian Residential School system and how that discourse and the consequences of the operation of the schools for individuals and communities

continues to act as an impediment in creating a bridge of reconciliation between Indigenous and settler peoples.

By understanding the need to “re-story” the Canadian “collective memory”, Chapter 3 will focus on creating a new commemoration model.²⁸ This chapter will examine the history of apologies, truth commissions and reconciliation in the Canadian context. Inspired by international examples of museums, keeping places and reconciliation regimes, it will also discuss and draw inspiration from a number of different memorialization techniques and models inspired by other international sites of trauma. This chapter will lay out the groundwork for subsequent discourse of the Keeping Place model and will outline a distinct model that can be implemented in the construction of a keeping place at Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan. This will include physical architectural aspects as well as ideas concerning the administration and operation of an Indian Residential School system keeping place.

²⁸ Paulette Regan stated in her work *Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada* that to understand and explore “how colonial violence is woven into the fabric of Canadian history in an unbroken thread from past to present, which we must now unravel, upsetting out comfortable assumptions about the past. At the same time, we must work as Indigenous allies to ‘re-story’ the dominant-cultures version of history; that is, we must make decolonizing space for Indigenous history”. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Chapter 1: The Source

“THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL STORY is far from finished”.²⁹

“Mr. Speaker, I stand before you today to offer an apology to former students of Indian residential schools. The treatment of children in Indian residential schools is a sad chapter in our history. . . . Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country. . . The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian residential school policy were profoundly negative, and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on aboriginal culture, heritage and language.”³⁰

“[T]he most powerful moments were often the quietest. At an exhibition of photographs from the residential schools, you could see people gazing into the small faces in the pictures. In the light of understanding that flickered in their eyes came the realization that these were children. Just children. And in moments like those, when realization gives way to understanding, resolve takes hold. It is then that the truth becomes not only known but felt. It is then that we move from a state of apology to one where true reconciliation can begin. It is those quiet moments in the hearts of all Canadians that we seek.”³¹

How do we as Canadians come to terms with a difficult past in relation to our movement into the future? Can we investigate the past, examine the crimes that were committed against Indigenous peoples across Canada and reconcile our collective history? In recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in the study of the memorialization of sites of trauma, the relationship between memory and history and the link between collective memory and nation building. Any memorialization of the impact and legacy of the Indian Residential School system (IRS) must acknowledge that the

²⁹ Milloy, *A national*, 355.

³⁰ “Government apologizes for residential schools in 2008” CBC News, Accessed June 25, 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/government-apologizes-for-residential-schools-in-2008-1.4666041>,

³¹ Sara Anderson, “Murray Sinclair: Education is key to reconciliation” June 9th, 2016, Accessed Nov. 2, 2019. <https://www.kairosCanada.org/murray-sinclair-education-key-reconciliation>.

assimilative government policy was not only an isolated process but was another step in the unremitting and ongoing project of colonization, land dispossession and disenfranchisement of Canada's Indigenous population. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its final report were the result of an ongoing battle to nationalize and educate the remembrance of the IRS system. Putting the TRC's recommendations at their simplest, there is a call and a need for the education of every Canadian (settler and Indigenous) in the history of the IRS system.³² This project pays special attention to several different goals that were laid out by the commission, they include:

“acknowledging Residential School experiences, impacts and consequences”, “promote awareness and public education of Canadians about the IRS system and its impacts”, “identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and use”, and “support commemoration of former Indian Residential School students and their families”. Additionally, it is significant to note that several Canadian Universities have created archives and repositories for TRC materials. This includes the University of British Columbia's Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre in Vancouver and the University of Manitoba's National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation in Winnipeg. This is an excellent beginning for the continued education and knowledge of IRS history. Both of these institutions are also offering storage facilities for historical records and survivor testimony as well as public access and education. They are focused on providing safe housing to survivor stories, records, and

³² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Accessed November 20, 2018. <http://www.trc.ca/about-us/our-mandate.html>.

information.³³ In its most basic form, the practice of memory and memorialization of trauma sites includes the intent to acknowledge events of the past, tell the truth about what happened and prevent them from occurring again. It also must be recognized that the practice of memory can have different meaning for every individual. What is often missing from memorialization sites is recognition that diverse methods of remembrance bring distinct views of what could be taught, what could be learned, and how this learning/teaching is to be achieved within the realm of traumatic history. If we examine Justice Murray Sinclair's address to the Senate Committee on Aboriginal peoples, it is certain that we need to reach the moment when "realization gives way to understanding, resolve takes hold" and the "truth becomes not only known but felt".³⁴ As Sinclair states, only when the truth is known can Canada move from a state of apology to a state of reconciliation.

On June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered a public apology to "former students" of Canada's Indian Residential School system (IRS) on behalf of the Canadian government. The apology followed the 2006 IRS Settlement Agreement that was the largest class action in Canada's history representing over 80,000 Indigenous survivors. It was also intended that the apology would initiate the opening of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and was designed to speak to the role of the Canadian government in the history of Indian Residential Schools as well as opening discussions concerning economic, social and political issues including murdered and missing Indigenous women, Indigenous sovereignty, treaty disputes and disagreement over the

³³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Accessed November 20, 2018. <http://www.trc.ca/about-us/our-mandate.html>.

³⁴ Anderson, "Murray Sinclair".

use of natural resources. According to Dorrell, the apology has been examined and it was concluded that the language used was designed in such a way to create a disconnect between “past and present recognition” and “serves to reassure contemporary national subjects that they can bear no responsibility for the implementation and execution of the residential schools system”.³⁵ It was intended to end the “legacy” of the IRS system and move towards the creation of a new relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples. At the time, reactions throughout communities across Canada were mixed; however, it was generally accepted as a positive step towards reconciliation.

This shifted in September of 2009 when PM Harper stated in a speech at the G20 meeting (in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) that Canada has “no history of colonialism”.³⁶ Not only did this statement incense and aggravate Indigenous communities but it served to highlight an ongoing tendency in the telling of Canada’s national story. The refusal to accept and admit that Canada has a long history of imperial and colonial regimes has continued to damage the relationship between settler and Indigenous Canadians. This has been referred to as “colonial unknowing”, the concept explains how “colonialism remains pervasive but not comprehended as an extensive and constitutive living formation by those situated in complicity with colonial occupation”.³⁷ Vimalassery, Pegues and Goldstein state in their work “On Colonial Unknowing” that this colonial agnosia comes

³⁵ Matthew Dorrell, "From reconciliation to reconciling: Reading what" we now recognize" in the government of Canada's 2008 residential school apology." *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35, 1 (2009): 27-45, 32.

³⁶ The full quote from the conference follows: “We’re so self-effacing as Canadians that we sometimes forget the assets we do have that other people see. . . . We are one of the most stable regimes in history. . . . We also have no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother.”

³⁷Manu Vimalassery, Juliana Hu Pegues, and Alyosha Goldstein. "Introduction: On colonial unknowing." *Theory & Event* 19, 4 (2016).

from a “privileged position of not being the target of racism and colonial dispossession and benefiting from circumstances that are themselves sustained through the disavowal of racism and colonial dispossession”.³⁸ Furthermore, colonialism remains an “ongoing fact of life” for Indigenous peoples long after the colonial era has purportedly become the post-colonial.³⁹ The cultural genocide endured by Indigenous peoples throughout the colonization of Canada helped to establish a foundation of prosperity for settler peoples and yet Canada has not fully addressed the negative and devastating impact of previous actions and policies. The IRS system was an important piece in the groundwork of Canada’s colonial undertaking to undermine and disrupt Indigenous peoples across the landscape. Indigenous children not only suffered from sexual, physical and emotional abuse, they suffered through a cultural genocide. An entire generation of Indigenous people was damaged, and the fall out has been severe. Settler colonial genocide has been addressed rarely in Canadian museums and is seldom included in the Canadian historical narrative.

From the middle of the twentieth century, there has been a divide between Canadian historians over the upsurge of social history or the histories of “limited identities”.⁴⁰ However, those studies put a spotlight on those who have been marginalized and also exposed “instances of strategic forgetting, or ‘chosen amnesia’”.⁴¹ Since the

³⁸ Vimalassery, Pegues, Goldstein, “Introduction.”

³⁹ Patrick Wolfe, “Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the post-Mabo Era,” *Social Analysis*, 36 (1994), 93–152, 96.

⁴⁰ Careless wrote in 1969 that “Canada’s perennial problem” was its “lack of national unity and identity”. He quotes G.R. Cook stating that “instead of constantly deploring our lack of identity we should attempt to understand and explain regional, ethnic and class identities that we do have. It might just be that is in these limited identities that ‘Canadianism’ is found.” J.M.S. Careless, “‘Limited Identities’ in Canada” *The Canadian Historical Review* 50, 1 (1969): 1-10, 1.

⁴¹ David B. MacDonald, "Canada's history wars: indigenous genocide and public memory in the United States, Australia and Canada." *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, 4 (2015): 411-431, 412.

1970s, Canadian social historians “have produced an incredibly rich body of scholarship concerned with understanding the experiences and narratives of diverse collectivities that were traditionally marginalized—like women, workers, minorities, immigrants, Indigenous peoples and children”.⁴² This shift in scholarship not only challenged traditional branches of history (military, diplomatic, intellectual, élite or institutional) but challenged perspectives on the attention paid to marginalized peoples and their histories. This rift is often referred to as the “history wars” and is not isolated to the Canadian history space.⁴³ This dispute was epitomized by historian Jack Granatstein who notoriously lamented in his 1998 book “Who Killed Canadian History?” that Canada’s “life story” was shattered into “jagged shards of memory”.⁴⁴ For Granatstein, “the rise of ‘social history’, seemed to elevate the racist, imperialist and thuggish aspects of our national history above the traditional, unifying chronicle of a successful country’s political, economic and social progress”.⁴⁵ Even twenty-two years after “Who Killed Canadian History?”, the writing of the national memory of Canada is still a contentious subject. However, Granatstein’s words opened a noteworthy discourse concerning “conflicts over meaning and memory” that occur when “promoting a conservative view of the nation.”⁴⁶ Yet, five years past the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation

⁴² Yasmeeen Abu-Laban, “The Politics of History Under Harper” *Labour/Le Travail* 73, 1 (2014): 215-217, 215.

⁴³ Robert J. Parkes in his work “Reading History Curriculum as Postcolonial Text: Towards a Curricular Response to the History Wars in Australia and Beyond” examines the role of the “history wars” in Australia’s visioning of “national identity”. The rise of social history in Australia focused on a number of focus questions including “issues of Australian identity, ownership of ‘the past’ (heritage), Australia’s international relationships, women’s experience, and Indigenous perspective”. *Curriculum Inquiry* 37, 4 (2007): 383-400, 385.

⁴⁴ Randy Boswell, “Canada’s History Wars are Gold for Popularizers of the Past.” *Canadian Issues* (2013): 29-31, 29.

⁴⁵ Boswell, “Canadas,” 29.

⁴⁶ MacDonald, “Canada’s history wars,” 412.

Commission, Canadian public history still has a considerable bridge to cross when it comes to creating relationships with Indigenous peoples and finding a common national narrative. For Canadian scholars, especially those involved in historical reconstruction and cultural studies the Canadian narrative is far from settled. This project seeks to deconstruct this legacy of colonialism and create a space for discourse and reconciliation.

This doctoral research project is a part of the quest for an inclusive telling of Canada's national identity and will focus on the creation of a memorialization Keeping Place model to commemorate the Indian Residential School system in Canada. My dissertation is interdisciplinary and contributes to the fields of cultural history, memory and post-colonial studies. In response to the TRC recommendation that calls on all Canadians to "develop and implement a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Indigenous peoples to Canada's history",⁴⁷ this project aims to contribute a unique analysis and discourse to the existing literature as it will focus on developing a process of commemoration of the IRS system by uniting the architectural/geographical location not only as a place/space of colonizing "perpetrator architecture" but also as a Keeping Place and "site of memory/lieu de memoire" or conscience. This project will also engage the concepts of "Indigenous Métissage" and "Cultural Interface" to aid in the creation of an educational commemoration and reconciliation Keeping Place model for all Canadians.

⁴⁷ TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 340.

This thesis will address the following research objectives:

1. How do we as Canadians come to terms with a challenging and problematic past in relation to our collaborative movement into the future?
 - a) By using the Indian Hills sites of Fort Qu'Appelle and Lebret as a colonial model, can this project unravel the layered web of events, relationships, and landscapes to better understand how we can build authentic reconciliation and commemoration practices?
2. Can we educate through commemoration with new ideas for remembrance instead of falling back on antiquated models such as physical monuments and national holidays?
 - a) By using the “Keeping Place” as a foundation for a different and new form of memorialization practice, can we educate and commemorate the IRS system in a manner that collaborates with Indigenous peoples but also settler Canadians?

1.1 A Brief History of the Indian Residential School system: 1879-1986

The Indian Residential School system was intended as a tool of education and acculturation.⁴⁸ In the beginning, educational policy was based on the Royal Proclamation of 1763.⁴⁹ This determined that Indigenous peoples had been “recognized as self-governing entities within the Empire...the government did not presume to

⁴⁸ John S. Milloy states that “it was a policy of assimilation, a policy designed to move Aboriginal communities from their ‘savage’ state to that of ‘civilisation’ and thus to make in Canada but one community—a non-Aboriginal one”. Milloy, *A National*, 3.

⁴⁹ Milloy, *A National*, 12.

override the right of self-government even in the service of ‘civilization’. However, the nationwide residential school system was not fully developed until after the negotiation of the western numbered treaties”.⁵⁰ John Milloy states that the concept was shared by settler and Indigenous peoples. Between 1870 and 1877, every numbered Treaty (1 to 7) included a provision for education.⁵¹ It was clear to both sides that education was key to the shared survival of their peoples. Carr-Stewart argues that “First Nations representatives who negotiated the numbered treaties had an understanding of formal education and expected their members and future generations to benefit from such services”.⁵² Milloy points out that Indigenous peoples asked for education throughout treaty negotiations and after the treaties had been settled. He states that after the Indian Affairs Department visited each reserve to discuss the importance of education with the bands, each one “responded positively, to the extent of setting aside one quarter of their annual treaty payments for education”.⁵³

However, the model for the Indian Residential School system that emerged in 1883 was instituted for less “sublime considerations” than an interest in education.⁵⁴ The decision to create a system of federally sponsored schools was directly connected to the settlement of the West and the movement and construction of the railroad. Milloy states that the development of the IRS system had a “central role in state development”.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ John Milloy, “Sir John A’s ‘Hostages:’ state formation and residential education for First Nations’ children” Unpublished paper.

⁵¹ Sheila Carr-Stewart, “A Treaty Right to Education” *Canadian Journal of Education* 26, 2 (2001): 125-143, 125.

⁵² Carr-Stewart, “A Treaty,” 126.

⁵³ Milloy, *A National*, 16.

⁵⁴ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,”.

⁵⁵ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,”.

Furthermore, the Canadian Government looked for caregivers and a way to govern the schools. They decided on the churches as they had a history of running schools for Indigenous students as part of their mission efforts, were willing to run the schools and educate the children. It was promised that the government and churches would share responsibility and run schools that would educate Indigenous children and teach them settler trades and skills. This was the proposed ideal, however, the Canadian government had more sinister motivations for the creation of new Western schools. With the movement of settlement and the railroad across Canada West in the late 19th century, there was a need for the “persistent and progressive dispossession of Indigenous communities; thus in the West, treaties and education went hand in hand—at once moving First Nations aside, breaking their cultures’ connection to the land, and transforming what had been a commons into private property, the seed bed of capitalism”.⁵⁶ The residential school became the agent of acculturation, of Western “civilizing”, and of absolute destruction. The school was created to “neutralize” the Indigenous child, to place them under the guidance of the nation, and to “welcome and facilitate...the settlement of the country”.⁵⁷

The connection between the construction of residential schools and the movement of the railway is evident in the timeline. By the 1880s, the Canadian Pacific Railroad line had reached Qu’Appelle and in 1883 would enter Cree and Blackfoot territory.⁵⁸ There was protest from the Indigenous groups in the area. At this time, the Cree and the Blackfoot were not open to the movement of the railroad into their lands. In the winter of

⁵⁶ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,”16.

⁵⁷ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,”16.

⁵⁸ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,”16.

1882/1883, the Cree ordered railway woodcutters out of the Cypress Hills. Other examples of protest included the pulling up of survey markers and stakes and “defecating upon the top of every available stake, which added nothing to the amenities of the job”.⁵⁹ John A. MacDonald, under pressure from the railway company to prevent future hostilities from occurring, included the bolstering of the North West Mounted Police. The NWMP would protect the railway construction and later hunt down runaways from the residential schools. After the Metis rebellion in 1885, the government instituted plans for three residential schools to be built near Fort Qu’Appelle. One at Battleford (Protestant), one east of Fort Qu’Appelle in the village of Lebret known as the Qu’Appelle Residential School (Catholic) and a third school at High River known as St. Joseph’s Indian Industrial School (Catholic) headed by Father Lacombe.⁶⁰ Ironically, the school at Lebret abutted the railroad tracks that ran west to Fort Qu’Appelle and Indigenous children would be dropped off here for years to start their residential school education.⁶¹

From the beginning, negative reports began to flood back to Ottawa. Milloy reports that the “residential school system began its drift to that ‘unpleasant nearness’ right from its inception”.⁶² The removal of children from their parents and homes was one of the major issues. S.H. Blake wrote that the “ ‘appalling number of deaths among the younger children’ was the result of removing children...from a healthy ‘out of door life’ to the confines of badly constructed schools made worse over time by neglectful and inadequately funded maintenance programs”.⁶³ In 1904, Dr. Peter Henderson Bryce was

⁵⁹ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,” 16.

⁶⁰ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,” 16.

⁶¹ Milloy, “Sir John A’s,” 16.

⁶² Milloy, *A National*, 77.

⁶³ Milloy, *A National*, 77.

hired by the Indian Affairs Department to report on the health conditions of the IRS.⁶⁴ Bryce inspected thirty-five individual schools across Western Canada. His 1907 report “Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories” stated that Indigenous children were not being taken care of, they did not receive adequate medical care and lived in unsanitary conditions. He reported death rates at the schools with 50% or more of the students dying within their first year at the school. He further suggested that death numbers were much higher as many children were sent home to die.⁶⁵ His report was largely ignored by the department. The report was published by the Ontario Tuberculosis Commission in a pamphlet in 1922, it was entitled “The Story of a National Crime: Being a Record of the Health Conditions of the Indians of Canada from 1904 to 1921”.⁶⁶ Bryce suggested that the system needed a complete overhaul starting with national policies concerning the care and education of Indigenous peoples. Reports increased claiming that Indigenous children were suffering in the school system after Duncan Campbell Scott made the schools mandatory in 1920.

What do we know today? We know, without question, that Indigenous children suffered. During the era of the Indian Residential School system, there were hundreds of accounts of the abuse of Indigenous children. They were emotionally, sexually and physically abused. They were starved (often in the name of science but more often due to

⁶⁴ Dr. Peter Henderson Bryce was a Canadian doctor and a leading figure in Canada’s Public Health policy in the early years of the 20th century. He was hired by the Canadian government to serve as Chief Medical Officer. He is known as one of the “first whistleblowers” for his actions after he released a government report that he had complied about the treatment of Indigenous children in the Indian Residential School system. Milloy, *A National*, 77.

⁶⁵ Milloy, *A National*, 77.

⁶⁶ Milloy, *A National*, 51.

lack of funding).⁶⁷ They were given drugs that damaged their minds and bodies.⁶⁸ They died from diseases without comfort⁶⁹ and of exposure trying to travel home.⁷⁰ Indigenous children died from culture shock. They died from broken hearts and, due to the indifference of those who had promised to care for them, they died in a loveless void. Far

⁶⁷ Between 1948 and 1952, two long term studies were conducted without the consent of subjects who were students at six residential schools. In the beginning, inspectors visited the schools in order to check over the health and nutrition of Indigenous children. It was quickly discovered that there was increasingly poor nutrition in the schools and that the “food typically failed to meet the government's own stated basic nutritional requirements”. It was decided that this was due to lack of funding during the postwar period. In 1947, federal Nutritional Services Director Lionel Pett began a research project that would use Indigenous children as research subjects. Mosby states that “without necessary changes to the per capita funding formula of schools, there was little likelihood that the student’s nutritional status would improve in any meaningful way. This meant the schools had become, through decades of neglect by Indian Affairs, a possible laboratory for studying the human requirements for a range of nutrients as well as the effects of dietary interventions on a group of malnourished children”. Put simply, those who were supposed to help stop the malnourishment of Indigenous children found it easier to use those already starving children as subjects to study the effects of further malnourishment. Ian Mosby, "Administering colonial science: Nutrition research and human biomedical experimentation in Aboriginal communities and residential schools, 1942–1952." *Histoire sociale/Social history* 46, 1 (2013): 145-172, 160.

⁶⁸ Indian agents often wrote to their superiors to comment on the abuse of children through the use of drugs including “luminal”. Luminal is derivative of phenobarbital. This type of drug is normally used to control severe epileptic seizures. The effects of this drug can produce a wide range of effects including mild sedation to death. It is often used as part of the process of capital punishment by death through chemical injection. The Nazi’s used luminal in their medical experiments during WWII. They tested this drug on hundreds of Jewish children during the war. RG10, Volume 6431, http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/our/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-11-19T16%3A46%3A50Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=2057054&rft_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

⁶⁹ Dr. Bryce was not interested in national policy or assimilative reform. Rather, he was concerned with the high death rate of Indigenous students in Indian Residential Schools. Megan Sproule Jones states that “without questioning the aims or the budget of these institutions, he advocated sweeping reforms for native education to ensure that native children received the same basic comforts as white children in public schools”. Megan Sproule-Jones, “Crusading for the Forgotten: Dr. Peter Bryce, Public Health, and Prairie Native Residential Schools,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 13 (1996), 218–19, 206.

⁷⁰ Chanie Wenjack was an Ojibwe (Anishinaabe) boy who ran away from the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School in Kenora, Ontario. It is not totally clear why Chanie decided to run away, some said it was due to loneliness others stated that it was due to physical and sexual abuse. On October 16, 1966, he and two other boys Ralph and Jackie MacDonald ran away from school and made it to Redditt, Ontario. There they stayed with the MacDonald’s uncle, Charly Kelly. After four days, Chanie using a rail map attempted to follow the CN rail line over 600km to his home at Ogoki Post on the Marten Falls Reserve. Wearing only a light windbreaker, Chanie died of exposure and malnourishment at Farlane, Ontario on October 23, 1966. He was discovered by railway workers and it was determined that he died of exposure and hunger. Chanie was buried at his reserve on October 27, 1966. Chanie’s death brought national attention to the treatment of Indigenous children in residential schools. In 1973, Indigenous students at Trent University lobbied and named Trent’s largest lecture hall after Chanie. In 2018, Trent launched the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies. Georgia Carley, *The Canadian Encyclopedia, Chanie*

Wenjack, April 7, 2016, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/charlie-wenjack>.

too many Indigenous children were never reunited with their families and were lost. For those who survived, they bear the burden of the past and have inadvertently transferred trauma onto their children and their children's children.⁷¹

1.2 Foundational Theoretical Concepts

“History is the study of the past and also a discipline formed in the past. It is a nineteenth-century discipline, formed in the joint age of professionalization, nationalism, and various forms of domestic and foreign colonization. Its consistent fallacy has been its desire to provide a narrative of How We Got to Where We Are Now—professionally, nationally, and otherwise. In other words, the professional study of history often fails to account for itself in relation to its status in the present. It fails to ask, “Who Are We in Relation to How We Say We Got Here?”⁷²

As pointed out above, it is extremely important to approach this project in such a manner that addresses the role of historical and contemporary colonialism in not only the creation of the IRS system but also its enduring legacy of intergenerational trauma and its continuing role in Indigenous and settler relations. In understanding colonialism as a concept, it is vital to address the “role of the Canadian Settler population in Canada’s contemporary colonialism”.⁷³ Adam J. Barker in his work “The Contemporary Reality of Canadian Imperialism: Settler Colonialism and the Hybrid Colonial State” points out that “imperial powers constantly change forms, experiment with different expressions,

⁷¹ It is believed that over 150,000 Indigenous children attended Indian Residential Schools at approximately 130 locations in every region of Canada. In total, over 130 residential schools operated in Canada between 1831 and 1996. It is estimated that over 6000 Indigenous children died while attending Indian Residential Schools. This death count has been contested due to incomplete records and lack of data.

⁷² Michael P. Steinberg, “Cultural History and Cultural Studies” ed. Nelson, Cary, and Dilip Gaonkar. *Disciplinary and dissent in cultural studies*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 103-130, 104.

⁷³ Adam J. Barker, “The Contemporary Reality of Canadian Imperialism: Settler Colonialism and the Hybrid Colonial State” *American Indian Quarterly* 33, 3 (2009), 326.

conglomerate or divide, and probe Indigenous resistance for signs of weaknesses that can be exploited”.⁷⁴ He states that Indigenous people have proven to be resistant to being “physically and legislatively extinguished” but they have and are under a constant barrage of attack on social, cultural and intellectual levels.⁷⁵

It is vital to acknowledge the objective of those individuals who “intentionally” came to occupy Indigenous territories. Although there is much rhetoric concerning the placement of blame and innocence of contemporary “settler” descendants, the term signifies that those who settled in the country called Canada benefited from the colonization and oppression of the Indigenous peoples of Canada.⁷⁶ For the purposes of this work, the term “settler” will be used rather than “non-Indigenous” or “mainstream Canadian”. To address the “blame” discourse, Barker points out that the use of the “settler” terminology does not suggest “a moral or ethical judgement” but rather a recognition of the “historical and contemporary realities of imperialism”.⁷⁷ As Barker states, the terms ‘settler’ and ‘non-Indigenous’ should not be substituted for each other as the term non-Indigenous ignores the “complexity of Settler society and culture itself...preventing useful analysis”.⁷⁸ This interdisciplinary thesis approaches the creation of a Keeping Place model, and the memorialization and history of the Indian Residential School system on the basis of the following foundational theoretical concepts.

⁷⁴ Barker, “The Contemporary Reality,” 326.

⁷⁵ Barker, “The Contemporary Reality,” 326.

⁷⁶ Barker, “The Contemporary Reality,” 329.

⁷⁷ Barker, “The Contemporary Reality,” 329.

⁷⁸ Barker, “The Contemporary Reality,” 328.

Indigenous Métissage

Writing about Indigenous and settler relations also calls for a specific research praxis that can deconstruct the colonial or imperial methodology that continues to influence Canadian Studies. This dissertation employs the works of a number of academics who have engaged the concept of “Indigenous Métissage”. First, the work of Dwayne Donald including “Indigenous Métissage: A Decolonizing Research Sensibility”, "Forts, Curriculum, and Indigenous Métissage: Imagining Decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian Relations in Educational Contexts" and "The pedagogy of the fort: Curriculum, Aboriginal-Canadian relations, and Indigenous Métissage" as a foundation for integrating research from both Indigenous and settler sources. Donald adapted the concept of the “Indigenous Métissage” as a method of bridging “colonial frontier logics that continue to circumscribe the terms according to which people speak and interact”.⁷⁹ Creating a place-based site of analysis, he was inspired by the use of “Métissage” in a literary context.⁸⁰ Métissage was considered to be a “curricular practice” that recognized that writers could collectively contrast their work in such a way that “highlights difference (racial, cultural, historical, socio-political and linguistic) without essentializing or erasing it”.⁸¹ Donald states that we must start by focusing any attempts at deconstructing colonization in the “Canadian context” through a process of Indigenous and settler peoples “facing” each other, to “deconstruct their shared past” and finally, come to the understanding that they not only share a past but also a present and a future.⁸²

⁷⁹ Dwayne Donald, “Indigenous Métissage: A decolonizing research sensibility” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 25, 5 (2012): 533-555, 533.

⁸⁰ E. Hasebe-Ludt, C. Chambers and C. Leggo, *Life Writing and Literary Métissage as an Ethos for our times*, New York: Peter Lang, 2009.

⁸¹ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

⁸² Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 535.

The time has come to reread the “colonial archive” and reconceptualise a mutual relationship that “acknowledges and respects difference”.⁸³ This also points to the importance of creating a unique Canadian keeping place model that is inspired by international efforts at reconciliation (including German and Australian examples) but maintains a specificity that is “indigenous to Canada”.⁸⁴

The Indigenous Métissage offers an opportunity to address the need for recognition of differing forms of data such as oral traditions of storytelling vs. the “presumed primacy of ‘literate’ societies”.⁸⁵ Donald’s Indigenous Métissage also addresses the issue of hybridity that has become “problematic to Indigenous notions of identity and place”.⁸⁶ Although the concept of creating a hybrid nation was based on an attempt to “reframe” Indigenous and settler narratives, it does not offer Indigenous Canadians a firm place in the Canadian collective memory.⁸⁷ Donald points out that “hybridity is placeless”, it does not work effectively with Indigenous philosophies of “place, traditional land and spiritual connections to specific locations in the world”.⁸⁸ Furthermore, hybridity serves to combine all Indigenous cultures into one category of analysis and therefore removes all distinctiveness connected to past unique historical and political circumstances.⁸⁹ Indigenous Métissage can also serve as a connection between Indigenous and settler communications and relationships that avoids hybridity but

⁸³ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 538.

⁸⁴ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 538.

⁸⁵ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 538.

⁸⁶ Donald is influenced by Homi Bhabha’s work concerning “hybridity” in postcolonial discourse. “Indigenous Métissage,” 539.

⁸⁷ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 540.

⁸⁸ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 540.

⁸⁹ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 542.

promotes a national collective memory. Furthermore, it uses specific places and their artefacts in Canadian landscapes as sites of analysis, allows consideration of the colonial context and illuminates histories of interface to create a narrative that establishes a “reciprocal and interferential story”.⁹⁰

John S. Milloy has long considered Indigenous Métissage as a concept in his monumental body of work including “A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System”, “The Plains Cree: Trade, diplomacy, and war, 1790 to 1870” and “Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4?: Speculations on Alternate Texts”.⁹¹ His relentless determination to know, see and speak the truth about the legacy of settler and Indigenous peoples in Canada is in essence the inspiration for this project. As Donald states, “there are sites across Canada that have contentious histories in that the stories that Aboriginal people tell of them do not coincide with Canadians’ histories and memories of those same places”.⁹² Milloy addressed this stating that “such disagreements are not merely historic or benign. Rather, they remain active”.⁹³ Such divergences in meaning have long prejudiced “the relationship between the two founding peoples”.⁹⁴ The rift that currently exists between Indigenous and settler peoples will not be “diminished as these two cultural practices continue to exist, order, operate and speak their differing truths”.⁹⁵ Donald points out that in many cases across Canada, cities, towns and communities

⁹⁰ Dwayne Donald, “The pedagogy of the fort: Curriculum, Aboriginal-Canadian relations, and Indigenous Métissage”, (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, 2009), 99.

⁹¹ Milloy, *A National*, John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, diplomacy, and war, 1790 to 1870*. Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1990.

⁹² Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 542.

⁹³ John S. Milloy, "Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4?: Speculations on Alternate Texts." *Native Studies Review* 18, 1 (2009): 91-111, 92.

⁹⁴ Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4”, 92.

⁹⁵ Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4”, 94.

“were built at places that have specific cultural, spiritual and social significance to Aboriginal peoples”. Settler Canadians cannot have the same connections to those places. However, when the significance of a specific place is “conceptualised as uniquely layered with memories and experiences of different groups of people who now live together” this creates a “Métissage”.⁹⁶ Milloy has constructed the place created by Indigenous Métissage as the intersection where useful debate and discussion can take place. He states that “this persistent space of difference between cultures and their ways of talking about their world and their history is also an opportunity, a site for useful historical work, albeit of an unusual kind”.⁹⁷

The Cultural Interface

Martin Nakata created the theory of the “Cultural Interface” in his PhD thesis in 1997.⁹⁸ The Cultural Interface is an Indigenous theoretical space that was developed to examine the intersections between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems including documentation, appropriation and its use in academic and scientific circles.⁹⁹ Nakata states that although an interest in Indigenous knowledge has increased in recent years, there is a negative impact for Indigenous peoples.¹⁰⁰ As a postmodern methodology, it views the difference between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems “considered so disparate as to be ‘irreconcilable’ on cosmological, epistemological and ontological

⁹⁶ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 542.

⁹⁷ Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4”, 94.

⁹⁸ Martin Nakata, "The cultural interface: An exploration of the intersection of Western knowledge systems and Torres Strait Islanders positions and experiences." PhD diss., James Cook University, 1997.

⁹⁹ Martin Nakata, “Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: Underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems” *IFLA Journal* 28 (2002): 1-11, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Nakata, “Indigenous Knowledge,” 2.

grounds”.¹⁰¹ Nakata states that the amalgamation of Indigenous knowledge into Western knowledge systems is not possible without the introduction of the “Cultural Interface”.¹⁰² He points out that “what is needed is consideration of a different conceptualization of the cross-cultural space, not as a clash of opposites and differences but as a layered and very complex entanglement of concepts, theories and sets of meanings of a knowledge system”.¹⁰³ The Cultural Interface is an educational theoretical model to assist in the navigation of the colonial landscape of settler and Indigenous relationships since contact. It can be considered to be a space that is both physical and representative, where settler and Indigenous peoples can come together to understand and create a collective discourse surrounding the legacy of colonization and create tools to challenge antiquated power systems through mutual engagement. Tyson Yunkaporta employed the “Cultural Interface” in his PhD thesis as a “reconciling principle between systems previously defined as dichotomous and incompatible”.¹⁰⁴ Yunkaporta examines the “Cultural Interface” as a method of creating dialogue between Western and Indigenous knowledge.¹⁰⁵ He uses the metaphor of the construction of a shield as a method of deconstructing and constructing non-verbal concepts into text. He also employs the symbol of the boomerang as a visual method of mapping the interface. In order to create

¹⁰¹ Martin Nakata, “The Cultural Interface” *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 36 (2007): 7-14.

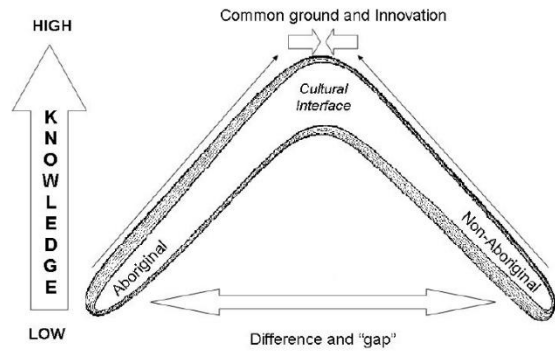
¹⁰² Nakata, “The Cultural Interface,” 8.

¹⁰³ Martin Nakata. 2006). Australian Indigenous studies: A question of discipline. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 77(3), 265-275, 272.

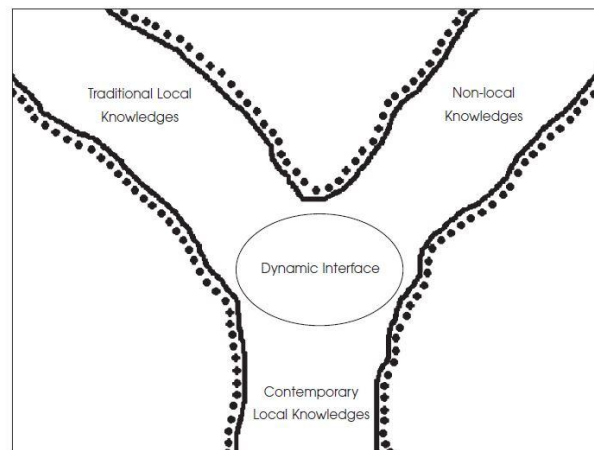
¹⁰⁴ Tyson Yunkaporta, "Aboriginal pedagogies at the Cultural Interface." PhD diss., James Cook University, 2009, xv.

¹⁰⁵ Yunkaporta, “Aboriginal,” xvii.

a Cultural Interface between Indigenous and settler memory and knowledge, a common ground must be negotiated.¹⁰⁶



107



108

Keeping Place as an Event, as a Network, as a Place of Memory

Inspired by the work of John Mulvaney, Jonathan Bordo’s “The Keeping Place (Arising from an Incident on the Land)” is a foundational theoretical praxis for this

¹⁰⁶ Tyson Yunkaporta and Sue McGinty. "Reclaiming Aboriginal knowledge at the Cultural Interface." *The Australian Educational Researcher* 36, 2 (2009): 55-72.

¹⁰⁷ Boomerang Matrix of Cultural Interface Knowledge. Yunkaporta, “Aboriginal pedagogies,” 4.

¹⁰⁸ Nakata’s Theoretical Model. Yunkaporta and McGinty, “Reclaiming,” 57.

project.¹⁰⁹ Bordo based his work on the whale hunt that took place in the summer of 1998 at Kekerton Island in Cumberland Sound, Eastern Baffin Island. This fundamental work places a moment in time as a “site of memory”.¹¹⁰ He re-examines the work of Nora and his “new practice of memory” (lieu de memoire) that separates itself from traditional practices of memory that includes “monuments, documents in archives, artworks in galleries, traces in museums, texts in libraries”.¹¹¹ Bordo discusses the term Keeping Place as a “new site of memory distinct from the typical modern depositories such as museums, galleries, and archives in that living custodians are the dominant keepers of these precious and sensitive things”.¹¹² As mentioned previously, Mulvaney was criticized for his discussion around the need for Keeping Places and the Western requisite for the preservation and study of Indigenous human remains. However, Bordo finds the use of the Keeping Place as a chance to work with “sites of contested curatorship”.¹¹³ He removes the concept from the concrete and physical creation of a building and transforms it into the “episodic” and “ephemeral”.¹¹⁴ Bordo states that “to curate a “site” as a locale

¹⁰⁹ Derek John Mulvaney (b. Oct 26, 1925 – d. Sept 21, 2016) was an Australian archaeologist. He was the first professional archaeologist to solely focus on Australia. He wrote and co-authored many articles and books, notably publishing *The Prehistory of Australia* (1969) and his autobiography *Digging Up a Past* (2011). He was very interested in including ideas and interests of Aboriginal Australians in his work. He was one of the excavators in the Kow Swamp controversy and argued for the creation of a “keeping place” for the remains rather than reburial. Notable works: Derek John Mulvaney, and Johan Kamminga. *Prehistory of Australia*. Allen & Unwin, 1999, Derek John Mulvaney, *Encounters in place: outsiders and Aboriginal Australians, 1606-1985*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989, D. John Mulvaney, "Past regained, future lost: the Kow Swamp Pleistocene burials." *Antiquity* 65, 246 (1991): 12-21, Derek John Mulvaney, *Digging up the past*. Kensington: UNSW Press, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Jonathan Bordo, “The Keeping Place (Arising from an Incident on the Land)” in ” in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds., Nelson, Robert S. and Olin, Margaret (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 157-182, 171.

¹¹¹ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 171.

¹¹² Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174.

¹¹³ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174.

¹¹⁴ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 176.

of memory means to bring it within the regimen of a practice of memory”.¹¹⁵ In terms of memory, the Keeping Place “contrasts with the modern practices of memory”.¹¹⁶

He theorizes that the use of the Keeping Place could create a new strategy of curatorship that places importance on a practice of memory that “acknowledges living witnesses” who are “interested, engaged and culturally specific custodian-witnesses”.¹¹⁷ He employs the whale hunt that took place in July 1998 at Kekerton as a Keeping Place, a place “material and fixed, immaterial and indefinite”.¹¹⁸ D. Laurence Dunne in his work “Eyewitness to a Whale Hunt: Theory, Event, and Apology in the Inuit North” describes his experience at the same event in Kekerton. He states that Keeping Places are “taking the form of transitional spaces allowing for both archaeological study and ritual re-investment by Indigenous groups”.¹¹⁹ Dunne has speculated that a Keeping Place does not have to be a sole physical site but rather “refer to the vast network of artefacts, documents, locales, and narratives concerning the custodianship of the whaling era”.¹²⁰

1.3 A Review of Relevant Literature

At its core, this dissertation analyzes how sites of trauma and perpetrator architecture are memorialized in the context of contemporary memory studies. This literature review is informed by a variety of scholars who engage with memory theory,

¹¹⁵ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174-175.

¹¹⁶ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 176.

¹¹⁷ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174-175.

¹¹⁸ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 175.

¹¹⁹ D. Laurence Dunne, “Eyewitness to a Whale Hunt: Theory, Event and Apology in the Inuit North” *Topia: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 32 (2015): 201-228.

¹²⁰ Dunne, “Eyewitness,” 217.

keeping places, national and collective memory, the Ecomuseum, the monument and the counter-monument, dark tourism, the memorialization of perpetrator architecture exploring how the construction of memorials and memorial spaces impact memory-making processes in the late twentieth century and the history of the Indian Residential School system in Canada. It will lay the groundwork for the creation of a Keeping Place model at Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan.

Memorials and museums form an intrinsic part of “collective memory” and national history in colonial settler societies. The aim of this section is to provide an account of relevant literature that focuses on memorialization and sites of memory including monuments and counter-monuments, museums, and Keeping Places. This section will be separated into six parts; the first will encompass the historiography that examines the debate concerning the rift between memory and history including the “lieux de mémoire” and historical consciousness and how memory and monuments are connected in the construction of national identity. The second will examine the museumification of memory including an examination of the role of the museum as a site of memory and the “living museum” or “ecomuseum”. The third will focus on the historiography of the role of the traditional monument, the counter-monument, the importance of authenticity when memorializing traumatic or emotional memory or events and, finally, strategies concerning the management of violent, “dark” and “uncomfortable” memory. The fourth will explore a selection of works that focus on Canadian Indigenous people’s memory, memorialization and monument focusing on the treatment of Indigenous memory, art history, Indigenous tourism and strategies that focus on memorialization of Indigenous sites including the Indian Residential School system.

The fifth will examine the rise of virtual monuments from a global context. Finally, the sixth section will focus on Keeping Places as alternate, non-traditional strategies of memorialization and memory including an examination of the evolution of physical and virtual keeping places in the Australian context.

1.3.1 The Beginning of Memory Studies: Halbwach and Nora

To begin any study of cultural or “collective memory”, it is essential to examine the work of Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora. Halbwachs (a student of Emile Durkheim) introduced the term “collective memory” in 1925.¹²¹ In his work *The Collective Memory*, he examines the difference between “historical” and “collective” memory.¹²² Halbwachs was influenced by the work of philosopher Henri Bergson and sociologist Émile Durkheim. Bergson who was concerned “by increasing rationalization” which included the standardization of time, the creation of time zones and Greenwich Mean Time became interested in memory studies due to a feeling that “meaningful connections to our pasts...seemed to be waning”.¹²³ Halbwachs aligned his work on collective memory drawing from Bergson’s issue concerning “time and memory” but defined his work through the use of Durkheim’s sociological connection of “cognitive order (time perception) with social order (division of labor)”.¹²⁴ Halbwachs determined differences between types of memory distinguishing “autobiographical” from “historical”. Autobiographical memory contains accumulated, personally experienced

¹²¹ Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy , “Introduction” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Olick, Jeffrey K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, Vered and Levy, Daniel, 3-62 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011),16.

¹²² Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹²³ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”17.

¹²⁴ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”18.

memories while historical memory “refers to the residues of events by virtue of which groups claim a continuous identity through time”.¹²⁵ Lewis A. Coser in his “Introduction” to the newest edition of Halbwachs’s work *On Collective Memory*, states that autobiographical memory “tends to fade with time unless it is periodically reinforced through contact with persons with whom one shared the experiences of the past”.¹²⁶ In the case of historical memory, the individual does not directly remember the events but can be “stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions...the past is stored and interpreted by social institutions”.¹²⁷ For example, this could include “historical” memories of an event such as the U.S. Civil War which is an important part of the narrative of the United States and is remembered collectively even if there are no “autobiographical” or “individual” memories left.¹²⁸ The term collective or “cultural” memory is more complex and includes “long-term structures to what societies remember or commemorate”.¹²⁹ Halbwach focuses on collective memory as a “plural, showing that shared memories can be effective markers...focused on publicly available commemorative symbols, rituals and technologies”.¹³⁰ The popularity of the concept of collective memory dwindled in the middle of the twentieth century but underwent a renewal within the work of Pierre Nora in the 1980s. Nora drew from Halbwachs’s original concept and expanded the concept to include places, individuals, dates and events and works of art.

¹²⁵ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”19.

¹²⁶ Lewis A. Coser, “Introduction” in Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Coser, Lewis A., 1-34 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹²⁷ Coser, “Introduction,” 24.

¹²⁸ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”19.

¹²⁹ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”19.

¹³⁰ Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, “Introduction,”21.

In his work “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, Nora states that “[W]e speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left”.¹³¹ Nora points out that there is a distinction between the “imaginary” construction of memory and the actual reality of events of the past.¹³² Dealing with memory and history, he finds that history becomes influenced by memory and actual historic events are transformed into something that does not represent the actual memory but becomes a faint facsimile which is used to explain and define the past. Nora states that “what we call memory today is therefore not memory but already history”.¹³³ The lieux de mémoire (places of memory) illustrates the artificial landscape of the (re)created memory that “originates with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory”.¹³⁴ Nora places the study of lieux de mémoire at an “intersection of two developments...one a purely historiographical movement, the reflexive turning of history upon itself, the other a movement that is...historical: the end of a tradition of memory”.¹³⁵ History is often misappropriated until it is distorted beyond recognition into a lieux de mémoire that is used as a political and social tool to enforce a communal memory.¹³⁶ Nora states that “modern memory” is firmly connected to the fear of the disappearance or loss of the past.¹³⁷ The term “paper memory” is determined as a mark of modernity with the compulsive warehousing of

¹³¹ It is important to note that the work of Pierre Nora has become imbedded in any work on memory after 1989. The paper addresses Nora influence in most of the reviews whether it is criticized or used in concert with other ideas and theories. Pierre Nora, "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7-24, 7.

¹³² Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

¹³³ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

¹³⁴ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 12.

¹³⁵ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 11.

¹³⁶ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 11.

¹³⁷ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

“material stock of what it would be impossible for us to remember”.¹³⁸ Nora points out that with this large scale collection of history/memory, it is often impossible to determine what “should be remembered”.¹³⁹

The ongoing debate concerning “issues of history, past memory and their ongoing construction in cultural institutions” is the focus of Lorena Rivera-Orraca’s work “Are Museums Sites of Memory?”¹⁴⁰ She builds on Nora’s interpretation of the “eradication of memory by history” and states that “history as process and as representation of that process separates life from memory transforming the account of the past into a stagnant one that is marked by the distance and the mediation of that past”.¹⁴¹ Rivera-Orraca contrasts the work of Nora against Maurice Halbwachs’s work concerning collective memory. She finds that Halbwachs’s work “can balance Nora’s rigid idea of history”.¹⁴² She states that by “[R]econciling Nora’s and Halbwachs’ notions of both history and memory, it seems that the site of memory...as material, symbolic, and function offers the opportunity to allude to the imagination, the ritual and the breaking of a temporal continuity”.¹⁴³ The lieux de mémoire becomes a “meeting point of history and memory” and creates a new possibility of “viewing history how it was constructed in the past and how it can be reconstructed in the present”.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the museum becomes the “mediator” between the past and the present and creates an opening for the opportunity to

¹³⁸ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

¹³⁹ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 14.

¹⁴⁰ Lorena Rivera-Orraca, “Are Museums Sites of Memory?” *The New School Psychology Bulletin* 6, 2 (2009): 32-37, 32.

¹⁴¹ Rivera-Orraca, “Are Museums Sites,” 34.

¹⁴² Rivera-Orraca, “Are Museums Sites,” 34.

¹⁴³ Rivera-Orraca, “Are Museums Sites,” 35.

¹⁴⁴ Rivera-Orraca, “Are Museums Sites,” 35.

create a discourse that examines different versions of history that are often identified by collective memory rather than historical fact.¹⁴⁵

1.3.1.2 The Museum as a Conduit of National Memory

Fiona McLean's work "Museums and the Representation of Identity" examines the role of the museum in "accessing, ignoring, confronting, re-affirming and forging identities".¹⁴⁶ When understanding the concept of heritage and identity, McLean points out that the "museum is arguably the most fertile heritage arena in which to undertake identity work".¹⁴⁷ She defines a museum as a "collection of artefacts which are put on display to be viewed by an audience".¹⁴⁸ In the long history of the museum as an institution, Mclean states that "[N]ational identity was constructed in history museums, national art galleries, and military and war museums, imperial identities in colonial and ethnographic museums and modern identities in world exhibitions, science and modern art museums".¹⁴⁹ Traditionally, museums preferred to stay "neutral" when it came to heritage issues but have an important role in constructing national identity and non-involvement can be viewed as a "political stance".¹⁵⁰ Similar to a monument, the museum "assumes a symbolic meaning for the nation" and the urge to create a museum often corresponds with a rise in interest concerning the construction and preservation of national identity and memory.¹⁵¹ McLean also examines the change within museums to a

¹⁴⁵ Rivera-Orraca, "Are Museums Sites," 35.

¹⁴⁶Fiona McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity" " in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds., Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008):283-298, 283.

¹⁴⁷ McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity, 283.

¹⁴⁸ McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity, 283.

¹⁴⁹ McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity, 284.

¹⁵⁰ McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity, 285.

¹⁵¹ McLean, "Museums and the Representation of Identity, 285.

new “museology” which is a shift from tradition to translation and there is a focus on the “community or eco-museum”.¹⁵² How a museum is “decoded” is entirely dependent on the viewer as an individual with unique thoughts, “past experiences” and “frameworks of knowledge”.¹⁵³ McLean states that to a great extent, museums have acted as colonizers when considering the representation of indigenous cultures. In the past, museums collected materials from indigenous peoples under the pretence that they were preserving and documenting those objects on the behalf of “dying cultures”¹⁵⁴ Now that the cultures have proven their resilience, the refusal by museums to return objects that are important symbols of “cultural identity and survival” to their rightful holders is now highly problematic. However, their return can serve to educate and conserve “cultural continuity”.¹⁵⁵

If in fact, the museum can be a “mediator” in the transmission of memory from an exhibit or a viewer, what happens when the message is unclear or distorted? Susan A. Crane’s work “Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum” examines the issue of “distortion of history or memory by interpretation” in contemporary public debates concerning the role of the museum as a “memory institution”.¹⁵⁶ She discusses the term “historical consciousness” defined as “a personal; awareness of the past as such and a desire to understand experience with reference to time, change and memory” comparable to the lieux de mémoire.¹⁵⁷ The difficulty for historians is the problem that the concept of

¹⁵² McLean, “Museums and the Representation of Identity, 286.

¹⁵³ McLean, “Museums and the Representation of Identity, 290.

¹⁵⁴ McLean, “Museums and the Representation of Identity, 292.

¹⁵⁵ McLean, “Museums and the Representation of Identity, 292.

¹⁵⁶ Susan A. Crane, “Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum” *History and Theory* 36, 4 (1997): 44-63, 45.

¹⁵⁷ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 45.

historical consciousness is resistant to integration with “institutions, texts and practices”.¹⁵⁸

Moreover, historians are trained to be anxious or distrustful of the “unincorporated realm of personal historical memory, seeing it as evidence of ignorance, wilful prejudice, emotional needs or lack of understanding of the knowledge and interpretations available from competently performed historical study”.¹⁵⁹ However, Crane states that museums can be an evocative site for the “study of historical consciousness” as they do provide exhibits which can act as a catalyst in producing a range of “personal” and “collective” memories among visitors.¹⁶⁰ The criticism of museums often arises when visitors who “fully expect and desire to be educated, instructed” become angry or despondent when the new information conflicts with “memory and experience”.¹⁶¹ Although, museums are often accused of making memory static or fixed, Crane disagrees stating that the museum is a mediator of memory. Moreover, memory is a product of a museum that is in a “perpetual state of flux”.¹⁶² The museum can be viewed as a “flexible mirror whose convex potential for multiple interpretation and participation” creates an ideal environment “for active memory work”.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 45.

¹⁵⁹ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 45.

¹⁶⁰ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 46.

¹⁶¹ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 49.

¹⁶² Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 49.

¹⁶³ Crane, “Memory, Distortion and History,” 63.

1.3.2.2 Ecomuseums

Museum culture has faced criticism for more than a century including traditional modes of collecting, displaying and documenting artefacts and knowledge. Ecomuseums and their development are linked to the rise of “new museology”.¹⁶⁴ This saw a “shift from the ‘museum of objects’ to the ‘museum of ideas’”.¹⁶⁵ Around the same timeline as the Keeping Place, the ecomuseum was developed in France as a reaction to the traditional system. The term ‘ecomusée’ was developed in 1971 by Hughes de Varine and Georges Henri Rivière as a ‘holistic’ museum that was focused on “place” and local participation in correlation to a rising interest in environmentalism. Peter Davis has written extensively on the ecomuseum and examines the often negative role of the museum in communities.¹⁶⁶ He states that “there is a building, called a museum, housing experts, collections, knowledge, and exhibitions that is both physically and philosophically a discrete entity; it allows the public—its community—access on a limited basis, but essentially it is separated from that community”.¹⁶⁷ Davis explained that museums were “poor channels to communicate place because ‘the museum after all, consists wholly of displaced objects’”.¹⁶⁸ The ecomuseum works in a completely

¹⁶⁴ Donatella Murtas, "Intangible cultural heritage at the Ecomuseum of Terraces and Vineyards, Italy" in *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* ed. Michelle L. Stefano and Peter Davis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016): 432- 441, 432.

¹⁶⁵ Murtas, “Intangible,” 432.

¹⁶⁶ He has created a number of works focusing on the ecomuseum including, *Ecomuseums: a sense of place*, London: Leicester University Press, 2011, "New museologies and the ecomuseum." *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity* (2008): 397-414. Nunzia Borrelli and Peter Davis. "How culture shapes nature: Reflections on ecomuseum practices." *Nature and Culture* 7, no. 1 (2012): 31-47.

¹⁶⁷ Peter Davis, “Place Exploration: Museums, Identity, Community,” in *Museums and Their Communities*, ed. Sheila E.R. Watson, 53-75, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, 62.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Davis, "Ecomuseums and the representation of place." *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 116, 4 (2009): 483-503, 484.

different way allowing a community to take control of its heritage with shared responsibilities and interchangeable roles among its members.

A number of key principles identified in the ecomuseum made it a more egalitarian option than traditional museum models. These principles included: the “adoption of a territory” defined by “landscape, a specific industry or musical tradition”¹⁶⁹, the identification of “specific heritage resources...and the celebration of these ‘cultural touchstones’”¹⁷⁰, the conservation of sites within a territory that encourages “public participation in all the processes, from decision making through to the management of heritage resources”, and how resources are used to “construct and reflect identities”.¹⁷¹ In addition, the ecomuseum can act as an artefact and data bank for the community, as an archive and place of study for the creation of discourse, to hold gatherings and encourage innovation and to be a showcase for visitors. The ecomuseum concept focused particularly on public interaction and opinion and empowered local communities to “identify and take control of their own heritage resources”.¹⁷² Furthermore, the concept favours “all forms of heritage resource, including immovable and movable tangible heritage” and how this heritage relates to communities.¹⁷³ Peter Davis in his work “Places, ‘cultural touchstones’ and the ecomuseum” states that the ecomuseum is valuable for use at the local level “where people have strong connections to a place, and shared ‘cultural touchstones’, and a collective sense of identity”.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Davis, “Ecomuseums,” 484.

¹⁷⁰ Davis, “Ecomuseums,” 484.

¹⁷¹ Peter Davis, “Places, ‘cultural touchstones’ and the ecomuseum” in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Gerald Corsane, 365- 376 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 366.

¹⁷² Davis, “Places,” 402.

¹⁷³ Davis, “Places,” 402.

¹⁷⁴ Davis, “Places,” 402.

When examining the ecomuseum and its application in museology, the work of Octave Debary's "Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History" is particularly important. Debary examines the decline of an industrial town in France and the reinterpretation of the town and its industrial history from a unique museum setting.¹⁷⁵ Debary acknowledges the work of Nora but claims to be in opposition to Nora's theory that "memory and history...appear now to be in fundamental opposition".¹⁷⁶ He finds that "[M]emory is not the equivalent ('in lieu of') of history" and states that "history becomes memory" through the re-establishment of the past and in the course of this process, memory is often "redefined, forgotten and sometimes denied".¹⁷⁷ From an anthropological point of view, Debary attempts to determine "why culture and history are fascinated by the loss of their frame of reference: the passing of time".¹⁷⁸ The case of the Schneider family is an excellent and unique example as the family exhibits over 150 years of occupation and control over the Le Creusot village and factory.¹⁷⁹ After the death of the company's owner in 1970, the non-industrial assets were sold off to the town including schools, houses, churches and stadiums. The castle (which was the official residence of the Schneider family) was left to the town and became municipal

¹⁷⁵ Octave Debary, "Deindustrialization and museumification: From exhibited memory to forgotten history." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 595, 1 (2004): 122-133, 123.

¹⁷⁶ Nora, "Between Memory and History," 8.

¹⁷⁷ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 123.

¹⁷⁸ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 123.

¹⁷⁹ The industrial company Schneider & Cie in Le Creusot operated as an "integrated plant" with complex processing ironworks and steelworks which manufactured "railway tracks, bridges, locomotives and weapons". The Schneider family founded the village alongside the factory and built almost everything in the village including schools, hospitals, houses and churches. They moved a castle into the center of the village which was surrounded by a large park that overlooked the factories. They further influenced the "political scene" by occupying political positions or filling other positions with employees, friends or family. Furthermore, the village did not have an urban centre but planned the village by creating different neighbourhoods with individual themes that included public buildings. Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 124.

property.¹⁸⁰ Ironically, it was not the loss of the Schneider family leader but the addition of the castle that presented a major problem for the local inhabitants.¹⁸¹ Debary points out that the size of the building and its previous significance as a “power base” for the Schneider family made the village uncomfortable, therefore, they decided to make it into a museum.¹⁸² It was thought that the museum could commemorate the Schneider family history but with the removal of all the contents by the departing widow and daughter of Schneider (who did not leave voluntarily) the museum lacked any artefacts to display.

The plans for a conventional museum were abandoned and a design for a community-based “type of museum that was dubbed ‘ecomuseum’ (écomusée)” was instated.¹⁸³ The new plan was politically motivated; the museum would encompass “the end of paternalism” and the beginning creation of the “Urban Community (Communauté Urbaine)” which incorporated sixteen districts surrounding the site.¹⁸⁴ By the middle of the 1970s, the scope of the “museumification” broadened to incorporate not only the village, castle and surrounding landscape but also the entire “Urban Community”.¹⁸⁵ Debary states that the “Urban Community” was reinstated as a “living museum with permanent visitors” and this included “any object, piece of furniture or building” within the territory of the “Communauté”.¹⁸⁶ This concept was represented as a “museum of a radically new kind”.¹⁸⁷ However, the new project encountered criticism. It was stated by

¹⁸⁰ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 125.

¹⁸¹ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 125.

¹⁸² Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 125.

¹⁸³ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 125.

¹⁸⁴ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 126.

¹⁸⁵ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 126.

¹⁸⁶ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 126.

¹⁸⁷ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 126.

the director of Museums of France that “it couldn’t be described as a museum if there were no collections”.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, the new project was given the new title “ecomuseum” which originated in 1971 to “describe the open-air ecological museums created in former farming areas transformed into nature reserves for tourists”.¹⁸⁹ The industrial concept was still ambiguous as it did not entirely fit with the title of “ecomuseum”; this was remedied by adopting discourse from “the ecological heritage industry” and not openly mentioning the distinction.¹⁹⁰ It was later stated that “[E]cology was used as an excuse for a form of genre-bending museography, which led to a great deal of confusion”.¹⁹¹

Interestingly, the local inhabitants avoided entering the castle for years after it was turned into a museum as they were still “haunted” by the presence of the Schneider family and their legacy.¹⁹² Debary states that the museum became popular because it presented an innovative type of commemoration; it presented a village as a part of the past but also as the industrial section was still operating, a living museum where the inhabitants were “talking objects”.¹⁹³ After 1985, there was a resurgence of interest in the museum and it was reimagined as an “ordinary museum” which commemorated the “industry” that had once been part of the “living museum” but which now had become a product of the past.¹⁹⁴ The new exhibit focused on the Schneider family and the new exhibition collaborated with one of the Schneider descendants who returned the objects

¹⁸⁸ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 126.

¹⁸⁹ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 127.

¹⁹⁰ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 127.

¹⁹¹ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 128.

¹⁹² Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 127.

¹⁹³ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 129.

¹⁹⁴ Debary, “Deindustrialization and Museumification,” 130.

that had been removed when Schneider's widow had vacated the castle in the 1970s.¹⁹⁵ By the mid 1990s, the Schneider family had been transformed from "living witnesses" to "exhibits in a museum—objects symbolizing a past history that could now be disposed of".¹⁹⁶ Debary stated that after visiting the museum in order to analyze the behaviour of visitors, he realized that the museum had run its course, was relatively deserted and would eventually be abandoned.¹⁹⁷ He states that the reestablishment of the site as a "traditional" museum and the return of the Schneider's objects were detrimental to the success of the museum as it destroyed the innovative "ecomuseum" concept of the living museum which attracted visitors and researchers.¹⁹⁸ The concept that allowed the "actors of the story" to "become spectators of their own exhibition" is what kept the museum fresh and innovative. One can only remember because one has first forgotten".¹⁹⁹ This discourse opens up the question of "[W]hat types of museums and what types of objects can tell the story of the past?"²⁰⁰

1.3.3 The Monument & the Counter-Monument: Intentional and Unintentional

The creation of monuments is seemingly a common feature that can manifest itself in a spectrum of different social and political meanings. What explains the human impulse to create monuments? The word 'monument' has been treated differently by the disciplines that have endeavoured to understand the significance and importance that the concept has placed on theories of memory, memorialization, commemoration and

¹⁹⁵ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 130.

¹⁹⁶ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 130.

¹⁹⁷ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 131.

¹⁹⁸ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 131.

¹⁹⁹ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 131.

²⁰⁰ Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification," 132.

nationalism. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin's "Introduction" to their seminal collection *Monuments and Memory: Made and Unmade* (2003) state that there has been a "historical development from the 'intentional monument,' whose significance is determined by its makers to the 'unintentional monument,' a product of later events".²⁰¹ The evolution of the study of the monument has been interpreted differently by different disciplines. For example, with the movement to postmodernism, art historians focused on study of the "unintentional" monuments rather than the more traditional "intentional" ones.²⁰² Nelson and Olin separate the reason for monuments into five separate themes which have not been muffled with the theoretical shifts of the twentieth century. They state that monuments fulfil an ancient (and a contemporary) need to "commemorate," "to make a place," "to represent the past to the present and future," to call attention to "one narrative of the past at the expense of others" or to simply "make the past".²⁰³

Jonathon Boyarin, in his work "Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory," asserts that scholars have long assumed that "time is a one-dimensional and irreversible phenomenon".²⁰⁴ However, it is also clear that a "commitment to the past and its representations" suggests that the past influences the present in multifaceted ways.²⁰⁵ He clarifies the meaning concerning the concept, "politics of memory"; this term does not pertain to memory that "has a political discourse" but rather memory that has been

²⁰¹ Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, "Introduction" in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, 1-10, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.

²⁰² Nelson and Olin, "Introduction," 2.

²⁰³ Nelson and Olin, "Introduction," 2.

²⁰⁴ Jonathan Boyarin, "Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory" in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Timespace*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin, 1-38 (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 2.

²⁰⁵ Boyarin, "Space, time and the Politics," 2.

“mobilized for political purposes”.²⁰⁶ When discussing the relationship between memory and nationalism, he finds that there is a “powerful tendency for collective identities to be cast as national histories in the support of claims to independent statehood”.²⁰⁷ The “collective memory” is constantly recreated and constitutes “reminiscences of the past that link given sets of people”.²⁰⁸ Boyarin comments on the work of Pierre Nora stating that the politics of the lieux de mémoire project were flawed as it (in concert with other contemporary scholars) speaks of the past “in territorial and national metaphors”.²⁰⁹ Boyarin states that memory “shapes ‘public space’ in various and often ambiguous ways, as in monumental public art”.²¹⁰ He points out that the “erection of monuments is a central means of shaping memory”, however, there has also been a trend in the creation of monuments that are specifically designed “to counter the tendency to congeal living memory”.²¹¹ This is known as the “counter-monument”.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Boyarin, “Space, time and the Politics,” 2.

²⁰⁷ Boyarin, “Space, time and the Politics,” 15.

²⁰⁸ Boyarin, “Space, time and the Politics,” 23.

²⁰⁹ Boyarin, “Space, time and the Politics,” 19.

²¹⁰ Boyarin, “Space, Time and the Politics,” 20.

²¹¹ Boyarin, “Space, Time and the Politics,” 20.

²¹² Boyarin, “Space, Time and the Politics,” 20, James E. Young, “The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today” *Critical Inquiry* 18, 2 (1992): 267-296. Some examples of counter monuments include the “Synagogue Monument” by Margrit Kahl that commemorates the destroyed main synagogue of Hamburg’s German-Israelite congregation. Kahl assembled an intricate mosaic that traces the lines of the synagogue’s roof blueprint. Norbert Radermacher created a counter monument that projected text into a space that was a former concentration camp. The historical text describing the camp is activated when someone walks into the space. In Hamberg, Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz created “The Monument against Fascism”. It was a 12-metre-high column constructed from aluminum and lead. The monument was inscribed with text about public fascism that was translated into seven different languages. The designers invited the citizens and visitors to the city to add their names to the monument. As more names covered the monument, it was slowly lowered into the ground. It disappeared from view in 1993 leaving only a flat square with a sign that states “In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice”.

James E. Young has written extensively on the concept of memory, memorialization and the monument. In his work “The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today”, Young states that (in contemporary Germany) “Holocaust memorial-work...remains a tortured, self-reflective, even paralyzing preoccupation”.²¹³ The discourse concerning the creation of monuments in Germany has encompassed the later part of the twentieth century and has persisted consistently into the twenty-first. Young points out that in Germany “artistic, ethical, and historical questions occupy design juries to an extent unknown in other countries”.²¹⁴ The creation of monuments has long been related to the traditional “function as self-aggrandizing locus for national memory”, used as a tool to commemorate the “victors of history” and by the “victims” who built monuments to “recall their martyrdom”.²¹⁵ However, very rarely does a nation create monuments to “remember the victims of crimes it has perpetrated”.²¹⁶ Young points out that perhaps it is not the monuments that have been created in Germany that should be preserved but rather the extensive, unsettled debate concerning the “kind of memory to preserve, how to do it, in whose name, and to what end” that presents an interesting conundrum.²¹⁷

How does a nation “justly forced” to remember the devastating events of the Holocaust “incorporate its crimes against others into its national memorial landscape?”²¹⁸ Within this state of unresolved debate concerning strategies of memorialization, the rise

²¹³ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 269.

²¹⁴ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 269.

²¹⁵ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 270.

²¹⁶ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 270.

²¹⁷ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 270.

²¹⁸ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 270.

of the “counter-monument” becomes a contemporary form of memory that encompasses “brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being”.²¹⁹ Based on the work of a “new generation” of artists and monument designers in Germany, this movement probes the “limits of both their artistic media and the very notion of memorial”.²²⁰ Young states that the new monument makers are the “heirs of a double-edged post war legacy” that includes a “deep distrust of monumental forms” due to the legacy of the Nazi’s exploitation and distortion of the monument and the aspiration to “distinguish their generation from that of the killers through memory”.²²¹ Some examples of counter monuments include Margrit Kahl’s project at the Bornplatz synagogue²²², Norbet Radermacher’s project in Berlin’s Neukölln neighbourhood, Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz’s Monument against Fascism placed in a suburb of Hamburg²²³ and Horst Hoheisel's design for the 1995

²¹⁹ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 271.

²²⁰ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 271.

²²¹ Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 271.

²²² The Joseph-Carlebach-Platz Synagogue Monument, designed by Margrit Kahl, marks the former location of the Bornplatz Synagogue, once the largest synagogue in Northern Germany until its destruction during Kristallnacht (also known as the Night of Broken Glass). The monument includes a, intricately designed plaza with stonework that follows the vaulting of the ceiling in the destroyed synagogue. Young states that the mosaic is a “palimpsest for a building and community that no longer exist”. Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 271.

²²³ The Hamburg Monument Against Fascism, by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz and Norbert Radermacher's memorial at Neukölln have both integrated the concept of disappearing text into their works. The Hamburg monument involves a hollow aluminum pillar that was 212 meters high and one meter square and was plated with a layer of lead. The objective of the project was inscribed in several languages at the base of the pillar and it also invited viewers to use the provided steel tipped stylus to inscribe their names on the pillar. As reachable sections of the pillar became covered with inscriptions it was slowly lowered into an underground chamber. Norbert Radermacher's memorial at Neukölln is located at the site of a former forced labour camp known as KZ-Aussenlager which was one of Sachsenhausen’s satellite camps. The area is now a sports field surrounded by suburban neighbourhoods that has no remaining indicator of its past. Radermacher set up a project that includes a slide projector and a slide describing the history of the site. As people walk by the park, they set off the projector that is tripped by breaking a light beam. The beam from the projector moves randomly similar to a search light and projects information to each passer-by. Young, *The Counter-Monument*,” 271.

memorial competition to commemorate the Brandenburger Tor (Gate).²²⁴ Horst Hoheisel was already well-known for his “negative-form monument in Kassel ” when he proposed a design solution for the 1995 memorial competition to commemorate the Brandenburger Tor. His proposal was viewed as a “provocative anti solution to the memorial competition” and suggested that the Brandenburger Tor (an eighteenth century neoclassical city gate located in the western part of the Berlin city centre, the Brandenburger Tor is one of most well-known landmarks in Germany) be blown up, have the remaining pieces ground up into dust, sprinkled over the former site and covered in granite slabs.²²⁵ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock stated “[R]ather than commemorating the destruction of a people with the construction of another edifice, Hoheisel would mark one destruction with another destruction”.²²⁶ His proposal was not accepted. The point of Hoheisel’s project was not to actually blow up the gate (this was apparently never considered an option), it was the idea that perhaps a monument should not be constructed and that an empty space would encourage memory more than a “finished monument”.²²⁷

Hoheisel, et.al. in their work “Memory, Countermemory, and the End of the Monument” state that the “monument—in both idea and practice—has undergone a radical transformation over the course of the twentieth century”.²²⁸ They position the monument at an “intersection” between political memory and public art often reflecting

²²⁴ Horst Hoheisel, Micha Ullman, Rachel Whiteread, Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory, and the End of the Monument” in *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, ed. James E. Young, 90-119 (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 92.

²²⁵ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 92.

²²⁶ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 92.

²²⁷ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 92.

²²⁸ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 93.

“aesthetic and political revolutions”.²²⁹ There has been an aesthetic and political evolution of the monument throughout the late nineteenth and through the late twentieth centuries; it has changed from images of the “heroic, self-aggrandizing figurative icons” to the “antiheroic, often ironic....installations that mark...national ambivalence and uncertainty”.²³⁰ Martin Auster’s work “Monument in a Landscape: The Question of ‘Meaning’” examines the “politico-spatial significance of monumental spaces” and analyses the monument in correlation with the “relationship between a people and a place”.²³¹ He examines the monument from a trans-disciplinary perspective finding that a “monument is not merely a structure in a landscape, but most literally a text”.²³² Furthermore, he states that the monument can be decoded “in terms of allegory”.²³³ Auster states that “attaching meaning to an object in the environment” creates a discourse that interprets the monument “by perceiving and interpreting it in terms of typologies, associations, categories, memories, ideas...to things other than the object itself”.²³⁴ Auster finds that a monument is constructed to impress an original message, however, over time other thoughts, ideas will be “inscribed or projected on to it, literally or metaphorically”.²³⁵ The meaning of a monument can differ for the individual viewer; it is transformed by time/space and it will eventually become a “palimpsest” of mixed

²²⁹ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 93.

²³⁰ Hoheisel, Ullman, Whiteread, Stih and Schnock, “Memory, Countermemory,” 93.

²³¹ Martin Auster, “Monument in a Landscape: The Question of ‘Meaning’” *Australian Geographer* 28, 2 (1997): 219-277, 219.

²³² Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 220.

²³³ Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 220.

²³⁴ Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 220.

²³⁵ Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 221.

messages.²³⁶ Auster states that the monument is an “ancient...response to the passage of time: a device to stare out time and extinction. Flesh made stone”.²³⁷

The separate works of Brian S. Osborne and of Sara McDowell focus on the concepts of memory, monuments, and the application of memory as an instrument to achieve cultural, social, and political strategies to gain power, control, and consensus over a nation. In “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place” Osborne discusses the use of monument in the construction and maintenance of national identity and memory. He points out that “places of memory” are created in order to “advance particular emotions, beliefs and ideologies”.²³⁸ In addition, he argues that nations bolster their “continuity” through a “theatre of memory” which creates a sense of a national shared history and identity.²³⁹ The amalgamation of monuments, commemoration and “public participation” serves to create a connection to the practice of “collective remembering...in highly condensed, fixed and tangible sites”.²⁴⁰

Sara McDowell’s work “Heritage, Memory and Identity” examines the role of heritage as a “cultural product/resource” and identifies the “selective use” of heritage as a social and political tool and strategy.²⁴¹ She states that national memory is tied to the

²³⁶ Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 221.

²³⁷ Auster, “Monument in a Landscape,” 221.

²³⁸ Brian S. Osborne “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001), 39.

²³⁹ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 39.

²⁴⁰ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 40.

²⁴¹ Sara McDowell, “Heritage, Memory and Identity” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds., Graham, Brian and Howard, Peter, 37-54 (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008).

“hegemonic needs and values of the general public”.²⁴² However, the state or nation is usually in control of “public commemoration” and sets the tone and message that the commemoration/memorial is designed to convey.²⁴³ Osborne concurs stating that “nationalizing-states” create a dogma of “symbolic meanings” that are developed to “reinforce peoples’ identification with specific social values”.²⁴⁴ He points out that “nationalizing-states” interested in creating emotional ties to “particular histories” have long cultivated a “sense of common history and heritage”.²⁴⁵ It is not particularly important if this “collective history” is real or imagined.²⁴⁶ The experience of belonging to an “invented history...imagined geography” creates a sense of “national cohesion” and an “awareness of belonging”.²⁴⁷

McDowell concurs with Osborne pointing out that “[H]eritage is a highly politicized process that is subject to contestation and bound up in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memory and identity”.²⁴⁸ Those who control and make decisions concerning national memory and heritage have a great amount of power as they “influence, dictate or define what is remembered and consequently what is forgotten”.²⁴⁹ Osborne points out that the past is “socially constructed through archives, museums, school curricula, official histories, monuments and public displays”.²⁵⁰

McDowell also states that memory can occur in many forms and may include “official,

²⁴² McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 40.

²⁴³ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 40.

²⁴⁴ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 40.

²⁴⁵ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 41.

²⁴⁶ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 41.

²⁴⁷ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 41.

²⁴⁸ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 43.

²⁴⁹ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 43.

²⁵⁰ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 43.

unofficial, public, private, collective, communal, local, national, societal, historical, emotional, post memory, literal, and exemplary”.²⁵¹ She finds that the “desire to represent memory through the marking of ‘place’ is a feature of all modern societies and is prevalent after every conflict or tragic event”.²⁵² Memorial sites are not only places where spectators can meet physically to experience “meaning” but are also significant and tied to “notions of belonging (or not belonging), ownership and consequently identity”.²⁵³

Osborne maintains that “monuments, streets, neighbourhoods, buildings, churches, and parks are all material things, but they also evoke specific kinds of meaning and serve as spatial coordinates of identity”.²⁵⁴ In many cases, memorials are loaded with meaning and the type of signifiers vary across the spectrum.²⁵⁵ For example, McDowell points out the application of basic signifiers in memorials (in post-apartheid South Africa) were often employed as they held an ability to “evoke similar emotional responses across time, space and cultures”.²⁵⁶ She finds that the use of universal “natural elements such as fire and water” are often used as their meaning is universally comprehended.²⁵⁷ However, the use of abstract symbols and designs are often employed as they are designed to “inspire viewers to imagine meaning” and are put in place as a mediator as there is often difficulty in “representing extreme suffering” such as the case

²⁵¹ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 40.

²⁵² McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 37.

²⁵³ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 37.

²⁵⁴ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 42.

²⁵⁵ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 39.

²⁵⁶ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 39.

²⁵⁷ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 39.

of many Holocaust memorials.²⁵⁸ McDowell further points out that signifiers are not permanent or concrete and can often change in meaning in relatively short periods of time. Signs and symbols are constantly reinvented and “read in different contexts” which alters their “reference and meaning”.²⁵⁹

Osborne also comments extensively on the connection between identity and place. He explains that “[S]elf-knowledge and personal identity cannot be reconstructed without place-worlds”.²⁶⁰ Osborne states that there are connections of place and identity and through “daily living in particular places, the abstraction of space is transformed into a social and psychic geography”.²⁶¹ However, although this “psychic geography” can often be tainted by negative experiences within a “living” place as can be found at sites of “natural and social” trauma and violence such as the death camps of the Holocaust, World War II Japanese internment camps and Hiroshima.²⁶² When examining the role of the monument, Osborne finds that it acts like a spotlight in a darkened room. The monument is used as a tool to focus on “specific places and events” and is essential in the stratagem concerning the “construction of national identity”.²⁶³

Nuala C. Johnson has written extensively on the concept of public memory, commemoration and monuments. In her work “Public Memory”, she presents a discourse that makes a connection between “time, representation and social memory”.²⁶⁴ She states

²⁵⁸ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 39.

²⁵⁹ McDowell, “Heritage, Memory,” 40.

²⁶⁰ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 42.

²⁶¹ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 42.

²⁶² Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 43.

²⁶³ Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments,” 43.

²⁶⁴ Nuala C. Johnson, “Public Memory” in *A Companion to Cultural Geography*. eds. Duncan, James, Nuala C. Johnson, and Richard H. Schein, 316-328, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008).

that traditionally in Western historiography, the “art of memory” since the late 18th century has been “ideologically separated” from history.²⁶⁵ It was felt that history was “objective, scientific and subject to empirical scrutiny” and memory was ‘subjective, selective and uncritical’.²⁶⁶ Johnson agrees with Nora when she discusses the idea that “true memory” has been replaced by “modern memory”.²⁶⁷ In her work “Mapping Monuments: The Shaping of Public Space and Cultural Identities”, Johnson examines the creation of public monuments that have become directly tied to various global nation-building projects of the last 200 years.²⁶⁸ She states that public monuments should not be treated as “innocent aesthetic embellishments” but viewed as powerful purveyors of “political and cultural meaning”.²⁶⁹ There has been a rise in interest in work concerning social memory and a correlation between “elite and dominant memory” and how it is used by the powerful to pursue “specific political objectives”.²⁷⁰ This tie to political aims is further connected to the “nation-building program” and an “imagined community” of nationhood that originated in the work of Benedict Anderson.²⁷¹ She suggests that elite notions of new memory often “necessitate the collective amnesia or forgetting of older ones”.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Johnson, “Public Memory,” 317.

²⁶⁶ Johnson, “Public Memory,” 317.

²⁶⁷ Johnson quotes Nora stating that “[W]ith the demise of peasant societies...true memory ‘which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body’s inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories’ has been replaced by modern memory which is self-conscious, historical and archival”. Johnson, “Public Memory,” 317.

²⁶⁸ Nuala C. Johnson, “Mapping Monuments: The Shaping of Public Space and Cultural Identities” *Visual Communication* 1, 3 (2002): 293-298., 293.

²⁶⁹ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 293.

²⁷⁰ Johnson, “Public Memory,” 317.

²⁷¹ Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson (August 26, 1936 – December 13, 2015) was a political scientist and historian who lived and taught in the United States, best known for his 1983 book *Imagined Communities*, which explored the origins of nationalism. Johnson, “Public Memory,” 318.

²⁷² Johnson, “Public Memory,” 318.

Not only do public monuments present a physical location but also function as “social symbols”.²⁷³ The “social memory” that is tied to physical monuments or “sites of memory” becomes a space that allows for the process of memory to occur.²⁷⁴ This works in a similar manner when examining more specific sites of memory. She states that collective public memory “is the dynamic process by which groups map myths...about themselves and their world onto a specific time and place”.²⁷⁵ This “mapping process” becomes part of the process of authenticating individual and group identities.²⁷⁶ Johnson concurs with Nora stating that “collective remembrance” involves the “continuous dimension of time” that is condensed into a “set of symbolic dates and events” expressed through lieu de mémoire.²⁷⁷ She defines collective memory as the “dynamic process” of mapping nationalistic memory and creating individual and group identity through the foundation of public monuments.²⁷⁸ Johnson quotes Boyarin stating that “memory is neither something pre-existent and dormant in the past nor a projection from the present, but a potential for creative collaboration between present consciousnesses and the experience or expression of the past”.²⁷⁹

1.3.3.1 Holocaust Memory, Memorialization and Perpetrator Architecture

The extensive historiography concerning Holocaust memorial, monument and commemoration has set a precedent in the study of memory. This review will examine

²⁷³ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁴ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁵ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁶ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁷ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁸ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 294.

²⁷⁹ Johnson, “Mapping Monuments,” 295.

the works that examine the multi-faceted scholarship that has grown since the latter part of the twentieth century. In James Young's "The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning" he demonstrates that holocaust memorials and their meaning are as varied as the number of sites that exist.²⁸⁰ Young argues that memory is "never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure".²⁸¹ Holocaust memorials are separated into several types. The first type was constructed in response to "traditional Jewish injunctions" in a national attempt to account for events of the past.²⁸² The second type of memorial is aimed at educating the "next generation" and creating a sense of a "shared experience".²⁸³ Another type focuses on the attraction of tourists. Memorials are also defined by the region in which they are placed. For example, Polish memorials of death camps "commemorate the whole of Polish destruction through the figure of its murdered Jewish part".²⁸⁴ This is further differentiated through national distinctions, Holocaust memorials in Europe are considerably different from their counterparts in the United States.²⁸⁵ Young points out that Holocaust memory in Europe and Israel is governed by "political, aesthetic and religious coordinates" and American memorials are channelled through American beliefs such as "liberty, pluralism and immigration".²⁸⁶

It is clear that there is often a connection between memorialization and nationalism as memorials are often used to "shape memory...as they see fit, memory that

²⁸⁰ James E. Young, "From the Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning" in *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, eds., Rossington, Michael and Whitehead, Anne, 177-184, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, 178.

²⁸¹ Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

²⁸² Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

²⁸³ Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

²⁸⁴ Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

²⁸⁵ Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

²⁸⁶ Young, "From the Texture of Memory," 178.

best serves a national interest”.²⁸⁷ The monument has been traditionally viewed as a permanent way to memorialize a memory or idea.²⁸⁸ Young argues that there is a preconceived notion concerning the difference between the memorial and the monument; he states that it is presumed that “memorials recall only past deaths or tragic events and provide places to mourn” while “monuments remain celebratory markers of triumphs and heroic individuals”.²⁸⁹ He clarifies that “the same object can perform both functions, there may be nothing intrinsic to historical markers that makes them either a monument or a memorial”.²⁹⁰ Young further states that he treats “all memory-sites as memorials, the plastic objects within these sites as monuments. A memorial may be a day, a conference, or a space, but it need not be a monument. A monument, on the other hand, is always a kind of memorial”.²⁹¹ The concept of the monument came under attack in the later part of the twentieth century as it became clear that monuments (that once were thought to be necessary for memory to remain focused) became antiquated “displacements of the memory they were supposed to embody” , “remained static” and conceal memories and events “under layers of national myths and explanations”.²⁹²

The criticism that has risen around the traditional memorial/monument is echoed in the work of Harold Marcuse who has also written extensively on the topic of concentration camp memorialization. In his work, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews in Dachau and Other West German Concentration Camp Memorial Sites”, he examines the

²⁸⁷ Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 178.

²⁸⁸ Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 178.

²⁸⁹ Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 179.

²⁹⁰ Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 179.

²⁹¹ Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 179.

²⁹² Young, “From the Texture of Memory,” 180.

evolution of Holocaust commemoration from the end of WWII to the 1960s. Marcuse points out that memorials often “reflect the needs and goals of their makers far more than the events to which they are dedicated”.²⁹³ He uses four major Nazi concentration camps including Dachau, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, and Belsen as case studies to interpret the level of commemoration that has occurred at those sites.²⁹⁴ The statistics for each site show a high proportion of Jewish victims; however, Marcuse finds that initially there was not an ‘emphasis on Jewish commemoration at these sites’.²⁹⁵ Several factors are responsible including a lack of interest by non-Jewish Germans who were not “interested in remembering Jewish victims” and a fragmented and damaged populace of Jews in Germany who were not initially “giving thought to leaving a lasting legacy in the land of their tormentors”.²⁹⁶ Marcuse finds that there was not an interest in creating Jewish memorials until the 1960s when information concerning the events of the Holocaust had become more widely available to the public.²⁹⁷

Of all the early memorials, the Bergen-Belsen memorial makes a point of mentioning the high proportion of Jewish victims at the site.²⁹⁸ This is not the case when examining the early memorials at Flossenbürg and Dachau. In the case of Flossenbürg, Marcuse points out only a “coincidental recognition of the Jewishness of its largest

²⁹³ Harold Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews in Dachau and Other West German Concentration Camp Memorial Sites” in *Memorialization on Germany Since 1945*, ed. Bill Niven and Chloe Paver, 192-204 (London: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2010), 192.

²⁹⁴ Marcuse points out that all of the camps (excluding Belsen) had “from 67 to 188 branch camps, most set up after 1943, and some of which had an average inmate capacity of up to 3000-4000”. In all of these camps, the highest death rate was among the Jewish victims. Belsen which was “technically a ‘detention camp’” supplied Jewish slaves to many companies involved in war industry and the majority of the camp population was Jewish. Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 193.

²⁹⁵ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 193.

²⁹⁶ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 193.

²⁹⁷ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 193.

²⁹⁸ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 193.

victim group appeared in the early memorialization”.²⁹⁹ The main memorial erected at the site was a Catholic chapel and a sign that listed the number and nationalities of victims of the camp placing Jewish victims as an aside.³⁰⁰ At Dachau, the site was caught in a political struggle between two groups. The first group encompassed the non-Jewish German public which can be further divided into those who directly opposed memorialization of Nazi crimes and those who accepted the construction of memorials. The opposing group encompassed the surviving Jewish victims who can also be divided into two groups of German Jews (those who had largely emigrated in the 1930s, escaping the era of the camps) and eastern European Jews (who had been brought to the camps for slave labour or extermination).³⁰¹ Jewish survivors did not play a role in commemoration of the site until the late 1950s because of lingering anti-Semitic threats from non-Jewish camp survivors.³⁰² The first memorial proposed for the Dachau camp had an equal number of Christian and Jewish components, however, the plans were abandoned after it was discovered that the designer was affiliated with the Nazi party.³⁰³

The connection between “landscapes of memory” and monument creation is clearly connected to nationalist strategies. In her work, “Staging the Past: Landscape Designs, Cultural Identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin’s Neue Wache” , Karen E. Till has created an extensive study concerning the evolving use of a national memorial in Berlin as well as a study of the function of monuments and memorials.³⁰⁴ Similar to

²⁹⁹ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 194.

³⁰⁰ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 194.

³⁰¹ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 195.

³⁰² Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 195.

³⁰³ Marcuse, “Memorializing Persecuted Jews,” 195.

³⁰⁴ Karen E. Till, “Staging the Past: Landscape Designs, Cultural Identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin’s Neue Wache” *Ecumene* 6, 3 (1999): 251-283.

Johnson, Till states that “the study of landmarks offers us insights into the ways nationalist political discourses are articulated”.³⁰⁵ Using the site of the Neue Wache (New Guardhouse) as a case study, she examines the history of the site and the “negotiation of public memory” at the site in the media in 1992.³⁰⁶ Till states that “landscapes of memory—museums, memorials and monuments” are used as platforms to increase or encourage “myths of national identity”.³⁰⁷ Till points out that collective memory is not an “accumulation” of individual memories but rather of “all the activities that go into making a version of the past resonate with group members”.³⁰⁸ For collective memories to be effective, they must evolve and change with the needs of the group. This also creates a sense of instability which is remedied through the application of monuments or “memory places”.³⁰⁹ Till differentiates between collective and public memory; collective memory involves the continuous process of “creating group myths about the past” whereas public memory is the “cultural space and process through which those myths are understood, interpreted and negotiated by a society”.³¹⁰

Similar to Johnson and Nora, Till finds a separation between cultural memory and historical memory. She points out that cultural memory is the “domain of public memory” and “historical narratives” are delineated according to the academic

³⁰⁵ Till, “Staging the Past,” 252.

³⁰⁶ The complex history of the Neue Wache (New Guardhouse) includes its origins as a royal guard house until the end of World War I and the fall of the monarchy in the German Revolution of 1918–19, a war memorial during the Weimar Republic and again during the Nazi regime. After WWII, the site functioned as a memorial commemorating the victims of the war and following the unification of Germany, the site was declared to be the new “unified German national memorial for ‘victims of war and oppression’”. Till, “Staging the Past,” 252.

³⁰⁷ Till, “Staging the Past,” 254.

³⁰⁸ Till, “Staging the Past,” 254.

³⁰⁹ Till, “Staging the Past,” 254.

³¹⁰ Till, “Staging the Past,” 255.

community, universities, publishing firms and “public and private granting establishments”.³¹¹ Public memory and historical disciplines “overlap”; however, this occurs mainly when groups select specific scholarship produced by the academic community to further their cause.³¹² When this is applied to specific sites such as the Neue Wache, it is clear how “historical narratives” have been used to support the interpretations of different groups.³¹³ As Neue Wache evolved and changed over the late 19th and throughout the 20th century, it changed from a “victim site” to a “perpetrator site” and back again.³¹⁴ Till states that there is a larger history in Germany that includes a “set of troublesome and ongoing discussions about the meanings (and moral responsibilities) of the social categories of victim and perpetrator”.³¹⁵

The controversy that endures concerning the difference and interpretation of “victim” and “perpetrator” sites is also examined in the work of Caroline Pearce (“The Role of German Perpetrator Sites in Teaching and Confronting the Nazi Past”) and Friederike Hansell (“The Integration of Nazi Perpetrator sites into the German Memorial Landscapes”).³¹⁶ Pearce focuses on the value of the inclusion of Nazi perpetrators in

³¹¹ Till, “Staging the Past,” 255.

³¹² Till, “Staging the Past,” 255.

³¹³ Till, “Staging the Past,” 255.

³¹⁴ Till, “Staging the Past,” 276.

³¹⁵ Till, “Staging the Past,” 276.

³¹⁶ Caroline Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites in Teach and Confronting the Nazi Past” in *Memorialization on Germany Since 1945*, ed. Niven, Bill and Paver, Chloe, 168-177, London: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2010, Friederike Hansell, “Commemorating the Past: The Integration of Nazi Perpetrator Sites into the German Memorial Landscapes” in *A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism*, eds. Sam Merrill and Leo Schmidt, 249-268, (Department of Architectural Conservation at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus, 2009).

German Holocaust memorial strategies.³¹⁷ She states that perpetrator sites were not developed in the early years after the end of WWII.³¹⁸

Hansell points out that when considering the memorialization of “perpetrator” sites, there has been no “general consensus” concerning a strategy to “preserve, use and interpret the sites”.³¹⁹ In many cases, perpetrator sites (including Nazi sites) have been “neglected, tabooed or redefined”.³²⁰ When examining National Socialist sites, many are considered to be evil places and this is further complicated by the German memory process *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.³²¹ This process is described as "public debate within a country on a problematic period of its recent history—in Germany on National Socialism, in particular".³²² Hansell states that despite the controversy surrounding perpetrator sites, they are an “integral part of our history and therefore need an adequate reflection”.³²³ He has chosen to analyse several case study sites including Wewelsburg Castle, Ordensburg Vogelsang, the Nazi Rally Grounds at Nuremberg, *Führerschule der deutschen Ärzteschaft*, *Dieksanderkoog*, Braunschweig, *Reichsjägerhof* and the *Villa Bogensee*.³²⁴ The Nazi building program was intense during the war years and

³¹⁷ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 168.

³¹⁸ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 168.

³¹⁹ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 249.

³²⁰ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 249.

³²¹ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 249. Hansell states that “the tendency to reproduce the national focus of postwar Germany on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is still present. But for the younger generations the process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is predominantly completed.” Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 264.

³²² Vicki Lawrence, “*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*: Coming to Terms with the Nazi Past.” *Agni* 48 (1998): 100-114.

³²³ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 249.

³²⁴ The site of Wewelsburg Castle is mentioned extensively in this paper, *Ordensburg Vogelsang* was the site of a Nazi training centre that specialized in teaching Nazi ideology, the *Nazi Rally Grounds at Nuremberg* was one of the largest monuments every planned by the Nazi’s but it was never completed, *Führerschule der deutschen Ärzteschaft* was a prototype Nazi village which included a medical school, *Dieksanderkoog* was a created community that was intended to show the plans for an idealized Nazi society to the world, *Braunschweig* a settlement created to house the workers and military personal involved in the

“architecture was considered as the most important and powerful expression of the Nazi ideology”.³²⁵ Hansell states that the “handling” of Nazi heritage has remained an “open question” since WWII ended.³²⁶ After the war, the Allied response to the remains of the Nazi regime was to remove all of the buildings, emblems and signs; however, this campaign was never fully realized due to a lack of funds.³²⁷ Some of the buildings from the Nazi regime were demolished but many others were just reused with no documentation or statement relating to the construction date or historical context.³²⁸ Throughout the later part of the twentieth century, Holocaust victim memorials have increased in density across many parts of Europe including Germany. Hansell finds that the victim memorials are only one “part of the heritage”.³²⁹ It was not until the 1980s that a new discourse concerning the process in which integration of perpetrator sites could be placed within an “already existing memorial landscape”.³³⁰

Pearce observes that in recent years, new research from the opening of the East European archives initiated a rise in interest focusing on the perpetrators of the Nazi regime.³³¹ Pearce theorizes that this revival of interest could be due to the evolution of memorial sites with increasing detachment from WWII.³³² The importance of remembering is still present; however, it is slowly being replaced by “pedagogical

defense industry, *Reichsjägerhof* was a recreation of a Lower Saxon farm which was a present to Hermann Göring, and the *Villa Bogensee* which was a villa that belonged to Joseph Goebbels creepily known as “Goebbels’ Love Nest”. Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 253-259.

³²⁵ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 250.

³²⁶ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 251.

³²⁷ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 251.

³²⁸ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 251.

³²⁹ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 252.

³³⁰ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 252.

³³¹ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 168.

³³² Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 169.

approaches at memorial sites”.³³³ This type of memorialization has many challenges including “explaining how people became perpetrators”, “considering not only the crimes but also their context”, and “the normalizing” of crimes committed by Nazi perpetrators.³³⁴ Pearce states that through the combination of victim and perpetrator perspective allows the memorial to become more emotionally potent as “self-reflection...is far more uncomfortable if undertaken from the perspective of the perpetrators”.³³⁵

A good example of a memorial site that has recognized and attempted to address its difficult history is the site of Wewelsburg castle.³³⁶ The history of Wewelsburg Castle originates from the 17th century when the castle was constructed in the ruin of a medieval castle near Büren.³³⁷ Taken over by Heinrich Himmler in the late 1930s, it was originally conceived as a training centre for SS but became an “ideological or ‘cult’ centre for the SS”.³³⁸ Niederhagen concentration camp was constructed nearby to provide slave labour to achieve Himmler’s ambitious building plans for the site.³³⁹ The castle was destroyed by fire at the end of WWII and was reconstructed in 1948.³⁴⁰

In 2000, a memorial was constructed to commemorate the victims of the Niederhagen concentration camp.³⁴¹ The present day site has an 850 meter exhibition space that examines the local history of the SS and the history of the Niederhagen

³³³ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 169.

³³⁴ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 169.

³³⁵ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 169.

³³⁶ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 173.

³³⁷ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 253.

³³⁸ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 174.

³³⁹ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 174.

³⁴⁰ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 253.

³⁴¹ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 254.

concentration camp titled “Wewelsburg 1933–1945 Cult and Terror Centre of the SS”.³⁴² The website concerning the exhibition has an extensive virtual tour which allows the viewer to tour through photos concerning the history of the site as well as the exhibition itself.³⁴³ Hansell points out that it is often difficult to separate victim and perpetrator sites as they are often “inseparable” from each other.³⁴⁴ The Wewelsburg museum website maintains that although the site is a “place of the perpetrators...the establishment of a concentration camp makes it a place of the victims”.³⁴⁵ It asserts that it is the only museum (associated with the events of the Holocaust) that discloses the “ideological foundations of the SS and their radical and criminal consequences”.³⁴⁶

Pearce states that “Wewelsburg has the most direct link between perpetrators and victims” than other Holocaust memorial and museum sites.³⁴⁷ However, the website contains a section titled “House Rules” that clearly explains special regulations concerning visiting the Wewelsburg site. It states that the museum was “established as a reminder to the living and in the honourable memory of the victims of Niederhagen Concentration Camp”.³⁴⁸ It further declares that visitors must refrain from wearing “emblems and badges that represent right-wing views” or expressing “extreme right wing, anti-Semitic or sexist views”.³⁴⁹ Pierce also comments that the refusal to admit visitors “wearing far-right clothing or symbols or any who says, gestures, or writes

³⁴² “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”, accessed January 19, 2014, <http://www.wewelsburg.de/en/wewelsburg-1933-1945/einstieg.php>.

³⁴³ “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”.

³⁴⁴ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 252.

³⁴⁵ “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”.

³⁴⁶ “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”.

³⁴⁷ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 174.

³⁴⁸ “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”.

³⁴⁹ “Kreismuseum Wewelsburg”.

anything associated with racist, anti-Semitic, or far-right ideology” can be viewed as a “pedagogical failure”.³⁵⁰ Pearce points out that granted that Wewelsburg is a physical site from which “traumatic” and “violent” history occurred, she believes that it has lost some of its authenticity due to the fact that it has become a “regional museum and youth hostel”.³⁵¹ She also points out that without the victim perspective at Wewelsburg, the site “risks appealing to apologist views of history that glorify the perpetrators”.³⁵² Hansell agrees, stating that “the development of pilgrimage places for New-Nazis and Nazi nostalgists has to be prevented”.³⁵³ It has become clear that leaving Nazi sites in ruin or are closed from the public does not diminish interest but increases the “attractiveness” through an “aura of secrecy” and an “impulse to break ‘political’ taboos”.³⁵⁴ Sites such as Wewelsburg have a difficult position and task to perform as sites of memory because of the inclusion of the perpetrator aspect in their exhibits.³⁵⁵ Hansell points out that unless the entire history is preserved including the perpetrator sites, there is not a chance for proper reflection concerning the events of traumatic history.³⁵⁶ The ongoing and future loss of “contemporary witnesses” has also been intimated as a reason to preserve perpetrator sites as collective memory fades.³⁵⁷ However, the preservation and “museumification” of perpetrator sites has to be very specific in order to dispel the “creation of myths”.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁰ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 175.

³⁵¹ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 174.

³⁵² Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 174.

³⁵³ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 262.

³⁵⁴ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 262.

³⁵⁵ Pearce, “The Role of German Perpetrator Sites,” 175.

³⁵⁶ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 260.

³⁵⁷ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 261.

³⁵⁸ Hansell, “Commemorating the Past,” 263.

William F.S. Miles in his work “Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism” examines the difference between “dark” and “darker” tourism and the importance of perceived authenticity of certain sites in relation to others found to be less authentic.³⁵⁹ Miles employs the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and the museum at the former concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau as reference sites. Miles acknowledges Young’s concepts concerning authenticity but states that the term “Darker tourism” is “conceptually and linguistically preferable” to Young’s delineation of site authenticity concerning “memorials removed from the sites of destruction and sites of destruction”.³⁶⁰ Miles points out that in the memorialization of an event “there is a difference between sites associated with death, disaster, and depravity and sites of death, disaster, and depravity”.³⁶¹ He determines that this defines the difference between “dark” and “darker” tourism.

Similar to Miles, Stone also states that there is a distinction between “purposefully constructed sites, attractions or exhibitions, that interpret or recreate events or acts associated with death and the macabre and so-called ‘accidental’ or non-purposeful sites”.³⁶² Miles further points out that museums that memorialize the Holocaust such as the Washington museum can be viewed as sites of “dark” tourism that are “purposefully” associated with “death, disaster and depravity”.³⁶³ Sites such as the Auschwitz-Birkenau site which is placed on the actual physical site on which the “death,

³⁵⁹ William F. S. Miles, “Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, 4 (2002): 1175-1178, 1175.

³⁶⁰ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1175.

³⁶¹ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1175.

³⁶² Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 148.

³⁶³ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 148.

disaster and depravity” actually occurred has greater authenticity compared to other Holocaust museums even if the Auschwitz-Birkenau site does not share in the same level of “technological sophistication”.³⁶⁴ Stone concurs stating that the argument concerning what is “real” and/or “authentic” and “inauthentic” in heritage management is often distorted as the “commercial orientation” and “tendency” to sentimentalize sites often delegitimizes their authenticity.³⁶⁵

Miles also discusses the use of a “space-time framework” when examining the “dark-darker tourism paradigm”.³⁶⁶ How recent an event has occurred also plays a part in its memorialization, however, this can also prove to be detrimental to the continuing remembrance of the event.³⁶⁷ Stone also concurs with Miles pointing out that “recent death and tragic events that may be transported in live memory through survivors or witnesses” are perceived as “darker” events.³⁶⁸ He further maintains that it is validation by the living that “evokes a greater sense of empathy” and therefore adds to the darkness of the site.³⁶⁹ When examining memorialization of the Holocaust, it is clear that the memorial must “convert the memorial thing into a live memory”.³⁷⁰ This can prove to be a challenge for sites of “dark” tourism in comparison to sites of “darker” tourism. “Darker” tourism has a “critical spatial advantage” creating a site of “unparalleled emotion” that outweighs any other memorialization.³⁷¹

³⁶⁴ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1175.

³⁶⁵ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 150.

³⁶⁶ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1175.

³⁶⁷ Ashworth, “The Memorialization of Violence,” 234.

³⁶⁸ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 152.

³⁶⁹ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 152.

³⁷⁰ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1176.

³⁷¹ Miles, “Auschwitz,” 1176.

Violent or traumatic memorialization is the basis of G.J. Ashworth's work "The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage".³⁷² Ashworth examines the "heritage of violence" and where it is positioned within conventional heritage management strategies.³⁷³ He states that violent events from the past have been memorialized; these include "wars, natural and man-made disasters and accidents, atrocities, violent crimes and violence-dependent sports and entertainments".³⁷⁴ The question concerning the reasoning behind the memorialization of violent or traumatic events can be connected to both social and political strategies of creating a national "identity".³⁷⁵ Similar to Young's work concerning the Holocaust memorial, Ashworth finds that this can be partially explained as a strategy of creating "social group cohesion", the afflicted group is often strengthened through the memorialization of shared trauma.³⁷⁶

The connection between violent or traumatic past events and tourism is also important in understanding the memorialization of violence or trauma. Ashworth points out that sites associated with violence can "generate two opposite forms of tourism".³⁷⁷ He defines "victim tourism" as a form of heritage memorial from which the visitor can identify with the victims of a violent event and, through this shared sense, creates "grudge" or "revenge tourism".³⁷⁸ Ashworth identifies three major historical events that have been used in various ways to support tourism; they include the Atlantic slave trade

³⁷² G. J. Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds., Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 213-244, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 232.

³⁷³ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 232.

³⁷⁴ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 232.

³⁷⁵ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 232.

³⁷⁶ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 232.

³⁷⁷ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 234.

³⁷⁸ Ashworth, "The Memorialization of Violence," 234.

of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Holocaust and the apartheid policies that imposed racial discrimination in South Africa.³⁷⁹ The selection of a violent or traumatic event for memorialization is also reliant on a number of factors. These can include the “nature of the event” which can include “scale and uniqueness”, the level of identification that viewers can engage in the event, and how easily the event can be marketed to the visitor; are all aspects that play an important role in the choice to memorialize a violent or traumatic site.³⁸⁰

Friederike Johnigk’s work “Online Presentation of Uncomfortable Heritage Sites: Between Interpretation & Marketing” discusses the ethical problems that occur when discussing the online marketing of an “uncomfortable site” such as Auschwitz-Birkenau.³⁸¹ He states that the commercialization of a site that is “associated with pain and suffering is....a difficult and challenging undertaking”.³⁸² Johnigk states that the “emergence of web pages and the World Wide Web...has led to another level of display”.³⁸³ He finds in the study of concentration camp sites that it is often felt that language cannot properly convey the trauma and “horrors” of the camps and sites often employ visual representations in combination with a brief background.³⁸⁴ Johnigk finds that the increasing move towards placing “uncomfortable” sites on the internet has broadened access to information about the site and also allowed for a much wider (if not

³⁷⁹ Ashworth, “The Memorialization of Violence,” 234.

³⁸⁰ Ashworth, “The Memorialization of Violence,” 234.

³⁸¹ Friederike Johnigk, “Online Presentation of Uncomfortable Heritage Sites: Between Interpretation & Marketing” in” in *A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism*, eds. Sam Merrill and Leo Schmidt, 196-215 (Department of Architectural Conservation at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus, 2009).

³⁸² Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 196.

³⁸³ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 196.

³⁸⁴ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 196.

global) marketing and distribution of the memory/memorial.³⁸⁵ Using this new virtual dimension, it is possible to influence the perception of the viewer and create a high “ideological and political influence”.³⁸⁶ When discussing the difference between the “authentic” or “direct” sites of trauma such Auschwitz-Birkenau and Dachau websites and the “indirect” sites such as Holocaust memorial websites , Johnigk found various similarities and differences in how each site is represented on the websites.³⁸⁷ With the concentration camp sites, the websites are minimal, use black and white photography, and provide historical timeline and access to a donation section.³⁸⁸ With memorial websites that showcase museums or memorials that are not physically connected to the site there is a difference in the seriousness of memory. For example, Johnigk states that the Killing Fields Memorial in Cambodia website mixes the traumatic event with an attempt to teach culture and is subtler in its use of “music and sparkling letters”.³⁸⁹ The website of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin is quite different from the Holocaust concentration camps including a large section that is dedicated to the museum shop that offers products such as DVDs, postcards and publications.³⁹⁰ Johnigk concludes stating that although many of the websites that he analysed were similar in attempting to educate and commercialize the traumatic memorials, they shared a definite emotional gap and “leaves out...the relation of the object and space which might create a specific

³⁸⁵ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 202.

³⁸⁶ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 203.

³⁸⁷ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 203.

³⁸⁸ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 203.

³⁸⁹ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 205.

³⁹⁰ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 205.

atmosphere”.³⁹¹ Similar to the penal museum, the viewer is separated from the actual emotion or aura of the site and can indulge in a slightly abstract, “haunted” experience.

1.3.3.2 Dark Tourism

The concept of “dark” or ‘thana’ tourism is more focused than “victim”, “grudge” or “revenge” tourism.³⁹² Philip R. Stone’s work “A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions and Exhibitions” analyses the terms “dark” tourism and “thanatourism”.³⁹³ He defines the concept as “the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering, and the seemingly macabre”.³⁹⁴ The concept of “dark” tourism has created and gained a significant amount of research; however, Stone maintains that the concept remains “theoretically fragile”.³⁹⁵ Stone points out that although it is difficult to determine whether there are “identifiable degrees” of darkness, he finds that some sites are “darker” than others.³⁹⁶ He finds that “dark” tourism is not a novel concept but has been a “thanatopic tradition” and can be connected to historic examples such as the practice of Christian “pilgrimage”, “patronage of Roman gladiatorial games and “public executions of the medieval period up to the nineteenth century”.³⁹⁷ However, “dark” tourism has evolved in the twentieth century largely due to “war-related attractions” connected with “death and suffering”.³⁹⁸ Travel to a site of “dark” tourism is part of the tourist experience. Stone defines five types of “dark

³⁹¹ Johnigk, “Online Presentation,” 213.

³⁹² Ashworth, “The Memorialization of Violence,” 234.

³⁹³ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 146.

³⁹⁴ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 146.

³⁹⁵ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 146.

³⁹⁶ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 146.

³⁹⁷ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 147.

³⁹⁸ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 149.

travel”.³⁹⁹ They include travel to witness public enactments of death⁴⁰⁰, travel to sites of individual or mass death after they have occurred (such as battlefields, death camps, celebrity death sites, homes of serial killers where death occurred), travel to memorials, graveyards, cenotaphs, crypts and war memorials, travel to symbolic representations of death such as exhibitions at museums and travel for re-enactments or the simulation of death.⁴⁰¹ The intensity of a “dark” site has been defined through the use of a “dark tourism spectrum”.⁴⁰² Stone states that the products of “dark tourism” are “multifaceted” and “complex” and need to be defined in “shades”.⁴⁰³

Kevin Walby and Justin Piché in their work “The Polysemy of Punishment Memorialization: Dark Tourism and Ontario’s Penal History Museums” examines the concept of “dark tourism” using six penal museums situated in Ontario as case studies. They define the term “penal tourism” and place it in the spectrum of “dark tourism” examining how each site communicates “meaning concerning imprisonment and punishment”.⁴⁰⁴ The “dark tourism” model is easily applied to the study of penal museums, Walby and Piché state that “dark tourism” sites that have been “re-ordered” and developed into museum sites are often influenced and modified by “contested

³⁹⁹ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 149.

⁴⁰⁰ Travelling to witness a public execution is nearly impossible in this era, it still fits into the spectrum of “dark travel”. Although, we now find the concept morally and ethically unacceptable, we are not too far removed from a time when public executions were attended by unconnected bystanders.

⁴⁰¹ Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 149.

⁴⁰² Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 150.

⁴⁰³ Stone uses the development of two former penal institutions as “dark tourism” products as example of the “multiple shades of dark tourism”. He compares the former US prison of Alcatraz with the penal complex Robben Island in South Africa (which once held Nelson Mandela). Both sites have similar “design” features; they are surrounded by “political and cultural agendas”. However, Stone finds that the Alcatraz site has received a higher level of commercialization (theme park marketing) in comparison to the Robben site. However, the Robben site holds a “higher degree of political influence” and is perceived to sit on the darker end of the spectrum. Stone, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum,” 149.

⁴⁰⁴ Kevin Walby and Justin Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment Memorialization: Dark Tourism and Ontario’s Penal History Museums” *Punishment & Society* 13, 4 (2011): 451-472, 452.

interpretations”.⁴⁰⁵ The “museumification” of penal sites coincides with a rise in the commodification and commercialization creating a “social distance between the punished and the individual”. This produces a “penal spectator” who undergoes a “haunted” experience through “abstract potentialities of danger and insecurity”.⁴⁰⁶ In many “dark tourism” sites, video and audio are often combined in the exhibit in order to “intensify the tour experience...to create a sense of authenticity”.⁴⁰⁷

Walby and Piché state that penal museums are sites of memorialization and “memorialization in the context of travel and tourism hinges on the idea of authenticity”.⁴⁰⁸ Walby and Piché employ six penal museums in Ontario (Beaverton, Cobourg, Cornwall, Creemore, Kingston and Ottawa) as case studies in their examination of “dark” tourism and memorialization.⁴⁰⁹ Through their examination of the selected case studies, Walby and Piché state that tours of penal museums are designed in such a way that “offers the experience of authenticity” to visitors without the emotional “connection” to concepts of punishment.⁴¹⁰ This disconnection is amplified by dependence on “representations and souvenirs” which allows those in charge of the museums to commercialize the experience. For example, at the Federal Penitentiary Museum in Kingston, visitors are able to purchase locks and keys which allows the visitor to “insert themselves into the narrative of imprisonment and punishment”.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁵ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 452.

⁴⁰⁶ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 452.

⁴⁰⁷ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 452.

⁴⁰⁸ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 454.

⁴⁰⁹ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 456.

⁴¹⁰ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 461.

⁴¹¹ Walby and Piché, “The Polysemy of Punishment,” 461.

1.3.4 Virtual Monuments

The use of the internet in commemorating and experiencing traumatic or “uncomfortable” sites is very important in Denis Summers’ work “The Crying Post Project: A Multi-part, Multi-Media Artwork to Memorialize Global Sites of Pain”. In this work, Summers considers a multimedia project that combined the use of wooden posts with a solar-powered “cry generator” and a global positioning marker, abstract photography and an interactive internet website.⁴¹² By placing posts at locations (that he has) determined to be significant sites of human and environmental trauma, he created a website that allows a viewer/visitor to engage in a virtual experience of memorialization.⁴¹³ As part of this project, Summers installed posts in Oklahoma at many of the “trail of tears” sites that involved the eviction and forced removal of Cherokee Indian farmers, at an Australian conference site to memorialize the original Aboriginal inhabitants as well as poor irrigation practices by European settlers to the site, in France at the site of the death of Fernando Pereira who was a Greenpeace photographer who was killed during the bombing of the Greenpeace ship (Rainbow Warrior) in Auckland, New Zealand, and at a nuclear energy complex in Northwest England.⁴¹⁴ Speaking as a visual/multimedia artist, Summers created memorials that vary in their emotional and physical connection to the landscape. In the case of the “trail of tears” site, he has placed the memorial on the actual site of trauma, however, in the

⁴¹² Dennis Summers, “The Crying Post Project: A Multi-Part, Multi-Media Artwork to Memorialize Global Sites of Pain” *Leonardo* 36, 5 (2003): 381-388, 381.

⁴¹³ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 381.

⁴¹⁴ Summers has stated that he has future plans to erect posts at sites such as “Chernobyl, South Africa, Patagonia and Bhopal”. Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 381.

case of the memorial for Fernando Pereira the memorial is not placed at the site of the event but in France.

As many viewers of this artwork would be unable to physically visit the sites, there is an interactive 3D environment on the internet that marks the locations of the posts, along with images, texts and internet links connected to the content.⁴¹⁵ Summers describes an extensive interpretation concerning this project and its proposed connection to the Indigenous Australian worldview and culture, trees, and the environment. He points out that he has been greatly influenced by indigenous Australian culture as a “model for linking physical objects and disparate content over visually distinct distances”.⁴¹⁶

Similar to the nationalistic initiative to selective memorialization, the creation of an interactive map also “communicates the myths of culture, including our own”.⁴¹⁷ The use of the crying posts as markers in a 3D mapping environment creates an innovative medium of memorialization that is contrary to more traditional approaches. Summers points out that “[A]ll maps...are about relationships. In other words, they are about how one landscape—a landscape of roads, of rivers, of cities, government, sustenance, poison, the good life, of whatever—is positioned in relation to another”.⁴¹⁸ Maps have traditionally been created as a vehicle for the creator to “reproduce a pre-existing reality” and what is deliberately omitted or “left off” can be just as significant as what is

⁴¹⁵ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 382.

⁴¹⁶ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 385.

⁴¹⁷ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 386.

⁴¹⁸ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 385.

included.⁴¹⁹ He states that through this project, he has created a “map that marks sites of damage that the official maps rarely show”.⁴²⁰ Summers points out that the new map of “pain” identifies “an alternative physical and conceptual landscape” that is placed over the original.⁴²¹

1.3.5 The Keeping Place

“‘Keeping Places’ is a term for Aboriginal museums that is both descriptive and wishful”.⁴²²

The purpose of this section is to introduce the “Keeping Place” as an alternative to the traditional museum/cultural centre/archive/gallery/library site. A Keeping Place is an Australian concept for a “preservation facility” that can safeguard and restrict access to ceremonial and sacred objects. In Australia, Indigenous groups have “rejected the wholesale use of the western museum model as inappropriate”.⁴²³ For Australian Indigenous peoples, traditional knowledge is “strictly controlled and access restricted”.⁴²⁴ This is completely opposite to the traditional Western museum mandate. In a traditional museum “the more important an object, the more prominently it is displayed; it may be designated and promoted as a star item or masterpiece, a ‘must-see’ for museum visitors”.⁴²⁵ Keeping Places became the answer for this disconnect between Indigenous Australians and Western museums and academics. They began basically as places to keep

⁴¹⁹ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 386.

⁴²⁰ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 386.

⁴²¹ Summers, “The Crying Post Project,” 386.

⁴²² Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 231.

⁴²³ Moira G. Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing: Museums, Objects, and the Transmission of Knowledge in Aboriginal Australia” pp. 152 to 174 in *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*, ed. Janet Marstine, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 152.

⁴²⁴ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 155.

⁴²⁵ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 155.

sacred objects safe. As a way to preserve cultural objects, Indigenous Australians began to construct “prefabricated store houses” to preserve artefacts and ancestral remains in the 1960s.⁴²⁶ The first Keeping Places were simple locked storage facilities of tin or cement block buildings. They originated in the desert regions of Australia as a higher percentage of “traditional cultural practices” survived in comparison to the southern and eastern regions.⁴²⁷ Simpson states that communities have required safe storage areas for “restricted, sacred materials and other important objects accessible only to those with appropriate standing within the community”.⁴²⁸ In addition, they have been employed as methods to facilitate the repatriation of Indigenous ancestral remains and collaborate on research with Western institutions. Similar to the treatment of Indigenous peoples of Canada, Indigenous Australians were “systematically moved to missions and reserves where the practice of traditional ceremony was restricted or prohibited. People were denied access to ceremonial sites and associated secret, sacred and/or private objects”.⁴²⁹

1.3.5.1 The Evolution of the Keeping Place

A Keeping Place has been defined as an Aboriginal cultural centre which has the primary purpose of “keeping” culture preserved. Keeping Places also act as community centres or “living cultural centres”.⁴³⁰ Tom Griffiths has written extensively on Australian social, cultural and environmental history. His work, *Hunters and Collectors:*

⁴²⁶ Elizabeth Grant and Kelly Greenop. "Affirming and reaffirming Indigenous presence: contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community, public and institutional architecture in Australia." in *The handbook of contemporary Indigenous architecture*, 57-105. (Singapore: Springer, 2018), 59.

⁴²⁷ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 162.

⁴²⁸ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 162.

⁴²⁹ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 59.

⁴³⁰ Bruce Moore, "Australian English and indigenous voices." eds. David Blair & Peter Collins, 133-49 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2001).

The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia (1996) examines the history of collecting in Australia with a focus on the creation of the Keeping Place or Indigenous museum in Australia in the late 1970s.⁴³¹ Keeping Places became storehouses that could store sacred objects invoking “possession of the land”.⁴³² Griffiths points out that “Keeping Places are a response to loss, artefacts of discontinuity despite their name”.⁴³³ A number of different types of Keeping Places have been constructed across Australia. In many cases, Indigenous groups have employed the services of architects who have sought to create architecture “that better fits the needs of Indigenous users, to participate in the recognition of the unjust treatment of Indigenous Australians and to dignify contemporary Indigenous structures through architectural excellence”.⁴³⁴

The earliest contemporary Keeping Place constructed in Australia was a shed that was built at Twelve Mile Reserve at Port Hedland.⁴³⁵ It was created to “provid[e] accessible storage and enable the context, function and symbolism of the artefacts to be communicated to others within the community through oral traditions such as storytelling, song, dialogue and through events such as dance, rituals and ceremonies”.⁴³⁶ This early Keeping Place affirmed Indigenous Australians’ right to own and manage artefacts “outside of the context of Western-oriented museums”.⁴³⁷ Another early Keeping Place was the Yuendumu Men’s Museum in the Northern Territory in

⁴³¹ Griffiths, *Hunters*, 231.

⁴³² Griffiths, *Prehistory*, 231.

⁴³³ Griffiths, *Hunters*, 231.

⁴³⁴ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 58.

⁴³⁵ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 59.

⁴³⁶ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 59.

⁴³⁷ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 59.

1969/71.⁴³⁸ Grant and Greenop state that the Yuendumu Keeping Place was significant as it was one of the first buildings to incorporate Aboriginal cultural symbols into Western-style architecture.⁴³⁹ They argue that incorporating both Indigenous and settler aspects encourages “place-making” and encourages Indigenous place within the community.⁴⁴⁰ As well, the construction of the Keeping Place brought a number of different Indigenous groups together and the building became a “tangible symbol of the unification of Aboriginal groups” who may have lost previous connections or who may have been enemies in the past.⁴⁴¹ E. Grant and K. Greenop state that the keeping house/place can be a project that is created to “preserve and maintain sacred/secret/private objects”, and become a venue for cultural practices but also “became a medium to increase social cohesion”.⁴⁴² As Aboriginal owned and managed, Keeping Places became more popular in the late 1970s so that the Australian government gave funding to a number of projects including the Ngaruwanajirri Arts Centre and the Bangarang Cultural Centre. However, funded projects have positive and negative aspects. Among the negative outcomes of funded Keeping Places is that the need to address different interests can cause the Keeping Place to “appear as generalized memorials, emphasizing the traditional past, using dioramas” and underplaying historical and contemporary Indigenous treatment and concerns.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁸ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 60.

⁴³⁹ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 60.

⁴⁴⁰ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 60.

⁴⁴¹ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 60.

⁴⁴² Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 60.

⁴⁴³ Griffiths, *Hunters*, 231.

The Shepparton Keeping Place (also known as the Bangarang Cultural Centre) was the first funded Aboriginal Keeping Place to be developed and managed by an Indigenous community in Australia. The coining of the term Keeping Place has been attributed to John “Sandy” Atkinson (a Bangarang Elder) who adapted the term in the 1970s as a way of avoiding the term “museum”.⁴⁴⁴ A “keeper” was traditionally an Indigenous elder who “cared for his clan’s sacred objects”.⁴⁴⁵ Atkinson was instrumental in the construction of the Bangarang Cultural Centre managing the wishes of ten clan groups from the Shepparton region. Developed and managed by the local Aboriginal community, under the leadership of Atkinson, the centre aimed to increase awareness and understanding of the Indigenous culture of the region. The building has special significance as it has a unique form that was created through the collaboration of the Indigenous groups and the architects.⁴⁴⁶ The plan of the building was designed to be octagonal with a pyramidal roof and surrounding verandah.⁴⁴⁷ The verandah roof is formed by the continuation of the main roof and is supported on a colonnade of 24 timber poles on a circular concrete base. The interior of the building has two levels: the ground floor and the mezzanine level. The displays are located on the outer wall. The dioramas were created by George Browning over a two-year period beginning in early 1981 and completed in February 1983. The titles of the dioramas, beginning in a clockwise

⁴⁴⁴ John “Sandy” Atkinson (known as Uncle Sandy) was a Bangarang Elder and leader in Aboriginal affairs in Victoria, Australia. He was an influential figure in Australian Indigenous affairs and was committed to the protection of Indigenous culture. While chairing the Shepparton Aboriginal Art Council, Atkinson campaigned and helped design the first Aboriginal museum or “Keeping Place” in Australia (known as the Bangarang Cultural Centre). The “Keeping Place” housed important artefacts and art. Griffiths, *Hunters*, 231.

⁴⁴⁵ Tom Griffiths, *Prehistory to politics: John Mulvaney, the humanities and the public intellectual*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 231.

⁴⁴⁶ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 61.

⁴⁴⁷ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 61.

direction from the entrance, are: ‘Bogong Moth Feast’, Riverina Economy”, Mount William Technology’ and ‘Corroboree’. The centre also houses an important collection of artefacts and artworks from Aboriginal communities across Australia, while focusing on local communities of the Murray and Goulburn Valleys.

Another notable Keeping Place was constructed on Kurna Land in Adelaide, South Australia, known as the Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute (est.1989).⁴⁴⁸ Architect Steve Grieve transformed a former power station into a cultural centre. The centre includes three different sections, they include a retail space with a shop, café and gallery, an exhibition space and a space for artists workshops and a theatre.⁴⁴⁹ This was considered to be a unique project for the time as it attempted to represent all Australian Indigenous peoples and included Aboriginal people on the design team.⁴⁵⁰ The Brambuk Living Cultural Centre in Halls Gap in Victoria is considered to be the “most recognisable ‘Aboriginal’ building” in Australia. Located near the Grampian/Gariwerd Mountain range, it is managed and staffed mainly by Aboriginal people from the region. Ceridwen Spark states that “its location, displays and cultural tours represent an attempt to demonstrate” that Gariwerd and Victoria are Aboriginal places. Designed by Gregory Burgess in 1989, it is described as being one of the first “contemporary buildings in Australia where Aboriginal identity was embedded into the design process and expressed through the built design”.⁴⁵¹ Ceridwen Spark examined the centre in his work "Brambuk living cultural centre: Indigenous culture and the production

⁴⁴⁸ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 62.

⁴⁴⁹ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 62.

⁴⁵⁰ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 62.

⁴⁵¹ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 63.

of place." He states that the centre is managed and run by a body that represents five Aboriginal groups from the region. However, they do not own the site as it is owned by the state. Although many of its members have stated that they "feel ownership", the government has interfered with cultural programming.⁴⁵² This interference is directly connected to "economic benefits" over Indigenous interests.⁴⁵³ Government pressure is also connected to the change of display from the "Journey Through Time" display and the "Dreaming Theatre."⁴⁵⁴ Spark states that the government has expressed a viewpoint: they stated that "we think that we can't be confronting things that confront them as citizens we should be funding things that appeal to 'em and make 'em feel good".⁴⁵⁵ The repression of Indigenous memory and colonial violence is "counterproductive—to the representation of Aboriginal people in the cultural domain".⁴⁵⁶

1.3.5.2 Keeping Places and the preservation of human remains.

The repatriation of Indigenous artefacts is an essential part of maintaining Indigenous community identities.⁴⁵⁷ The return of cultural material and ancestral remains to Indigenous communities has increased the need for Keeping Places across Australia.⁴⁵⁸ Keeping Places became connected with the long history of negative feelings between Western academia and Indigenous peoples across Australia. Since the 1970s, Indigenous people across the globe have "begun to influence the disposition of items of their own

⁴⁵² Ceridwen Spark, "Brambuk living cultural centre: Indigenous culture and the production of place." *Tourist studies* 2, 1 (2002): 23-42, 38.

⁴⁵³ Spark, "Brambuk," 38.

⁴⁵⁴ Spark, "Brambuk," 38.

⁴⁵⁵ Spark, "Brambuk," 38.

⁴⁵⁶ Spark, "Brambuk," 38.

⁴⁵⁸ Simpson, "Revealing and Concealing," 167.

heritage”.⁴⁵⁹ This is especially evident in challenges made against the work of archaeologists and anthropologists who often discover, and study Indigenous human remains. Contrary to Indigenous ideas of preservation and leaving ancestral remains on site, the prevailing view of many Western academics is to take them, keep them, preserve and study them. John Mulvaney brought the term Keeping Place into the mainstream as a method to prevent future incidents like the Kow Swamp from occurring again.⁴⁶⁰ The terminology was coined as a way to “bridge” the issue of repatriation and storage of sacred artefacts and human remains.⁴⁶¹ He stated that “the prudent compromise over Kow Swamps, which kept future options open, and did not place the burden of reaching a final solution upon a small community, would have been to place them in a ritual center under absolute community custodianship”.⁴⁶² His concept of a Keeping Place was a space that could hold “precious, sensitive and living stores”.⁴⁶³ Simpson states that many Australian museums have also “adopted the notion of the restricted Keeping Place, where sacred materials still held at the request of traditional owners or because the appropriate custodians have not yet been identified or cannot be identified due to lack of documentation.”⁴⁶⁴

In the early 1980s, John Mulvaney began to use the term Keeping Place as a “distinct site of memory” after the disposal of the Kow Swamp Pleistocene burials by the

⁴⁵⁹ Sandra Bowdler, "Unquiet slumbers: the return of the Kow Swamp burials." *Antiquity* 66, 250 (1992): 103-106, 103.

⁴⁶⁰ Bordo, *The Keeping Place*, 174.

⁴⁶¹ Bordo, "The Keeping Place," 174.

⁴⁶² Bordo, "The Keeping Place," 174.

⁴⁶³ Bordo, "The Keeping Place," 174.

⁴⁶⁴ Simpson, "Revealing and Concealing," 167.

Echuca people.⁴⁶⁵ The remains were discovered by canal diggers near an irrigation reservoir called Kow Swamp. First excavated by Alan Thorne beginning in 1968, he discovered the remains of over forty people. They had been buried in shallow graves and the bones were greatly affected by the presence of groundwater. They were dated to approximately between 13,000 and 9,500 years old from the terminal Pleistocene to the Early Holocene.⁴⁶⁶ In 1990, the Museum of Victoria unconditionally returned the remains to the Echuca people. It was thought that the museum and the Echuca would care for the remains in a “joint custodianship where preservation could coexist alongside and in support of ritual curatorship by local indigenous people who claimed these remains to be theirs”.⁴⁶⁷ The end result was not expected by the museum. The Echuca responded and dumped the returned remains in the river criticizing the archaeologists for desecrating a burial ground.⁴⁶⁸ Mulvaney, devastated by the destruction of any ancient human remains, stated it was an intellectual and historical loss for all humans.

However, other interpretations exist about this event. In his paper, “Past regained, future lost: the Kow Swamp Pleistocene burials” Mulvaney expressed his frustration with the leaders of the Echuca people describing them as “radical Aboriginal leaders” and having replaced “white violence and repression with black intellectual totalitarianism”.⁴⁶⁹ He acknowledged the fact that the treatment of Indigenous peoples has been “shameful” but alludes that it was a thing of the past.⁴⁷⁰ This is far from the truth for many

⁴⁶⁵ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174.

⁴⁶⁶ Derek John Mulvaney and Kamminga, Johan.. *The prehistory of Australia*. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 157.

⁴⁶⁷ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 171.

⁴⁶⁸ Bordo, “The Keeping Place,” 174.

⁴⁶⁹ Mulvaney, “Past regained,” 12.

⁴⁷⁰ Mulvaney, “Past regained,” 12.

Indigenous people in Australia, Canada and in other parts of the world. Sandra Bowdler in her paper “Unquiet slumbers: the return of the Kow Swamp burials” states that in many cases “Aboriginal people claim...that white Academics continue to dominate them with an assertion of superior knowledge”.⁴⁷¹ It also comes down to an issue of viewpoints. For Mulvaney, the idea of the destruction or reburial of human remains that could contribute to academic or scientific study was a travesty. He was a trained archaeologist; his mission would always be to preserve and to study. However, at what cost? For the people from Echuca, it was a different story all together. They regarded the Kow Swamp people “as being deceased members of their community and saw continued scientific study of them as insensitive and inappropriate”.⁴⁷²

This disconnect between Western and Indigenous ideas concerning ancestors and ancient remains has appeared in other cases as well. The Willandra Lakes World Heritage area in South East Australia contains the remains of thirteen fossil lakes. A large number of fossilized human remains have been discovered in the region including the infamous Lake Mungo remains. The remains found at this site include Lake Mungo 1 (Mungo Woman), Lake Mungo 2 and Lake Mungo 3 (Mungo Man). Mungo Man was identified by Thorne and Jim Bowler as a male who had been buried “with a level of ritual significance never before imagined, let alone encountered in any record of Australia’s ancient occupancy”.⁴⁷³ The remains became internationally known after they were dated as being 41,000 years old. They were removed from the site and preserved for further

⁴⁷¹ Bowdler, “Unquiet,” 103.

⁴⁷² Bowdler, “Unquiet,” 103.

⁴⁷³ Jim Bowler, “Mungo Man is a physical reminder of the need for Indigenous recognition” [www.the guardian.com, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/25/mungo-man-physical-reminder-need-for-indigenous-recognition?CMP=share_btn_link](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/25/mungo-man-physical-reminder-need-for-indigenous-recognition?CMP=share_btn_link), Retrieved January 20, 2020.

examination. The academic community “celebrated these new contributions to Australia’s antiquity with special emphasis on their cultural significance”.⁴⁷⁴ Many members of the Three Traditional Tribal Groups including Paakantji, Ngyiampaa and Mutthi peoples have stated that “the collection holds much information about their past”.⁴⁷⁵

It was not until 1989 when “scientists and local Indigenous people agreed to mutual sharing of research agendas, ensuring priority employment for local Aboriginal people whenever possible”.⁴⁷⁶ Mungo Woman’s remains were returned to their people while Mungo Man remained in a laboratory at the Australian National University in Canberra. The return of Mungo Man has been requested for over 40 years and it was proposed that a Keeping Place could be created to hold his remains and “all skeletal remains removed from the world heritage area”.⁴⁷⁷ In November of 2017, Mungo Man was returned to Mungo National Park. Michael C. Westaway addressed the concern over a lack of Mungo Lake Keeping Place in his work “The Pleistocene Human Remains Collection from the Willandra Lakes World Heritage Area, Australia, and Its Role in Understanding Modern Human Origins”.⁴⁷⁸ Reburial has long become a debate between Indigenous groups and biological anthropologists/archaeologists. Erosion is an ongoing issue for the Mungo region and more remains are being naturally exposed every year. In many cases, reburial is impossible as the original burial locations are often lost due to

⁴⁷⁴ Bowler, “Mungo Man,”.

⁴⁷⁵ Michael C. Westaway, "The Pleistocene human remains collection from the Willandra Lakes World Heritage Area, Australia, and its role in understanding modern human origins." *National Science Museum Monographs*, 34 (2006): 127-138, 133.

⁴⁷⁶ Bowler, “Mungo Man,”.

⁴⁷⁷ Bowler, “Mungo Man,”.

⁴⁷⁸ Westaway, "The Pleistocene,"133.

erosion.⁴⁷⁹ Although there has been a history of positive communication between the academic community and Indigenous groups, there is still “anxiety between the groups”.⁴⁸⁰ In April 2017, several repatriation forums were held between members of the Three Traditional Tribal Groups as well as representatives from the Australian National University, National Museum of Australia, and the Office of Environment and Heritage. This set of forums was created to provide an opportunity for “Traditional Owners to arrive at a final decision on their preferred option for the repatriation of Willandra ancestral remains including options for reburial and the creation of a number of different types of Keeping Places.”⁴⁸¹ Westaway describes a Keeping Place as “a collection management facility, or perhaps more accurately, a repository for collections (that may or may not contain human skeletal remains)”.⁴⁸² The function(s) of a Keeping Place can vary. Some Keeping Places are dedicated to the preservation of human remains, others to the preservation of Indigenous culture and art and others may play a role in ongoing research.⁴⁸³ At Willandra, Australian architect Dr Gregory Burgess was selected to develop a Keeping Place within the Willandra Lakes World Heritage Area. Burgess’s design includes a subterranean structure “that will operate as an archive, meeting space, collection facility and laboratory space”.⁴⁸⁴ This site will be managed by the members of the Three Traditional Tribal Groups with assistance from academics including members of the National Museum of Australia.

⁴⁷⁹ Westaway, “The Pleistocene,” 133.

⁴⁸⁰ Westaway, “The Pleistocene,” 134.

⁴⁸¹ Michael Williams, “Key Outcomes Report of a 3rd Willandra Repatriation Forum held at Inland Botanic Gardens, Buronga on 5 April 2017” *Office of Environment & Heritage*, (2017): 1-55.

⁴⁸² Westaway, “The Pleistocene,” 134.

⁴⁸³ Westaway, “The Pleistocene,” 135.

⁴⁸⁴ Westaway, “The Pleistocene,” 135.

Since the 1960s, “the aims, design and nature of facilities of Australian Indigenous keeping houses and cultural centres” have evolved and changed. Beginning with the “humble” construction of small tin sheds in the 1960s (designed only to hold artefacts in safe keeping), it has shifted to the large contemporary Keeping Places that perform a number of different functions including the incorporation of “galleries, interpretative displays, theatres, artist workshop areas, community meeting and administrative areas” as well as commercial and retail spaces such as cafes and gift stores.⁴⁸⁵ The Keeping Place has evolved into a place that once was primarily designed for Indigenous people to a place where settler peoples can interact and be educated about Indigenous history and culture.⁴⁸⁶

1.3.5.3 The Virtual Keeping Place

Keeping Places may have started as simple storage facilities; however, some have grown into digital data storage places. This allows control to anyone who accesses the information and allows remote retrieval.⁴⁸⁷ Simpson states that the Keeping Place is being not only a physical store house but also as a “complex multimedia storage and retrieval system that operates in real and virtual worlds”.⁴⁸⁸ This also allows Indigenous communities to control access and to also share Indigenous knowledge with others. In many cases, artefacts, oral history and other materials can be copied and placed in virtual reality while allowing the community to preserve the original information. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) is one of the largest

⁴⁸⁵ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 73.

⁴⁸⁶ Grant and Greenop, “Affirming,” 73.

⁴⁸⁷ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 168.

⁴⁸⁸ Simpson, “Revealing and Concealing,” 168.

virtual Keeping Places. It contains an extensive research collection relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander materials. Its collections include moving image, recorded sound and photographic materials as well as text and artefacts.⁴⁸⁹ The material in the collection is “irreplaceable and provides an invaluable link between past, present and future generations of indigenous and non-indigenous Australians”.⁴⁹⁰ The institute delivers a number of services. First, it is a national Indigenous knowledge centre and archive. It provides data backup, access to other collections, research aide as well as access from remote communities. It also engages with the Indigenous community through physical visits, provision of copies for Indigenous Keeping Places and individual indigenous researchers.⁴⁹¹ Some issues remain including government policy concerning the approach to access and return of Indigenous cultural heritage.⁴⁹²

1.3.6 Canadian Indigenous Memorials and Museums: A Tourist Experience?

Considering what “constitutes a contrived versus an authentic experience” plays an important role in Indigenous Canadian tourism. The “authentic” tourist experience has long associated itself among the “heritage sites” of Indigenous peoples who have along with “peasant”, “ethnic” and rural groups persisted in claiming “authentic” cultures in comparison to the “inauthentic” urban or industrialized areas.⁴⁹³ Valda Blundell in her

⁴⁸⁹ The AIATSIS contains approximately 45,000 hours of recorded sound, 650,000 photographic images, 6,000 video titles, 1,000 artefacts and approximately 6.5 million feet of motion picture film. Rod Stroud, "Hunter-gathering in the Digital World to Build a Keeping Place for the Future." *The Electronic Library* (2009).

⁴⁹⁰ Stroud, “Hunter-gathering,” 858.

⁴⁹¹ Stroud, “Hunter-gathering,” 859.

⁴⁹² Stroud, “Hunter-gathering,” 859.

⁴⁹³ Valda Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Canada" in *Slippery Pastimes: Reading the Popular in Canadian Culture*, eds., Jeanette Sloniowski and Joan D. Nicks, 37-60, (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2002), 39.

work “Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Canada” focuses on the “widespread promotion of aboriginal forms for tourism” and analyses how “First Peoples are themselves involved in tourism”.⁴⁹⁴ She states that since the 1980s, effort has been made to connect Indigenous cultures to strategies of tourism.⁴⁹⁵ However, this has been affected by an ongoing struggle of First Nations to “sustain their own cultures and transform their relations with(in) the Canadian state.”⁴⁹⁶ In the 1990s, the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association was created to stimulate “Aboriginal tourism” using strategies that are “consistent with First Peoples’ values and aspirations”.⁴⁹⁷ This includes the long standing conflict that surrounds issues of repatriation and with the popular placement of “First Peoples in the past...but exclude them from Canada’s ongoing history”.⁴⁹⁸ However, First Nations people have become interested in working out economic projects that involve tourism as a means of development and to gain a forum from which to “present their cultures to tourists” avoiding stereotypes and colonial attitudes.⁴⁹⁹ Blundell examines four different types of “attractions” for Indigenous tourism, they include “fixed sites”, “commercial arts and crafts outlets”, “events” and “tours and live-in experiences”⁵⁰⁰.

Fixed sites include exhibits at national, provincial and local museums, art galleries, towns and villages, “historic and prehistoric sites”, parks, memorials and monuments, commercial theme parks as well as “cultural, heritage and education centres”

⁴⁹⁴ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 37.

⁴⁹⁵ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 41.

⁴⁹⁶ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 41.

⁴⁹⁷ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 41.

⁴⁹⁸ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 41.

⁴⁹⁹ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 42.

⁵⁰⁰ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 42-44.

that are run both by Indigenous and settler peoples.⁵⁰¹ The “Commercial Arts and Crafts Outlets” consists of “commercial arts, crafts and souvenir outlets”, these are usually small stores owned and operated by Indigenous peoples either independently or in conjunction with First Nations reserves or cultural centres. There is a problem of inauthenticity in this section as some outlets are not run by Indigenous owners and sell art that claims to be authentic but are “inexpensive mass-produced souvenirs”.⁵⁰² The third type includes “events” that occur on specific dates including powwows, festivals, fairs, stampedes and performances by First Nations peoples.⁵⁰³ The last type includes “tours and live-in experiences” such as “self-guiding tours taken by private automobile, bus tours and a range of other offerings provided by aboriginal and non-aboriginal operators”.⁵⁰⁴ Blundell points out that “not all tourist attractions depict the past” however, the examples that do reproduce “tendentious” ideas about Indigenous peoples are often clouded by the questioning of authenticity, the disconnection of Indigenous peoples from the present and future, “heritage fantasies” that prevent “critical understandings of the past”.⁵⁰⁵

Another work that examines the role of museums in the representation of Indigenous peoples in Canada is Stephanie Bolton’s “Museums Taken to Task: Representing First Peoples at the McCord Museum of Canadian History”.⁵⁰⁶ She considers the creation and influence of the nationwide “Task Force on Museums and First

⁵⁰¹ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 43.

⁵⁰² Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 43.

⁵⁰³ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 44.

⁵⁰⁴ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 44.

⁵⁰⁵ Blundell, "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism," 55.

⁵⁰⁶ Stephanie Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task: Representing First Peoples at the McCord Museum of Canadian History” in *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada*, ed., A. M. Timpson, 145-169 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

Peoples” (1990) in Canada on the problem of “unequal social representation in museums”.⁵⁰⁷ Bolton employs the McCord Museum of Canadian History as a case study to examine the impact of the task force on Indigenous exhibitions in Canadian museums.⁵⁰⁸ She states that “public memory” is “created and operates to unite (or divide) society and to form images that, through repetition, attain the value of truth, even if they deviate from fact”.⁵⁰⁹ Indigenous collections in Canadian museums were often the “central elements” but the message that was relayed to the viewer “appropriated and distorted the past, often exploiting Aboriginal symbols, art and culture”.⁵¹⁰ The ongoing problem that is occurring in Canadian museums is there is a continued interest in preserving the past but is often accompanied by the unintentional maintenance of stereotypes.⁵¹¹ This is apparent in the ‘selection policies’ of many museums as attached historical meaning or availability of artefacts presents a distorted or incomplete account of the past.⁵¹² Bolton points out that the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples was conceived as a tool to pinpoint strategies that would aid institutions in the resolution of “deeply ingrained differences between cultural institutions and Aboriginal communities”.⁵¹³

The case study of the McCord Museum provides an interesting example of a museum that, subsequent to the task force, re-evaluated its practices and after closing for major renovations in 1989 reinvented their “interpretation of Aboriginal cultures and

⁵⁰⁷ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 146.

⁵⁰⁸ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 146.

⁵⁰⁹ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 146.

⁵¹⁰ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 146.

⁵¹¹ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 147.

⁵¹² Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 147.

⁵¹³ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 149.

histories”.⁵¹⁴ After reopening in 1992, the McCord Museum has made a notable change in how it deals with Indigenous histories focusing on “different Aboriginal groups”, attempting to generate a “dialogue with Native people” and ensuring that their exhibits “link the past to the present and acknowledge the ongoing vitality of Native cultures”.⁵¹⁵ Although the task force made great strides in the instruction of museums in Indigenous collections, Bolton states that funding remains the essential problem in the continuing success of Indigenous initiatives to create museum spaces that are culturally appropriate including the lack of funding to hire more Indigenous people to work in museums.⁵¹⁶

1.3.6.1 Canadian Indian Residential School Memorialisation: Indigenous & Settler Memory

Christina Hovey’s work “Planning for the Memorialisation of the Indian Residential School System: A Case Study of the Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario” creates a discourse concerning the process of memorialisation around the Indian Residential School System in Canada.⁵¹⁷ She presents two previous memorialisation case studies in her work including the “transformation and memorialisation of the Mohawk Institute, a former residential school, into the Woodland Cultural Centre, a First Nations-run centre located in Brantford, Ontario” with the “national Commemoration fund, set out in the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement” in 2006.⁵¹⁸ Hovey employs the concept of “transitional justice” defining it as an “overt engagement with a

⁵¹⁴ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 156.

⁵¹⁵ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 156.

⁵¹⁶ Bolton, “Museums Taken to Task,” 151.

⁵¹⁷ Christina Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation of the Indian Residential School System: A Case Study of the Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario." M.A. Thesis, Queen’s University, 2012.

⁵¹⁸ Hovey, “Planning for the Memorialisation,” ii.

major political transformation" as well as considering the historical context and continuing effects of colonialism on Aboriginal communities.⁵¹⁹ She states that many of the challenges that continue to plague the various memorialisation projects that have been proposed include the appropriation of survivors' accounts, funding issues and unrealistic timelines concerning the "commitments of memorialisation" that do not "allow for the longer-term evolution".⁵²⁰ Another consideration includes examining the "trends in the current uses and ultimate fates of other residential schools".⁵²¹ In many cases (including the school at Fort Albany, Ontario) schools were burned and Hovey states that it would be a worthwhile project to discover if the "destruction of the schools created a lasting sense of catharsis" for the survivors, surrounding communities and individuals who participated in the act.⁵²² The application of "heritage designation" has also been questioned as well as the ability of professional planners to "decolonize" their methods and practices and "establish just relations".⁵²³

Ruth B. Philips work "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Re-membering Canadian Art History" focuses on the types of "negotiations that surround monuments belonging to settler societies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa".⁵²⁴ Philips states that "[A] monument is a deposit of the historical possession of power".⁵²⁵ Monuments can be used as agents of the "particular historical

⁵¹⁹ Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation," 23.

⁵²⁰ Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation," 100.

⁵²¹ Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation," 101..

⁵²² Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation," 101..

⁵²³ Hovey, "Planning for the Memorialisation," 102.

⁵²⁴ Ruth B. Philips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Re-membering Canadian Art History" in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds., Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, 281-304 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 281.

⁵²⁵ Philips, "Settler Monuments," 281.

will” of memory but “cannot maintain that memory in a stable form”.⁵²⁶ She examines the work of two artistic projects undertaken by Aboriginal Canadian artists that attempt to “intervene in settler constructions of monument and memory”.⁵²⁷ According to Philips the work of painter Robert Houle and photographer Jeffrey Thomas strive toward revising the dominant “historical discourse” that has obliterated indigenous memory from the historical consciousness of Canada. Secondly, they seek to address placing themselves as artists within the art history canon that has long labelled Indigenous artists as “primitive” and placed “outside modernism”.⁵²⁸

As previously discussed in this section, the monument has long been an “integral part of the settler nation’s self-construction”.⁵²⁹ This has raised concern about the place of Aboriginal memory within the national consciousness. Both Houle’s and Thomas’s works are linked not through similar mediums but by “common critical and political purposes” to create a discourse that modifies the viewer’s “angle of vision on official settler monuments”.⁵³⁰ Philips critiques Nora stating that his work “denominates a binary” that “colonizes discourse, limiting the terms in which the past of many non-Western peoples can be discussed”.⁵³¹ She states that the works of both Houle and Thomas “break the shackles of history” and attempt to recover alternate ideas of memory that only exist in “fragmentary forms within the modern world”.⁵³²

⁵²⁶ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 281.

⁵²⁷ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 282.

⁵²⁸ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 282.

⁵²⁹ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 282.

⁵³⁰ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 298.

⁵³¹ Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 298.

⁵³² Philips, “Settler Monuments,” 298.

To conclude, this literature review has laid the foundation to better understand the historiography of memory studies across the globe. It is clear that alternative methods of memorializing traumatic memory such as the counter-monument have become more acceptable throughout the 20th century and have become ingrained in the theoretical foundation for memorialization efforts of the 21st. It seems that era of the traditional museum has waned and there has been a shift from traditional memory practices to a greater emphasis on “living memory” and shared collective histories that include previously ignored or marginalized narratives and histories. The following chapter focuses on a number of artefacts or “fragments” of the colonial history of the Fort Qu’Appelle Valley region and will perform an analysis of particular artefacts as “moments” in the historical timeline of the region. The analysis of those moments facilitates the exploration and identification of the rise of imperialistic theory, assimilative policies and by what means they became engrained in Canadian national collective memory.

Chapter 2: The Qu'Appelle Valley: A Métissage Palimpsest

“The history of Indian-white relations has not usually produced complex stories. Indians are the rock, European peoples are the sea, and history seems a constant storm. There have been two outcomes: The sea wears down and dissolves the rock; or the sea erodes the rock but cannot finally absorb its battered remnant, which endures”.⁵³³

“the colonial world is a world cut in two”.⁵³⁴

“Columbus changed forever the history of the planet. But he did so by connecting two worlds of equal maturity, not by ‘discovering’ a new one.”⁵³⁵

Where do we find the story of Canada? What is the story of Canada? For some, the focus lies on heroic conquest, the endurance of settler peoples as they learned to survive in an unforgiving landscape. For others, it is a tale of sorrow, of loss, of indifference and an ongoing saga of Indigenous perseverance. As Richard White stated in his seminal work “The Middle Ground: Indians, empires and republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815”, the early relationships between Indigenous and settler peoples did not begin with acculturation but rather accommodation.⁵³⁶ He states that acculturation “describes a process in which one group becomes more like another by borrowing discrete cultural traits...under conditions in which the dominant group is largely able to dictate correct behaviour to a subordinate group”.⁵³⁷ White states that accommodation

⁵³³ Richard White, *The middle ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), XXV.

⁵³⁴ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 38.

⁵³⁵ Colin G. Calloway, *New worlds for all: Indians, Europeans, and the remaking of early America*. (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1998), 10.

⁵³⁶ White, “The Middle Ground” XXVI

⁵³⁷ White, “The Middle Ground,” XXVI.

does involve cultural change but “takes place on...the middle ground. The middle ground is a place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires”.⁵³⁸

Accommodation occurred before assimilation because of colonial need. In the early years after contact, the Indigenous/settler world practiced Métissage unhindered by imperialistic and acculturating pressure. George G. Calloway in his work “New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans and the Remaking of America” complements White in his statement that “the making or remaking of early America was not a ‘moment,’ characterized by a single dramatic and colorful event...it was a world where Indian and European people lived, worked, worshipped, traveled and traded together, as well as a world where, often, they feared, avoided, despised, and killed each other”.⁵³⁹ In the beginning, it was about survival. Indigenous and settler peoples worked together as allies, “as partners in exchange, as sexual partners, as friendly neighbours”.⁵⁴⁰ The lasting effects of colonialism is multi-faceted like a “cloth woven from many threads”, however, “the Indian strands that ran through it have often been ignored, forgotten, and allowed to fade from the nation’s history”.⁵⁴¹

One of the challenges of this thesis is to address the ongoing role that colonialism plays in the relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples. Although concepts such as colonialism and imperialism are often thought to be antiquated, the issue of contemporary colonialism endures.⁵⁴² Barker states that contemporary colonialism has changed its approach, there is no longer a need to establish “physical colonies, forced

⁵³⁸ White, “The Middle Ground,” XXVI.

⁵³⁹ Calloway, *New worlds*, xiv.

⁵⁴⁰ White, “The Middle Ground,” XXVI.

⁵⁴¹ Calloway, *New worlds*, 198.

⁵⁴² Barker, “The Contemporary,” 325.

military suppression of peoples, slave labour and other classic characteristics”.⁵⁴³ Rather, contemporary colonialism is a constantly changing formation of different agendas that “probe Indigenous resistance for signs of weaknesses that can be exploited.”⁵⁴⁴ The re-reading and re-framing of historical situations can help to educate Indigenous and settler peoples and “thus foster a renewed openness to the possibility of broader and deeper understandings that can traverse perceived cultural, civilizational, and temporal divides”.⁵⁴⁵ To understand contemporary colonial efforts, past colonial relationships and experiences must also be considered.⁵⁴⁶ A large part of creating a new model for commemoration and education is to analyse and read the historical landscape and to act upon opportunities that exist for the development and creation of a model that incorporates and moves toward “a new way of living in relation to Others”.⁵⁴⁷ In the Canadian historical narrative, the result of European colonization of Western Canada created “a number of biological, material, and cultural episodes of Métissage” ; “Indigenous Métissage”.⁵⁴⁸ This chapter will focus on the story of four different objects. It will examine each object and contextually locate it in the story of Canada.

⁵⁴³ Barker, “The Contemporary,” 326.

⁵⁴⁴ Barker, “The Contemporary,” 326.

⁵⁴⁵ Dwayne Donald, "Forts, curriculum, and Indigenous Métissage: Imagining decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian relations in educational contexts." *First Nations Perspectives* 2, 1 (2009): 1-24, 5.

⁵⁴⁶ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

⁵⁴⁷ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

⁵⁴⁸ Étienne Rivard, "Colonial cartography of Canadian margins: Cultural encounters and the idea of Métissage." *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 43, 1 (2008): 45-66. 46.

2.1 Understanding Métissage.

In the new world context, the word Métis connected to the word mestiza and “connotes mixed blood or miscegenation...is linked to a colonial legacy in which mixture was both often forced...and almost always strongly stigmatized by the supposedly racially ‘pure’ colonizer”.⁵⁴⁹ Interestingly, a Canadian definition dated to 1816 stated that “the term Metis in the Canadian context was described as “Brules, Metifs [Metis], [are] the bastard sons of Indian concubines, kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company”.⁵⁵⁰ Donald acknowledges the change in meaning of the North American version shifted from a “damaging biological process that weakens gene pools and mongrelizes the human race” to a way of denoting “cultural mixing or the hybridization of identities as a result of colonialism and transcultural influences”.⁵⁵¹

However, it is interesting to examine the etymology of the word Métissage. If we return to the root of the word Métis, there are interesting connections between the Greek root and the Canadian corruption of the word. Metis was an ancient Titaness, descended from Gaia and Uranus. She was a “figure of skill and craft, and of cunning, a trickster with powers of transformation who resisted notions of purity by weaving and blurring textiles”.⁵⁵² The root of the word “Métissage” comes from the “Latin mixticius, meaning the weaving of a cloth from different fibres”. Erika Hasebe-Ludt and Nane Jordan state

⁵⁴⁹ Jay Dolmage, "Metis, mêtis, mestiza, Medusa: Rhetorical bodies across rhetorical traditions." *Rhetoric Review* 28, 1 (2009): 1-28, 19.

⁵⁵⁰ Oriana Palusci, “The Case of the Word Métis in Canadian English”, in *English, But Not Quite: Locating Linguistic Diversity*, ed. Oriana Palusci, 57-78 (Tangram Ediz. Scientifche, 2010).

⁵⁵¹ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 540.

⁵⁵² Tim Ingold in his work *Lines: A Brief History* writes that “the threading, twisting and knotting of fibres were among the most ancient of human arts. From which all else is derived, including both building and textiles.” Tim Ingold, *Lines: a brief history*. (London: Routledge, 2016), 2.

that incorporating the ancient Greek meaning of ‘weaving’ with the modern Canadian interpretation allows for the appropriation of the term as a “research approach and a literary praxis” to “encourage genuine exchange, sustained engagement, and the tracing of ‘mixed and multiple identities’ in the ‘messy threads of relatedness and belonging’”.⁵⁵³ Dwayne Donald in his work “Indigenous Métissage” also uses the metaphor of braiding as a unifying “research sensibility”.⁵⁵⁴ He points out that “staying true to intricate layers of colonial constructs”, the researcher is a weaver who produces a “textual braid or bricolage, ‘that is , a pieced-together, close knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete solution’”.⁵⁵⁵ He further focuses on Indigenous Métissage as a way to “reread and reframe Aboriginal and Canadian relations...informed by Indigenous notions of place”.⁵⁵⁶ Donald states that “colonial frontier logics” continue to damage the relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples.⁵⁵⁷ He states that the only way to “unpack” layers and layers of colonial relations between Indigenous and settler peoples is to create a “safe zone” that allows Indigenous and settler peoples to “face each other across historic divides, deconstruct their shared past, and engage critically with the realization that their present and future are similarly tied together”.⁵⁵⁸

Returning to the meaning of Métissage as the weaving together of different ideas and concepts, Ingold points out that the line (whether it is found woven into a tapestry or

⁵⁵³ Erika Hasebe-Ludt and Nane Jordan, “‘May We Get Us a Heart of Wisdom’: Life Writing Across Knowledge Traditions” *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry* 7, 2 (2010): 1-4, 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 544.

⁵⁵⁵ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 544.

⁵⁵⁶ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 533.

⁵⁵⁷ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

⁵⁵⁸ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

in a written verse) is “perceived as one of movement and growth”.⁵⁵⁹ He examines the concept of linearity and its relationship to the Western and non-Western world. In the Western world, it is thought that societies “comprehend the passage of history, generations and time” in a linear fashion. This is evident in historical timelines and textbooks. It is also clear that Western societies often view non-Western societies as non-linear or as alternative. He redefines colonialism not as the “imposition of linearity upon a non-linear world, but the imposition of one kind of line on another”.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, this chapter will introduce four historical objects. They are all entangled in lines, lines of conquest, lines of colonization, lines of interaction, and lines of movement. Employing the theory of Indigenous Métissage and the analysis of historical objects and their meaning provides a “sensibility...a way to hold together the ambiguous, layered, complex, and conflictual character of Aboriginal and Canadian relations without the need to deny, assimilate, hybridize or conclude”.⁵⁶¹ The analysis of certain historical objects and how they are woven into the colonial narrative will be part of the first step in the creation of a foundation for the “Keeping Place” that can be accessed by Indigenous and settler peoples and encourage the re-storying of our collective memory.

This chapter will begin through the analysis of the historical geography of the Qu’Appelle Valley region. It will briefly touch on the record of occupation in the region based on archaeological and oral history (The Source). Secondly, it will examine various historical interactions between Indigenous and settler peoples through the study of historical and cultural objects to better understand the lasting effects of colonization on

⁵⁵⁹ Ingold, *Lines*, 16.

⁵⁶⁰ Ingold, *Lines*, 17.

⁵⁶¹ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 536.

the past, present and future relationship. Each object is connected to the region of Fort Qu'Appelle (which will be the "ground zero" for the creation of the national Indian Residential School system "Keeping Place"). Each object will examine the connections between settler and Indigenous individuals, they include: "the journal", "the trail/map", "the pictograph", and "the monuments/sacred stone". The analysis of the objects will examine a Métissage interface in the historic relationship between Indigenous and settler peoples in the Qu'Appelle valley region and the province of Saskatchewan. It is important to note that this is not a general history of the region but an analysis of particular moments in the historical timeline of the region. The analysis of those moments facilitates the exploration and identification of the rise of colonial thought and imperialistic theory and by what means they became ingrained in Canadian national collective thought and memory. Furthermore, this analysis will support discourse surrounding the impetus behind the creation and history of the Indian Residential School and how it continues to act as an impediment in creating a bridge of reconciliation between Indigenous and settler peoples. This will lay the foundation for the creation of a commemoration and education model for the Indian Residential School system in Canada.

2.2 The Source: The Qu'Appelle Valley region

To understand the Qu'Appelle Valley region and its historical geography, it is essential to return to the source of occupation. A wealth of archaeological material has been discovered in the Qu'Appelle River Valley region and it presents a different view of

subsistence practices of the Plains groups who frequented the area.⁵⁶² Indigenous peoples have populated Saskatchewan since the “melting of the last continental glacier, at least 11,000 Before Present”.⁵⁶³ The Qu’Appelle Valley landscape is not a typical example of the plains topography because it is basically a trench cut into the earth during the last glacial period. The Qu’Appelle River Valley is the largest glacial spillway in the Qu’Appelle Plains.⁵⁶⁴ It begins near Lake Diefenbaker and runs 400 km eastward into Manitoba where it connects with the Assiniboine River.⁵⁶⁵ The area contains four freshwater lakes named Katepwa, Mission, Echo and Pasqua which are connected by the Qu’Appelle River.⁵⁶⁶ The valley is protected by its steep sides and terraces which protect the land from soil loss from the ever present winds of the prairies.⁵⁶⁷ By 10,500 BP, the forest in Southern Saskatchewan began to recede and was replaced by a “herb/shrub community with a considerable grassy element”.⁵⁶⁸ Plant life in the Qu’Appelle River Valley was diverse with considerable variation due to the large variety of habitats with “mixed prairie uplands”, “wooded valley slopes and terraces”, “marshlands”, and “aquatic riverine”.⁵⁶⁹ Archaeological evidence from the Lebret site in the Qu’Appelle River Valley found that this region was also utilized as a prime hunting and fishing ground as it had large populations of fish, mammals and birds.⁵⁷⁰ The vegetation and

⁵⁶² Brian J. Smith, "The Lebret Site." PhD diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2010, 6.

⁵⁶³ David Meyer and Dale R. Russell, “Aboriginal peoples from the Ice Age to 1870”, in *Saskatchewan: Geographic Perspectives*. Bernard Thraves, 101-117 (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2007), 101.

⁵⁶⁴ Smith, “The Lebret Site,” 10.

⁵⁶⁵ Janis E. Dale and M.L. Lewry, “Geology and Geomorphology” in Thraves, Bernard D., ed. *Saskatchewan: Geographic Perspectives*. (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2007): 11-26, 25.

⁵⁶⁶ Smith, “The Lebret Site”, 10.

⁵⁶⁷ Dale and Lewry, “Geology and Geomorphology,” 25.

⁵⁶⁸ Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 103.

⁵⁶⁹ Smith, “The Lebret Site”, 20.

⁵⁷⁰ Smith, “The Lebret Site”, i.

habitats also provided a suitable environment for large herbivores such as the *Bison occidentalis* and the *Bison antiquus* (these variations were much larger than our contemporary *Bison*).⁵⁷¹ For example, by 550 BP, two distinct cultures known as Moose Jaw and Mortlach are recognized as inhabiting the Qu'Appelle valley region.⁵⁷² Each culture is represented by “massive cultural deposits” that reflect “substantial social groupings” who were involved in “bison pounding and processing”.⁵⁷³

When Henry Kelsey arrived in eastern Saskatchewan in 1690, the Indigenous groups that he encountered would have still been “producing those material cultures... known as Mortlach, Moose Jaw, Old Women’s, Selkirk and Taltheilei”.⁵⁷⁴ Before the arrival of Europeans on the plains, trade goods started to filter into Saskatchewan through Indigenous trade networks. By the late 17th century, fur traders from the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Company (NWC) began to set up trading posts on the periphery of the Plains region. With the aid of Indigenous guides and maps, traders such as Henry Kelsey began to move into the West looking for trade routes, trading partners and an endless supply of pelts. From the early years of the fur trade into the 19th century, Indigenous peoples “dominated this trade” as they were savvy traders and had intricate pre-existing trade networks. It was not until the late 18th and into the 19th century that depopulation (due to diseases such as smallpox) led companies such as the HBC to gain more control over the fur trade.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷¹ Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 103.

⁵⁷² Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 109.

⁵⁷³ Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 109.

⁵⁷⁴ Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 110.

⁵⁷⁵ Meyer and Russell, “Aboriginal peoples,” 115.

2.3: The Missing Journal of Henry Kelsey

“So far I have spoken concerning of the spoil
And now well give account of that same Country soile
Which hither part is very thicke of wood
Affords small nutts with little cherries very good
Thus it continues till you leave the woods behind
And then you have beast of severall Kind
The one is a black a Buffillo great
Another is an outgrown Bear which is good meat
His skin to gett I have used all the ways I can
He is mans food and he makes food of man
His hide they would not me it preserve
But said it was a god and they should Starve.”⁵⁷⁶

Henry Kelsey was the first recorded English HBC explorer to venture into Saskatchewan in 1690.⁵⁷⁷ He started his career at the HBC as an apprentice clerk and moved up through the ranks to eventually become governor of York Fort.⁵⁷⁸ Kelsey interacted with the Indigenous groups that he encountered, he travelled with them and he lived among them, but he was also an agent of the HBC. Between 1690-92, he lived and travelled with the Nakota/Assiniboine and the Cree and wrote a journal during this time in Saskatchewan.⁵⁷⁹ Although he was not a geologist or a cartographer, his survey of the

⁵⁷⁶ D.M.R. Bentley, “Set Forth as Plainly May Appear: The Verse Journal of Henry Kelsey” *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 21, 4 (1990): 9-30, 23.

⁵⁷⁷ Henry Kelsey (b.1667 – d.1724), was an English fur trader, explorer and HBC agent. He was the first recorded European to travel through the Canadian West including the present-day provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta. He arrived in Canada in 1684 at the age of 17 and started his career with the HBC as a mail carrier. By 1690, Kelsey was sent by HBC governor George Geyer to journey up the Nelson River to find trading partners among the Indigenous groups in the region. Using the help of Indigenous guides from the Cree band, Kelsey travelled and encountered several different Indigenous groups including the Nakota. It was also speculated that Kelsey married an Indigenous woman in the late 1600s as well as having an English wife back in England. Kelsey was also a master mariner and commanded an HBC frigate moving goods and provisions. He was appointed Governor of York Factory in 1717 and Governor of all the Hudson Bay settlements in 1718. Kelsey travelled between Canada and England over 6 times (1684, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1706 and 1714) and eventually returned to England in 1722. He died two years later in 1724. Bruce Greenfield, “‘Now Reader Read’: The Literary Ambitions of Henry Kelsey, Hudson’s Bay Company Clerk” *Early American Literature* 47, 1 (2012): 31-58.

⁵⁷⁸ Greenfield, “‘Now Reader,’” 31.

⁵⁷⁹ Dale Russell, “The Puzzle of Henry Kelsey and His Journey to the West” in *Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey’s: Inland Country of Good Reported*. ed. Henry Epp, 74-88, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1993), 74.

province is an invaluable glimpse into the region before European occupation.⁵⁸⁰ It is also an important indication into the spread of imperialist thought and colonialism into the Plains region. During the fur trade era, Indigenous knowledge was considered a valuable resource. It is important to note that this value was directly connected to commercial interests and not respect or interest in Indigenous cultures. However, the journals of Kelsey present a paradox in the collection of information about Indigenous peoples. What can we learn from Kelsey's journals? What can they teach us about the early days of exploration? Can they help us to understand the agency of early explorers and the spread of colonialism?

Kelsey's journal did not become available for study until after 1926. This was largely due to the fact that Kelsey's reputation was "seriously damaged in the mid-1700s" as his journal became a matter of national debate owing to his connection to the HBC.⁵⁸¹ An excerpt of Kelsey's journal was first published in 1749, however, it was not accepted as a serious report until 1926. For two hundred years, Kelsey's journal was considered "a fraud thought up by the Hudson's Bay Company".⁵⁸² Long after Kelsey's death, his journal became a matter of national debate in England when it was challenged by Arthur Dobbs as a part of an allegation against the HBC company.⁵⁸³ In 1670, Dobbs who was a "leading part in the agitation against the exclusive privileges of trade granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by Charter in 1670", stated that the HBC did not fulfill the terms

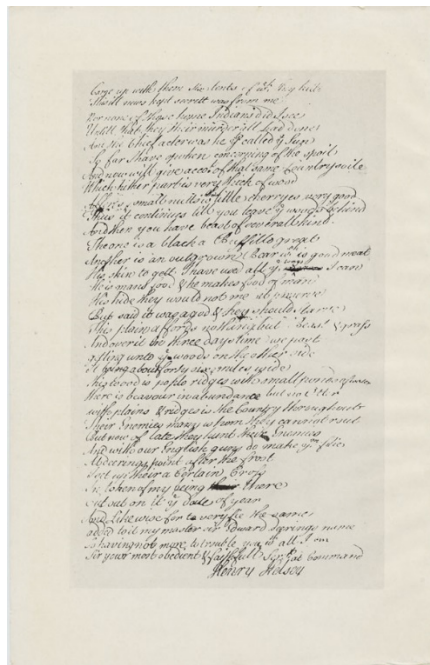
⁵⁸⁰ John McConnell, "The Land that Kelsey Saw" in *Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey's: Inland Country of Good Reported*. ed. Henry Epp, 6-11, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1993), 11.

⁵⁸¹ Russell, "The Puzzle," 74.

⁵⁸² Russell, "The Puzzle," 74.

⁵⁸³ Henry Kelsey and Elizabeth Mancke. "The Kelsey Papers." *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 28, 4 (1998): 543-546, 544.

of its charter to find and explore the Northwest passage and he therefore made it his mission to destroy their credibility.⁵⁸⁴ The HBC were forced to “defend its monopoly of the fur trade”; Kelsey’s journal was submitted as evidence that they had attempted to explore the interior of Canada.⁵⁸⁵ Several abbreviated versions of the journal were produced but it was not until 1926 that the full journal was found in Dobbs’ collection at his ancestral home Castle Dobbs in Ireland. Although it is not known how the original Kelsey papers became a part of the Dobbs collection, he may have obtained it during this inquiry. This version was most likely the original version of the journal and it contained “several details which were sufficient to show that Kelsey had travelled to east-central Saskatchewan, probably in the Touchwood/Beaver Hills area”.⁵⁸⁶



587

⁵⁸⁴ Kelsey and Mancke. "The Kelsey Papers," 543.

⁵⁸⁵ Russell, "The Puzzle," 75.

⁵⁸⁶ Russell, "The Puzzle," 76.

⁵⁸⁷ The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Henry Kelsey's Journal" Retrieved July 20, 2020, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/primarysources/henry-kelsey-s-journal>.

While Kelsey's route is still not perfectly clear, there are connections to many different locations in Saskatchewan including the Qu'Appelle region. Russell states that before 1800, there was little known about the western Canadian interior other than reports from fur traders such as Kelsey.⁵⁸⁸ Kelsey's work is unique and does provide a rare glimpse of the Canadian West in the pre-settlement age. However, Kelsey goes further to offer a unique insight into the social geography of the region. Comprising 128 pages, "The Kelsey Papers" can be examined as one of the first examples of recorded cross-cultural Canadian Métissage. The journal includes travel journals of the 1690-92 expedition, diaries of Kelsey's two voyages from England to the Hudson's Bay, two letters, two journals from his time at Fort York and a summary of his HBC activities between the years of 1684 to 1722.⁵⁸⁹ He travelled through different parts of Saskatchewan using ancient trails that served to connect Indigenous groups in the region for centuries. Kelsey came into contact with several Indigenous groups who did not survive the ravages of disease that were spreading across the prairies including the Basquia and Sturgeon Cree who "ceased to exist after the smallpox epidemic of the winter of 1781-82".⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, Kelsey demonstrate[d] the dependence that early fur traders had on Indigenous groups. Indigenous guides not only provided guidance for travel but also for adapting and living in the landscape. This was also the case in Kelsey's proficiency in several Indigenous languages. He even went on to teach Cree (to those starting out as HBC traders) and he compiled a dictionary of the "local Native (Cree) language, since identified by scholars as the Dictionary of the Hudson's Bay Indian

⁵⁸⁸ Russell, "The Puzzle," 74.

⁵⁸⁹ Greenfield, "Now Reader," 32.

⁵⁹⁰ Greenfield, "Now Reader," 40.

Language (1720)".⁵⁹¹ Kelsey and the HBC knew that their commercial interests with Indigenous groups could be more effective if the trader was to speak the same language. Therefore, Indigenous languages were extremely important business tools during this era.⁵⁹²

Kelsey's journals also fell into the world of the "curious"; they provided those remaining in Europe with "descriptions and specimens of American phenomena that they could never obtain on their own".⁵⁹³ This era of exploration preceded the era of the tourist and the "vanishing Indian" in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁵⁹⁴ Instead of travelling to the New World which was not affordable or even possible for many Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, they experienced exploration through journals and reports of explorers. Greenfield states that men such as Kelsey who were not highly educated could also "position" themselves as "informants through the natural world" and access previously inaccessible elite institutions.⁵⁹⁵

Many scholars have attempted to analyse the colonial context of Kelsey's journal and the legacy that it impressed on historical journals for the next three hundred years.⁵⁹⁶ Notably, D.M.R. Bentley in his work "Colonial Colonizing: An Introductory Survey of

⁵⁹¹ Kelsey's Cree dictionary was "lost for over 250 years until it was recently identified in the British Museum". Russell, "The Puzzle," 79. Greenfield, "Now Reader," 44.

⁵⁹² Interestingly, after the fur trade ebbed, Indigenous languages were the first to suffer the onslaught of acculturation policies during the Indian Residential School era.

⁵⁹³ Greenfield, "Now Reader," 40.

⁵⁹⁴ Blair Stonechild, "Recovering the Heritage of Treaty Number Four" in *Plain speaking: Essays on aboriginal peoples and the prairie*, ed. Patrick Douaud and Bruce William Dawson, 1-11 (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2002), 5.

⁵⁹⁵ Greenfield, "Now Reader," 40.

⁵⁹⁶ Allen Ronaghan, "Reconstructing Kelsey's Travels" in *Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey's: Inland Country of Good Reported* ed. Henry Epp, 89-94, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1993), 89.

the Canadians Long Poem” states that Kelsey’s writing was an “instrument of British imperialism” and that his journals can be separated into three different tasks that would come to characterise the format of the Canadian long poem for the next three centuries.⁵⁹⁷ The tasks include “(1) comprehension (they provide an inclusive commentary on ‘the Country’ and its inhabitants); (2) commemoration (they memorialize the ‘Journey’ that Kelsey hoped would distinguish him in the minds of his Hudson’s Bay Company superiors); and (3) construction (they describe the ‘set[t]ing up [of] a Certain Cross’ near what is now The Pas, Manitoba, as a ‘token’ of the Company’s active presence in the area”.⁵⁹⁸ Bentley points out that it is “the appropriate vehicle for the...constructive activities of colonials engaged in the process of colonization”.⁵⁹⁹ The record of setting up a cross at Deering Point (location unknown) “at a place that he had earlier christened ‘Deerings point’ after Sir Edward Deering, the deputy governor of the HBC”.⁶⁰⁰ Here is an excerpt from Kelsey’s verse:

“At deerings point after the frost
 I set up their a Certain Cross
 In token of my being there
 Cut out on it the date of year
 And Likewise for me to veryfie the same
 added to it my master sir Edward deerings name
 So having not more to trouble you with all I am
 Sir your most obedient and faithfull Servant at Command”⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁷ Bentley, “Set Forth,” 8.

⁵⁹⁸ Bentley, “Set Forth,” 9.

⁵⁹⁹ Bentley, “Set Forth,” 9.

⁶⁰⁰ Bentley, “Set Forth,” 9.

⁶⁰¹ Bentley, “Set Forth,” 9.

Bentley states that the cross served as a “palimpsest of indigenous material and imported words—a Christian and commercial marker constructed of local wood and overwritten with imperialistic information”.⁶⁰²

In the third part of his journal, Kelsey’s endeavoured to write an “ethnography” of the “beliefs and superstitions” of the Indigenous people he lived and traveled with for two years.⁶⁰³ He was conceivably inspired by ethnographic writing guides that became popular for travellers in the late 16th century and had become a “characteristic project of the Royal Society” by the 17th century.⁶⁰⁴ Additionally, Kelsey can be compared to other diarists of his time including the writers of the Jesuit Chronicles (first published in 1616 and then annually between 1632 and 1673) who have become part of Canadian folklore.⁶⁰⁵ Jesuit writers and others such as Kelsey can be viewed as contemporaries, creating records of their interpretation of Indigenous beliefs, takes and customs and were to some extent aimed at creating an ethnographic record.

Closely connected to the creation of ethnographic journals was the physical collection of Indigenous artefacts.⁶⁰⁶ This type of collecting has a long history in North America coinciding with first-contact and the evolution of colonization.⁶⁰⁷ Men such as Kelsey were some of the first, sharing the era with missionaries and other explorers who collected artefacts “for purposes of the informing of their patrons, or compatriots or the

⁶⁰² Bentley, “Set Forth,” 10.

⁶⁰³ Greenfield, “Now Reader,” 43.

⁶⁰⁴ Greenfield, “Now Reader,” 43.

⁶⁰⁵ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes. Vol. 73.* (Burrows Bros. Company, 1901).

⁶⁰⁶ Christian F. Feest, “European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art” *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, 1 (1993): 1-11, 1.

⁶⁰⁷ Feest, “European Collecting,” 1.

Church of the types of civilizations with which they were concerned”.⁶⁰⁸ In defining collecting, it “always removes specimens from their meaningful and functional context in order to preserve them under artificial conditions in a different context”.⁶⁰⁹ Greenfield states that Kelsey “must have been exposed to the idea that collecting information about peoples encountered in one’s travels was an established practice”.⁶¹⁰ Kelsey’s intended audience was two-fold; on one hand, his ethnography was focused on the enrichment of the HBC, it is clear that he was interested in creating a “broad understanding of a people” making it easier to deal and trade with them.⁶¹¹ On the other hand, it is clear that Kelsey was also intending to reach a more elite reader and may have “sought to impress readers whose interests extended beyond the company’s business”.⁶¹²

Kelsey’s narrative and his journal would never have been written without the assistance of the Indigenous guides who escorted him into the wilderness of pre-contact Saskatchewan. Donald points out that an important goal in the process of engaging in Indigenous Métissage is to “attend to the complexities of colonial and neo-colonial engagements in a reciprocal manner and find ways to write about those complexities using a language that sparks shifts in historical consciousness”.⁶¹³ Unfortunately, we do not have any idea of what Kelsey’s Indigenous guides thought or felt about him but perhaps we can interpret their actions as language of Métissage. It is not clear if Kelsey paid his guides to take him on his journey across Saskatchewan although he most likely

⁶⁰⁸ Feest, “European Collecting,” 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Feest, “European Collecting,” 2.

⁶¹⁰ Greenfield, “Now Reader,” 44.

⁶¹¹ Greenfield, “Now Reader,” 45.

⁶¹² Greenfield, “Now Reader,” 45.

⁶¹³ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 544.

did. We can perhaps discern that Kelsey's Indigenous guides liked him enough to incorporate him into their community, they took care of him, protected him, fed him and shared their shelter. Although we have a physical thing, Kelsey's journal, it is Kelsey's journey that becomes the artefact. As Donald states, "artifacts are imbued with meaning when human hands craft them, but also when human beings conceptualize them as storied aspects of their world".⁶¹⁴ Kelsey's guides had been moving through this landscape basing their networks on generations of oral transmission and centuries of using a complex system of trails to walk, portage and canoe across the province and they generously shared that knowledge with him.

2.4 Walking the Line: Indigenous Trails/Maps/Knowledge

"An important aspect of authentic and successful reconciliation processes is a critical, decolonizing understanding of the past that deconstructs colonial and related approaches and that reconstructs knowledge by including perspectives that have been ignored by the colonial worldview, or have been otherwise incomprehensible to it".⁶¹⁵

For approximately, 12,000 years before contact with Europeans, Indigenous people occupied Saskatchewan. Their histories and relationship with the landscape constitute an important contribution to the collective history of Canada.⁶¹⁶ The men and

⁶¹⁴ Donald, "Indigenous Métissage," 542.

⁶¹⁵ Stephanie Pyne and D.R. Fraser Taylor, "Mapping Indigenous Perspectives in the Making of the Cybercartographic Atlas of the Lake Huron Treaty: Relationship Process: A Performative Approach in a Reconciliation Context" *Cartographica* 47, 2 (2012): 92-104, 92.

⁶¹⁶ Margaret G. Hanna, "Focus Study 6.1 Travel Routes in Pre-Agrarian Saskatchewan" in *Saskatchewan: Geographic Perspectives*, ed. Bernard D. 119-124, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2007), 119.

women who journeyed to Canada (such as Henry Kelsey and the numerous traders, explorers, missionaries, surveyors, and settlers who came after him) quickly learned the value of the Indigenous guide and the trail/maps that they shared. When they began to move into the interior of Canada, they depended on Indigenous guides to provide instruction and safe passage across the dangerous terrain that was and is the Canadian landscape. Throughout the global history of colonization in different parts of the world, “white aliens” have “solicited” geographical information such as maps from Indigenous peoples.⁶¹⁷ Lewis states that “at most times and in most contexts the encountered natives were willing to communicate their knowledge of rivers and lakes, portages and passes, watering places and mineral locations, distances and directions, friends and enemies, and all manner of other geographical information about the world beyond that was already experienced by the whites”.⁶¹⁸ This is true for North America and was imperative as a building block in the construction of Canada as a nation. Did the sharing of Indigenous topographical knowledge simply impart topographical data or was it multifaceted? If Indigenous knowledge was vital for survival in the early days of exploration, why did Canadians attempt to denigrate and destroy Indigenous knowledge and traditions after the fur trade ended? This section will begin its analysis of the enduring effects of colonization with a focus on the appropriation of Indigenous trail/map knowledge and its use as a Western tool of imperialism and acculturation. It will also examine the process of

⁶¹⁷ G. Malcolm Lewis, “Indian Maps: Their Place in the History of Plains Cartography” *Great Plains Quarterly* 4 (1984): 91-108, 91.

⁶¹⁸ G. Malcolm Lewis, “Introduction” in *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, ed. G. Malcolm Lewis, 1-9 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 2.

“remapping” our understanding of Indigenous knowledge and cartography as a method of moving toward reconciliation and education.

2.4.1 The Source of the Trail: Moving with the Seasons

In the century up to the time of contact, Saskatchewan was populated by a number of different Indigenous groups including the Gros Ventre (Atsina), the Hidatsa, the Blackfoot, the Nakota (Assiniboine), the Cree (Plains/Woodland/River) and the Dene (Chipewyan).⁶¹⁹ During this era, many of these bands travelled on seasonal rounds to “acquire seasonally available resources and to participate in the yearly ceremonial cycle”.⁶²⁰ It is important to note that each group was unique and “there was not a single uniform lifestyle”.⁶²¹ In some seasons, “hunter-gatherers may live in very small groups of only a few families; in others, there may be aggregations of the whole social grouping”.⁶²² Many groups moved from woodland to parkland to grassland zones depending on the season.⁶²³

Hunter-gatherer populations in many parts of the globe have “a somewhat different perspective of their relationship with the eco physical environment.”⁶²⁴ Oetelaar and Oetelaar suggest that to hunter-gatherer populations the landscape is a sequence of named places that are “linked by paths, movements and narratives”.⁶²⁵ The seasonal

⁶¹⁹ This is not an in-depth study of any of the Indigenous groups who populated Saskatchewan in the pre-contact era but rather just a brief examination. Hanna, “Focus Study,” 110.

⁶²⁰ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶²¹ Milloy, *The Plains*, 22.

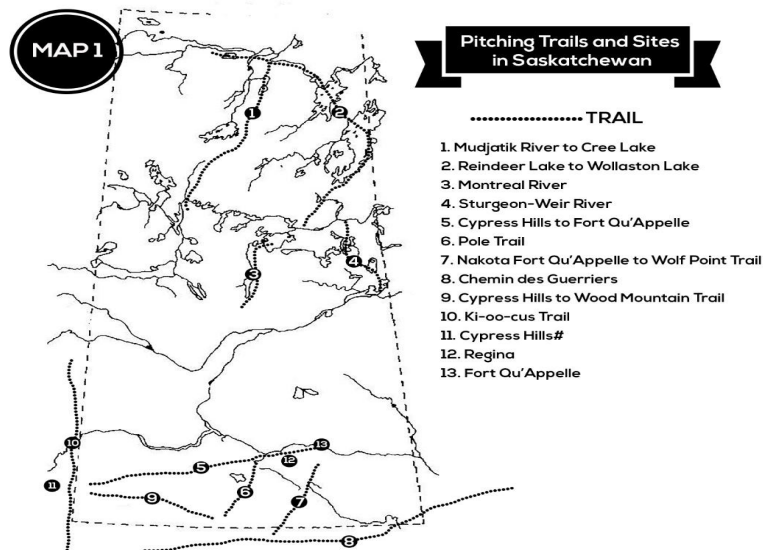
⁶²² David Meyer and Paul C. Thistle, Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts: Continuity in a Cree Social Geography” *Ethnography* 42, 3 (1995): 403-444, 406.

⁶²³ Milloy, “The Plains,” 22.

⁶²⁴ Gerald A. Oetelaar and D. Joy Oetelaar. “People, Places and Paths: The Cypress Hills and the Niitsitapi 1 Landscape of Southern Alberta.” *Plains Anthropologist* 51, 199 (2006): 375-397, 375.

⁶²⁵ Oetelaar and Oetelarr, “People, Places,” 375.

round (of many of the Indigenous groups) created intricate trail networks that criss-crossed North America. In the plains region, the seasonal cycle rotated between “wintering grounds that provided shelter and firewood, and summer hunting grounds”.⁶²⁶ Patricia McCormack stated that “the overland trails and waterways that provided—and still provide—an intersecting network for Aboriginal lands and land use, in that they are the routes by which people travelled to reach or view specific places”.⁶²⁷ Indigenous groups navigated pre-contact and post-contact Saskatchewan through the use of “landmarks” and “counted distance by the number of days travelled”.⁶²⁸ They followed trails known as “pitching trails, a term derived from the Cree word piciw: ‘s/he moves camp; moves his/her belonging and family’”.⁶²⁹



⁶²⁶ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶²⁷ Patricia McCormack, “Walking the Land: Aboriginal Trails, Cultural Landscapes and Archaeological Studies for Impact Assessment” *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* (2017), 10.

⁶²⁸ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶²⁹ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

This term was mentioned by Henry Kelsey in his journal and remained in use by fur traders until the twentieth century.⁶³⁰ Hanna states that maps from the 18th and 19th centuries showed distinctions between trail types including portages, “hunting trails, winter trails and warriors’ trails”.⁶³¹ In the early days of contact and exploration, many ancient Indigenous trails were used by explorers, fur traders and missionaries. As colonization evolved, they were navigated by military troops, the NWMP and surveyors and were eventually transformed through settler adaptation. In the Qu’Appelle region, the landscape was traversed with ancient Indigenous trails. Fort Qu’Appelle was known as a trail hub and was intersected by a number of historic trails including trails that led to Fort Ellice, Fort Carlton, the Green Lake trail⁶³², Battleford, Fort Pitt, Cumberland House⁶³³, Fort à la Corne⁶³⁴, Wood Mountain and Fort Walsh.⁶³⁵ The Fort Walsh to Fort Qu’Appelle trail followed an ancient Nakota trail that was used on their annual trek from

⁶³⁰ In his journal, Kelsey refers to travelling on the trail as “pitching”. He wrote: “This morning I made a speech desiring (m)y for to / stay for our people w was behind but an Old / man came to me & told me y it would signify nothing / for to lye still seeing y there was no victuals to / Relieve y when they came up so desired leave of / me to pitch a little way y women might fetch / home y Beast w was kill'd y day before y they / might have wherewithall to relieve y when they / came so I sent two women back for to help our / women along their things so we pitched / about 10 Miles & July came too” Kelsey, “The Kelsey Papers,” 8. Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶³¹ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶³² The Green Lake trail was an important trail during the fur trade era. It led from the Green Lake post that was established by the NWC in 1782. The HBC also established a post there in 1810. The Green Lake post connected many overland trails to the Churchill River. It was also a Metis community that was subjected to a government program in the late 1930s. This program known as the Green Lake Metis Rehabilitation Program was designed to assimilate the people into mainstream society. Elizabeth Browne Losey, *Let Them Be Remembered: The Story of the Fur Trade Forts*. (New York: Vantage Press, 1999).

⁶³³ Cumberland House is one of the oldest occupied Metis sites in Saskatchewan. It was established by Samuel Hearne of the HBC in 1774 near an ancient Swampy Cree “aggregating centre” or rendezvous area. It was chosen as a site for a fort and fur trade post as it was close to two major fur trade routes: the Saskatchewan River and the Grass, Fox and Nelson Rivers that drain into Hudson Bay. Bicentennial Committee of Cumberland House. *A History of Cumberland House...as Told By Its Own Citizens 1774-1974. Cumberland House* (Saskatchewan: Bicentennial Committee, 1974).

⁶³⁴ Fort à la Corne was one of two French forts established on the Saskatchewan River in 1753. It was taken over by the NWC in 1795. It was linked to the Carleton Trail by the Fort à la Corne Trail in the Saskatchewan Valley. Fort à la Corne. Directory of Federal Heritage Designations. Parks Canada. Retrieved January 21, 2019.

⁶³⁵ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

the Cypress Hills to Fort Qu'Appelle (See Map 1: 5).⁶³⁶ The Fort Qu'Appelle to Wolf Point trail was habitually used by the Nakota until the early twentieth century (See Map 1: 7).⁶³⁷

2.4.2 Trails as Knowledge Artefacts

In Australia, Aboriginal peoples “imagine their country not as a surface area that can be divided into blocks but as an ‘interlocking network’ or lines or ‘ways through’”.⁶³⁸ Donald Turnbull clarifies several definitions of the term “hodology” using geographical, philosophical and neurological themes.⁶³⁹ The geographical definition states that it is the study of pathways, the philosophical states that it is the study of interconnected ideas and the neurological states that it is the study of the interconnections of brain cells (connectomics).⁶⁴⁰ He points out that “trails are knowledge artefacts”.⁶⁴¹ Essentially, the précis of hodology is also a form of Métissage, as the “hodological emphasis on the concept of trails...is central to a performative understanding of the coproduction of knowledge and space”.⁶⁴² The significance of people walking “on the land is the vehicle to creating a ‘sentient ecology’”.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁶ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶³⁷ Hanna, “Focus Study,” 120.

⁶³⁸ Ingold, *Lines*, 89.

⁶³⁹ David Turnbull, “Maps narratives and trails: performativity, hodology and distributed knowledges in complex adaptive systems—an approach to emergent mapping.” *Geographical research* 45, no. 2 (2007): 140-149, 142..

⁶⁴⁰ Dominic H. Ffytche, and Marco Catani. “Beyond localization: from hodology to function.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 360, 1456 (2005): 767-779.

⁶⁴¹ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁴² Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁴³ Tim Ingold, “Footprints through the weather-world: walking, breathing, knowing” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (2010): S121–S139.

For some, it is never as simple as walking across a landscape but is combined with “the act of tracking, of moving through the environment, following prey, and reading the signs, creates a complex of intellectual and cognitive connections and, at the same time, a physical trail”.⁶⁴⁴ By moving through the landscape in patterned movements (such as a seasonal round), it becomes an “archive or repository of traditional knowledge”.⁶⁴⁵ The knowledge that is produced from moving through the land “defines the cultural landscape”.⁶⁴⁶ McCormack states that Indigenous groups on the plains “constructed and maintained cultural landscapes that are ancient, with a ten thousand year-old lineage”.⁶⁴⁷ She points out that they created “cultural landscapes” by travelling across the landscape by foot creating complex “networks of trails”.⁶⁴⁸ Trail networks also served to “constrain their movement over the landscape”.⁶⁴⁹ However, Ingold points out that there is a difference between “two modalities of movement”.⁶⁵⁰ He states that “wayfaring” and “transport” are two distinct ways of moving across the landscape.⁶⁵¹ The wayfarer “who in following a path of life” seeks to “improvise a passage as he goes along”.⁶⁵² The wayfarer may return to the same place repeatedly and “circuitously” but “every moment of rest punctuates an ongoing movement”.⁶⁵³ The “transport,” in contrast to the wayfarer, “carries the passenger across a pre-prepared, planar surface”.⁶⁵⁴ The

⁶⁴⁴ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁴⁵ Oetelaar and Oetelaar, “People, Places,” 376.

⁶⁴⁶ McCormack, “Walking the Land,” 11.

⁶⁴⁷ McCormack, “Walking the Land,” 12.

⁶⁴⁸ McCormack, “Walking the Land,” 12.

⁶⁴⁹ Oetelaar and Oetelaar, “People, Places,” 376.

⁶⁵⁰ Ingold, “Footprints through,” S126.

⁶⁵¹ Ingold, “Footprints through,” S126.

⁶⁵² Ingold, “Footprints through,” S126.

⁶⁵³ Ingold, “Footprints through,” S126.

⁶⁵⁴ Ingold, “Footprints through,” S126.

movement is a “lateral displacement” rather than a “lineal progression”, the transport’s concern is to “literally get from A to B”.⁶⁵⁵

The trail is also a social network, and “road systems are multifunctional”.⁶⁵⁶ They function not only as physical routes for movement across the landscape or for the passage of trade goods but as “ways” that people interact with each other.⁶⁵⁷ Tim Ingold in his work *The Life of Lines*, states that “if the same track is trodden often enough, the many individual prints merge into a continuous path...footprints are individual; paths are social”.⁶⁵⁸ For Indigenous peoples, who often “lived their maps” through ritualistic movements “such as pilgrimages through mythologised landscapes or ceremonial enactments, the performance of the practice is itself a map”.⁶⁵⁹ Trails were often the first artefacts “along with strings and stories...and they may have been the foundational practices on which human cognition, knowledge and technology are based”.⁶⁶⁰ Through the sharing of Indigenous maps, the people not only shared “a physical trail” but they shared “a complex of intellectual and cognitive connections”.⁶⁶¹ Therefore, the sharing of the “map” became the sharing of “knowledge” and through syncretism, the colonizer appropriated Indigenous knowledge.⁶⁶² By appropriating the knowledge that Indigenous peoples shared about the trails, paths or roads that intersected the plains region, the

⁶⁵⁵ Ingold, “Footprints through,” S127

⁶⁵⁶ Timothy Earle, “Paths and roads in evolutionary perspective” in *Ancient Road Networks and Settlement Hierarchies in the New World*. eds. Charles D. Trombold, Francoise Audouze Trombold, Colin Renfrew, Nathan Schlanger, Andrew Sherratt, Timothy Taylor, and Wendy Ashmore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10.

⁶⁵⁷ Earle, “Paths and,” 10.

⁶⁵⁸ Tim Ingold, *The life of lines*. London: Routledge, 2015.

⁶⁵⁹ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 143.

⁶⁶⁰ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁶¹ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁶² Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

colonizers also appropriated the “journey” connected to the act of following a path to the telling of a story.⁶⁶³ Like making a path, a person telling a story is “ordering events and actions in space and time—it is a form of knowledge making”.⁶⁶⁴ The colonization of the Indigenous map became the colonization of Indigenous knowledge, of Indigenous theories of place and space. In many cases, ancient trails have been lost, forgotten or obscured by use (for example, cart tracks from the infamous Red River Cart supplanted the footsteps on the trail). Archaeologists have discovered various ways of identifying ancient Indigenous trails, they include: Indigenous maps drawn for traders in the early 19th century, oral histories that include “place names, legends and travel stories” and archaeological evidence.⁶⁶⁵

2.4.3 Indigenous Knowledge and the Map

The appropriation of Indigenous trail knowledge and the map was later used as an instrument of colonization. It transformed the employment of Indigenous knowledge from a means of exploration to a tool of colonial claim to Indigenous land. Matthew Sparke points out that “the map was and remains a highly ambivalent part and product of colonial encounters”.⁶⁶⁶ Rivard states that the role of maps was two-fold, they served as records of “spatial reality” but also as “sociocultural constructions”.⁶⁶⁷ The map

⁶⁶³ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 142.

⁶⁶⁴ Turnbull, “Maps and Narratives,” 143.

⁶⁶⁵ The study of trails in the plains is often negated due to the fact that many scholars argue that in the Plains region, waterways were more important than land trails. This is not accurate, with many river valleys such as the Saskatchewan River Valley and the Qu’Appelle River Valley containing sites of extensive land trails that were just as important as “waterways, or more so, for much or most of the year”. McCormack, “Walking the Land,” 13, Hanna, “Focus Study,” 119.

⁶⁶⁶ Matthew Sparke, “Between demythologizing and deconstructing the map: Shawnadithit’s New-Found-Land and the alienation of Canada.” *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 32, 1 (1995): 1-21.

⁶⁶⁷ Rivard, “Colonial,” 46.

cannot be objective, maps are social documents that express a “society’s culture, norms, and ideologies”.⁶⁶⁸ This is true for the transmission of Indigenous knowledge through the sharing of topographic information. Indigenous knowledge can be defined as “unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around specific conditions of women and men Indigenous to a particular geographic area”.⁶⁶⁹ Indigenous people have knowledge about all “aspects of their physical and spiritual environments”.⁶⁷⁰ For many Indigenous groups, “the land itself is read as a text that holds such diverse content as history, survival strategies and moral lessons”.⁶⁷¹ Brian Harley states that one of the “ironies of the exclusion of the Indians from the map is that the Indians undoubtedly played a significant part in the construction of the first maps”.⁶⁷² However, it runs deeper than just a topographical survey. Through the appropriation of Indigenous trails and maps, Europeans effectively colonized Indigenous people using their own knowledge to their detriment.

In Canada’s history, the notion of the terra nullius or unoccupied/vacant land has long resonated in reasoning linked to the appropriation of Indigenous lands.⁶⁷³ Jennifer Reid states that “the relationship between law and land in Canada can be traced to a set of fifteenth century theological assumptions that have found their way into both

⁶⁶⁸ Rivard, “Colonial,” 47.

⁶⁶⁹ K. J. Chambers, J. Corbett, C.P. Keller and C. J. B. Wood, “Indigenous Knowledge, Mapping, and GIS: A Diffusion of Innovation Perspective” *Cartographica* 39, 3 (2004): 19-31, 20.

⁶⁷⁰ Chambers, Corbett, Keller and Wood, “Indigenous Knowledge,” 20.

⁶⁷¹ Chambers, Corbett, Keller and Wood, “Indigenous Knowledge,” 20.

⁶⁷² Brian Harley, *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography*. No. 2002 (JHU Press, 2002), 170.

⁶⁷³ McCormack, “Walking the Land,” 12.

common law and the Canadian constitution”.⁶⁷⁴ Known as the Doctrine of Discovery, Pope Alexander VI created a papal bull known as the Inter caetera.⁶⁷⁵ This document was the legal means by which Europeans claimed “rights of sovereignty, property and trade in regions they allegedly discovered during the age of expansion”.⁶⁷⁶ Although this document seems antiquated by current standards, it underlies Canada’s relationship with Indigenous peoples.⁶⁷⁷ It also has direct connections to the erasure of Indigenous peoples from Canadian maps and the empty-land narrative that is deeply embedded in Canadian collective memory. The creation of colonial maps set the precedent for all future mapping in Canada. Renee Pualani Louis, Jay T. Johnson and Albertus Hadi Johnson refer to this as “cartographic encounters” describing the “interaction between modern and Indigenous cartographies”.⁶⁷⁸ By the era of the fur trade, the principal function of the map was to “synthesize geographical knowledge of the continent so as to make it intelligible to colonial or fur trade authorities.”⁶⁷⁹ Rivard states that from the time of first contact, there were different “rationales” for the creation of maps that included fur trade and colonization expeditions.⁶⁸⁰ Colonial map-makers were not interested in Indigenous knowledge for “what it revealed about Aboriginal settlements and the relationships of

⁶⁷⁴ Jennifer Reid, “The Doctrine of Discovery and Canadian Law” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 30, 2 (2010): 335-359, 336.

⁶⁷⁵ Reid, “The Doctrine,” 336.

⁶⁷⁶ Reid, “The Doctrine,” 336.

⁶⁷⁷ Reid, “The Doctrine,” 336.

⁶⁷⁸ Renee Pualani Louis, Jay T. Johnson, and Albertus Hadi Pramono. "Introduction: Indigenous cartographies and counter-mapping." *Cartographica* 47, 2 (2012): 77-79, 77.

⁶⁷⁹ Rivard, “Colonial cartography,” 46.

⁶⁸⁰ Rivard, “Colonial,” 47.

Native people with the land”.⁶⁸¹ They were interested in the “factual information” that they could “insert into a European mental universe”.⁶⁸²

Lewis found that Indigenous maps cover many regions of North America, but there was emphasis on the great plain region which showed up more frequently in Indigenous map-making dating back to the early 1600s.⁶⁸³ In many cases, when language was a barrier, the map became a means of “communicating spatial information”.⁶⁸⁴ Lewis also states that Indigenous maps were “supplemented by gesture and speech”.⁶⁸⁵ Previous to and during the contact era, Indigenous maps were created (using all kinds of materials both organic and inorganic) through a number of different techniques including birch bark, skin, bone and wampum.⁶⁸⁶ A high percentage of these early maps have not survived due to the materials they were created on or they ended up in European and North American private and public collections such as “museums, map libraries, archives and government depositories”.⁶⁸⁷ It is often the case that Indigenous maps that ended up in private and public collections are “not even thought of as maps by their custodians, are rarely listed in printed catalogues or separately itemized in collection handlists or card catalogs” and they are often separated from any supporting documentation.⁶⁸⁸ During the early contact years, there are also reports of ephemeral maps that were drawn for explorers in sand or dirt or given through gesture.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸¹ Rivard, “Colonial,” 53.

⁶⁸² Rivard, “Colonial,” 53.

⁶⁸³ Lewis, “Indian Maps,” 91.

⁶⁸⁴ Lewis, “Introduction,” 2.

⁶⁸⁵ Lewis, “Introduction,” 2.

⁶⁸⁶ Lewis, “Introduction,” 2.

⁶⁸⁷ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 54.

⁶⁸⁸ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 54.

⁶⁸⁹ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 52.

By the era of the fur trade, there was a shift in Indigenous mapping and terrestrial maps began to emerge drawn on paper.⁶⁹⁰ The HBC relied on Indigenous geographical knowledge and they collected a large number of maps that were either drawn by Indigenous peoples or were copies of originals.⁶⁹¹ These maps were often annotated by Europeans as they gathered information from Indigenous guides. Over two-thirds of the Indigenous maps in the HBC archives were recorded by Peter Fidler.⁶⁹² He transcribed all the maps between 1801 and 1810, during his time as postmaster and surveyor for the HBC.⁶⁹³ He collected maps from several different Indigenous groups in the region who had different “hunting and travelling experiences”.⁶⁹⁴ Concerning Fidler’s journal, the maps were most likely all drawn by him with annotations about reduction in scale. This may indicate that Fidler was copying an ephemeral map that could have been drawn in the ground, snow or from a skin.⁶⁹⁵ Beattie states that most Indigenous maps are not formatted with Western “cartographic conventions”.⁶⁹⁶ The HBC examples are also selective in the mapping and are often focused on the purpose of the map, whether it was way-finding or regional.⁶⁹⁷ The maps can be separated into two types—area and route/trail maps; the area maps cover large portions of the region with significant features

⁶⁹⁰ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 52.

⁶⁹¹ Judith Hudson Beattie, “Indian Maps in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives: A Comparison of Five Area Maps Recorded by Peter Fidler, 1801-1802” *Archivaria* 21 (1986): 166-175, 166.

⁶⁹² Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 166.

⁶⁹³ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 166.

Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 166.

⁶⁹⁴ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 166.

⁶⁹⁵ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 173.

⁶⁹⁶ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 173.

⁶⁹⁷ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 173.

highlighted while the route/trail maps trace trails that run between points with information about obstacles and portages.⁶⁹⁸

In 1802, Fidler commissioned several maps from a Blackfoot chief Ki oo cus (the Little Bear).⁶⁹⁹ Fidler and Ki oo cus had a close relationship as the Blackfoot chief often aided Fidler by offering aid as a “guide, hunter, horseman, negotiator and protector”.⁷⁰⁰ Beattie states that Ki oo cus’s maps covered a number of river systems including the Saskatchewan and offered “unique features”.⁷⁰¹ This map only survived in Fidler’s transcript, but it contains significant knowledge of the vegetation and landscape features.⁷⁰² Interestingly, Ki oo cus put emphasis on the vegetation of the region emphasising if they could be eaten or used as a resource.⁷⁰³ For example, one of Ki oo cus’s maps represents “cultural features” including what is thought to be indicators of good places to make camp.⁷⁰⁴ In 1802, Fidler sent the Ki oo cus map as well as several others to the London Committee.⁷⁰⁵ The committee passed the maps onto Aaron Arrowsmith who incorporated many of the details into his revised map of North America.⁷⁰⁶ There were some issues with the proportions from the Indigenous maps in comparison to the Western versions. However, the Indigenous uninterest with traditional depictions of scale and topographical accuracy was less important than the information

⁶⁹⁸ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 173.

⁶⁹⁹ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 129.

⁷⁰⁰ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 174.

⁷⁰¹ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 129.

⁷⁰² Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 129.

⁷⁰³ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 129.

⁷⁰⁴ Lewis, “Maps, Map,” 130.

⁷⁰⁵ Fidler also collected 14 other route/trail maps between 1802 and 1809. Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 174.

⁷⁰⁶ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 174.

that was provided in the maps. The maps contained invaluable data that were “exactly what was needed for travelling in a confusing and unfamiliar area...notes were provided on the location and length of portages, distinctive topographical features near difficult connections...number of days for a journey” and the location of friendly posts and enemy posts.⁷⁰⁷ The Indigenous map was designed for the “journey” while the European map was designed for the atlas.

When it comes to Indigenous maps/trails, it is often difficult to find detailed resources in Canada. This lack of acknowledgement is most likely due to a lack or loss of knowledge. Rivard states that after the fur trade ended, the movement of settlers into the prairies as well as the change from trail use to steamboats and railroads was responsible for the erasure of the Indigenous from the settler map. She states that “many of the old names that once had covered the prairie disappeared beneath the rails and crops”.⁷⁰⁸ Lewis states that “eighteenth and early nineteenth-century cartographers seldom cited the sources of their information”.⁷⁰⁹ The idea of “Métissage” from the colonial viewpoint was “caught between the recognition of an emerging geography of cultural mixing and a dominant anti-Métis ideology that relied on belief in a primitive society and in its expected assimilation”.⁷¹⁰ The collection landscape data was only the beginning of the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge that occurred throughout the colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada. This evolved into the era of “collecting” in the late 19th century. This rise in interest concerning Indigenous artefacts and art found wealthy

⁷⁰⁷ Beattie, “Indian Maps,” 175.

⁷⁰⁸ Rivard, “Colonial cartography,” 60.

⁷⁰⁹ Lewis, “Maps: Map,” 104.

⁷¹⁰ Rivard, “Colonial cartography,” 62.

tourists from Europe flocking to North America to catch a glimpse of an authentic Indigenous ceremony, watch a “thirst” dance or collect an Indigenous artefact to add to their collections at home.

2.5 The Pictograph that the Queen of England never saw

In 2000, a historical ledger paper document known as the “North American Indian Pictographic Treaty Record” dating from 1883 (nine years after the signing of Treaty 4 in 1874) was put at auction in London, U.K. by a descendant of W.H. Barneby.⁷¹¹ The document was purchased by an anonymous Canadian collector for \$87,000.⁷¹² In 2007, it was purchased by a group comprised of Saskatchewan's Pasqua First Nation and the Royal Saskatchewan Museum for \$174,000.⁷¹³ The document was repatriated in a ceremony on June 21, 2007 and is housed at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina.⁷¹⁴ Blair Stonechild states that the pictograph is extremely rare and no comparable record “exists from the First Nations side of the negotiations” of the numbered treaties.⁷¹⁵ The document is in two panels measuring 33cm long and 42 cm wide.⁷¹⁶ Each panel features a “large number of pencil drawings of situation and items”.⁷¹⁷ The left panel depicts Chief Pasqua’s general understanding of Treaty 4, the right panel features an illustrated account of provisions that he received after the signing of Treaty 4.⁷¹⁸ The document also bears a number of faded notations made in pencil as well as a printed

⁷¹¹ Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 1.

⁷¹² Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 1.

⁷¹³ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

⁷¹⁴ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

⁷¹⁵ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

⁷¹⁶ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

⁷¹⁷ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

⁷¹⁸ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 110.

description (by Barneby) on the back.⁷¹⁹ The pictograph has been examined numerous times since Barneby took the document from Pasqua. When examining the document, Bob Beal has stated that it closely aligns with Alexander Morris's writing concerning the negotiations of Treaty 4.⁷²⁰ The re-emergence of the pictograph brings up a number of questions. How would an English gentleman obtain such a document? What did the pictograph intend to impress upon its viewers? What can we learn about the journey of the pictograph and how does this relate to Indigenous and settler relations at this moment in time?

In the spring and summer of 1883, an English gentleman named W. H. Barneby accompanied by a friend, Meysey Clive and brother-in-law Arthur Mitchell travelled across the Canadian West.⁷²¹ After his return to England, Barneby wrote a book chronicling his adventures in the west titled "Life and Labour in the Far, Far, West". In the book he stated that his mission on this trip was not only to "enjoy a pleasant trip" but to collect information about farming and immigration to help assist English settlers interested in immigrating to the United States or Canada.⁷²² Barneby visited Fort Qu'Appelle in July of 1883 and happened upon the end of "the principal annual gathering of the Saulteaux and Plains Cree of the Treaty 4 area" who had just held a "thirst

⁷¹⁹ Beal, "An Indian Chief," 110.

⁷²⁰ Beal, "An Indian Chief," 122.

⁷²¹ William Henry Barneby, *Life and Labour in the Far, Far West*. (London: Cassell & Company Ltd. 1884), 11.

⁷²² Interestingly, Barneby claimed to be travelling around the West collecting information for English who wished to immigrate to Canada. However, he suggested in his book that English gentlemen should not immigrate to Canada lest they become involved with an Indigenous woman and exile themselves from Britain forever. He landed at New York and traveled to St. Louis, Denver, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Victoria, the Cascade Mountains, Nanaimo, Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Helena, Glyndon, Winnipeg, Brandon, Qu'Appelle, Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Moose Jaw, St. Paul, Chicago, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, 11.

dance”.⁷²³ The “thirst dance” often “mistakenly called the ‘Sun Dance’” was an important ceremony for the Cree and Saulteaux.⁷²⁴ Beal states that Barneby was disappointed that he missed the thirst dance as it was a “major tourist attraction, with tourists trying to outdo each other by describing how revolting the ceremony was”.⁷²⁵ Barneby, Arthur T. H. Williams⁷²⁶ and the rest of his party (and a number of tourists) were welcomed by Chief Pasqua (the Plain) who introduced him to six other Chiefs in attendance, they included: Mee-may or Gabriel Cote (the Pigeon) from Fort Pelly, Keechehona (the Keys) from The Keys, Kus-kee-tew-mus-coo-mus-qua (Little Black Bear) from Cypress Hills (Qu’Appelle), Pepekings (Eagle) from Tite Hills, Okanes (Thigh-bones) from Tite Hills and Ka-na-ca-toose (Poor Man) from the Touchwood Hills and Qu’Appelle Lakes.⁷²⁷ Pasqua hosted Barneby and the others and “treated” them to a pow-wow in a large tipi.⁷²⁸ Speeches were given by Pasqua as well as Williams, gifts were given to the Indigenous people with a promise of more in the future.⁷²⁹ Barneby’s only mention of the pictograph at this time was “a few days later I was given a paper drawn by this Chief (Pasqua), showing everything he has received from the Government;

⁷²³ Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 2.

⁷²⁴ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 142.

⁷²⁵ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 142.

⁷²⁶ Arthur Trefusis Heneage Williams was a militia officer, businessman and politician being a member of Parliament, Conservative Party Whip in the House of Commons and a close friend of Prime Minister John A. MacDonal. He grew up in Port Hope, Ontario where his father was the first mayor. He had been involved in the local militia in Port Hope since the 1860s but took command of the 46th East Durham Battalion in 1866. He travelled to the west to secure funding and investments as he was having issues with a number of bad investments in Ontario. He continued his command of his militia company and joined Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton in the subduing of the Metis resistance at the battle of Batoche. On July 4th, he died from complications of fever while travelling on the steamer The Northwest. Desmond Morton, “Williams, Arthur Trefusis Heneage” Dictionary of Canadian Biography, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?id_nbr=5905.

⁷²⁷ I have only been able to identify 5 of the seven chiefs that Barneby mentioned in his journal. I have left the unidentified chief italicized. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, 215.

⁷²⁸ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 142

⁷²⁹ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 142.

it really is a great curiosity”.⁷³⁰ Beal states that it is dubious that Barneby only mentions his receipt of the pictograph in one sentence in his journal and does not go into any detail over “how and why he received it”.⁷³¹

Unknown to Barneby, this annual gathering was also the beginning of a critical time for the chiefs.⁷³² The buffalo had been hunted out and agriculture on the plains was “experimental and tenuous”.⁷³³ The Indigenous peoples of the Qu’Appelle area as well as the rest of the plains faced starvation. The government was not coming to their aid and saw the “increasing hunger as a way to enforce its will on the Indians”.⁷³⁴ The government wanted Indigenous peoples to move to the reserves but it was not a stipulation of the treaties or stated in law at this time.⁷³⁵ Agricultural assistance was provided but would be accessed only “if the Indians wanted to take advantage of them”.⁷³⁶ The use of hunger as a method to control Indigenous groups was not a new concept for the Canadian government.⁷³⁷ For example, in 1882, the Cree and Assiniboine who remained in the Cypress Hills were told that no more rations would be issued to them unless they moved to Qu’Appelle, Battleford and Fort Pitt.⁷³⁸ This led to several confrontations between Cree and government officials including the Canadian Mounted Police between 1882 and 1884. In many cases, police were sent to break up Indigenous

⁷³⁰ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 142

⁷³¹ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 145.

⁷³² Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 2.

⁷³³ Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 2.

⁷³⁴ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 143.

⁷³⁵ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 144.

⁷³⁶ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 144.

⁷³⁷ John L. Tobias, “Canada’s subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879–1885.” *Canadian Historical Review* 64, 4 (1983): 519-548, 526.

⁷³⁸ Tobias, “Canada’s subjugation,” 530.

gatherings such as thirst dances. It was clear that by 1885, Canadian officials such as Hayter Reed⁷³⁹ and Edgar Dewdney had failed to isolate different Cree groups to reserves chosen for them in the Qu'Appelle region and where those groups were preparing to “renegotiate treaties” in which “an Indian territory and greater autonomy for the Cree would be major provisions”.⁷⁴⁰ Barneby had unwittingly walked into a moment in time that would redefine the history of the Indigenous peoples of the West. As Barneby stated after leaving the Pasqua pow-wow, it was a sight “we shall probably never see again”.⁷⁴¹

So, why did Pasqua create the document and then give it to W.H. Barneby? Beal theorizes that Pasqua created the document “all at once, from memory covering several years. He kept his accounts (and his entire library) in his head. In his oral-based society, that was perfectly sufficient”.⁷⁴² Blair Stonechild also theorizes that Pasqua had recently created the pictograph of Treaty 4 and, after seeing the arrival of Barneby’s party to their gathering, thought it was “an auspicious time...to bring such a document to official attention”.⁷⁴³ Beal states that Pasqua created the document in an effort to “persuade the

⁷³⁹ Hayter Reed (May 26, 1849 – December 21, 1936) was a Canadian politician. Reed worked closely with Edgar Dewdney in attempting to push Indigenous groups in the West to become agriculturalists. Together with Dewdney, Reed employed starvation as a tactic to push Indigenous groups to reserves and agriculture. However, when Indigenous individuals did attempt to begin farming, they were not allowed to have modern farming equipment. Reed was also instrumental in the reserve “pass system” that restricted Indigenous peoples from leaving their reserve without permission from the Indian agent. Robert James Nestor, “Hayter Reed, Severalty, and the Subdivision of Indian Reserves on the Canadian Prairies” MA Thesis, University of Regina, 1998.

⁷⁴⁰ Tobias, “Canada’s subjugation,” 539

⁷⁴¹ Barneby made this type of statement various times in his journals. When discussing the illness of his travelling companion Clive, he stated that it was sad that Clive had missed “all that we have seen, especially as regards the Indians, for in a few more years such sights will be of the past. Barneby, “Life and Labour,” 215.

⁷⁴² Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 45.

⁷⁴³ Stonechild, “Recovering the,” 2.

White man that he had not received all he was due under the treaty”.⁷⁴⁴ According to oral history, Pasqua may have asked that Barneby take the pictograph back to England as a message to give to Queen Victoria.⁷⁴⁵ Pasqua most likely deduced that this meeting with Barneby and Williams was his best chance to send a message to Queen Victoria. He may have deduced that if he could persuade Barneby to carry a message that it would also be an incentive for the “government” to do more to “live up to the treaty and be more help” to his people.⁷⁴⁶ Did Barneby and Williams understand “Pasqua’s purpose” or the “meaning and importance” of the document? Beal states that even “if they had understood, they would not have cared”.⁷⁴⁷ Barneby was an English traveller/tourist, he was interested in collecting curiosities from his adventures. He was not interested in the plight of the Indigenous peoples of the Plains but rather what artefacts that he could collect and display in his collection.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁴ Bob Beal, "An Indian Chief, an English Tourist, a Doctor, a Reverend, and a Member of Parliament: The Journeys of Pasqua's Pictographs and the Meaning of Treaty Four." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 27, no. 1 (2007): 109.145.

⁷⁴⁵ Ashley Robinson, “Historical pictograph exhibit tells story of Treaty 4 signing” *Regina Leader-Post*, January 6, 2017. <https://leaderpost.com/news/local-news/historical-pictograph-exhibit-tells-story-of-treaty-4-signing>

⁷⁴⁶ Beal “An Indian Chief,” 145.

⁷⁴⁷ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 145.

⁷⁴⁸ Beal states that at the time Barneby received the pictograph from Pasqua, Williams received a letter. This letter was labeled private and was not signed or dated. The letter was a warning to the House of Commons and the Prime Minister that the “Indians were restless”, they were not happy with the number of rations and treaty supplies. Beal speculates that the letter was given to Williams, most likely in an attempt to bypass Commissioner Dewdney and express their discontent over his mistreatment of the Cree and other Indigenous groups. In the same year, the Cree chiefs had expressed to MacDonald that Dewdney or any of his Indian agents did not keep their promises. Williams, who was seemingly unconcerned with the plight of the Indigenous peoples that he chanced to meet, gave the letter to Dewdney. Dewdney did send the letter to John A. MacDonald but did so after writing a six-page cover letter addressing and discrediting every point in the letter. Beal, “An Indian chief,” 145.

In 1889, William Withrow published his book, *Our Own Country Canada* to celebrate the first two decades of Canada's existence.⁷⁵⁴ In this book, Withrow makes numerous mentions of the "doom of the aboriginal population of this continent".⁷⁵⁵ As Robin Fisher stated in his work, *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*, "it is important...to examine the image of the Indian that had already built up in the mind of the European and the extent to which it changed with the coming of the settlers".⁷⁵⁶ Fisher states that "it was widely held, both in Britain and North America, that colonization by definition involved the extermination of the 'inferior' indigenous peoples".⁷⁵⁷ It was even stated that the "inevitable doom" of the Indigenous existence was a part of "nature" itself.⁷⁵⁸ Fisher relates the story of a visitor to the Pacific northwest who, pondering the reason for Indigenous existence, stated that "perhaps, they were only meant to live a life in the wilds until 'races of greater capacity were ready to occupy the soil'".⁷⁵⁹ This general attitude, combined with a growing interest in artefact collecting, ushered in the age of the tourist/collector. Beginning in the mid-19th century and continuing into the 20th, settlers/tourists (who replaced amateur ethnographers and archaeologists) raced to collect to collect Indigenous artefacts with the thought that they were preserving the last remnants of a "dying race".⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁴ Maureen Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, National Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race'" *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, 17, 2 (1990): 138-149, 138.

⁷⁵⁵ Ryan, "Picturing Canada's," 138.

⁷⁵⁶ Robin Fisher *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 73.

⁷⁵⁷ Fisher, "Contact and Conflict," 87.

⁷⁵⁸ Fisher, "Contact and Conflict," 88.

⁷⁵⁹ Fisher, "Contact and Conflict," 88.

⁷⁶⁰ Fisher, "Contact and Conflict," 88.

The collection of the Pasqua pictograph is thus consistent with this era of tourist exploration. When Barneby returned to England, he sent the pictograph back to a friend James Kerr⁷⁶¹ in Winnipeg to have it translated by a contact at the Indian Agency.⁷⁶² Beal states that “Winnipeg was not the right place to send a document drawn by Chief Pasqua” but that Barneby could not have known this.⁷⁶³ The Winnipeg department covered Treaty 3 negotiations and amendments. Therefore, the Regina office would have been the place to send such a document as they were familiar with Treaty 4 negotiations.⁷⁶⁴ There were major differences between Treaty 3 and 4 peoples. The people of Treaty 3 were woods-based Ojibwa, the people of Treaty 4 were mainly Plains Cree, Saulteaux (Plains Ojibwa) and Assiniboine. The pictograph clearly shows symbolism and dress of the Plains people. Kerr sent the document to George Bryce⁷⁶⁵ who was a Presbyterian minister, an amateur historian, and the founder of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society.⁷⁶⁶ Bryce

⁷⁶¹ James Kerr was the first Dean of Medicine at the Manitoba Medical College. He knew Barneby because he cared for his friend Meyzey Clive (who died of Typhoid in Winnipeg in 1883. Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 147.

⁷⁶² Barneby wrote this about the condition of the pictograph: “This interesting paper represents the method adopted by some of the Indian Chiefs of North America for keeping a record of the supplies granted them by Government at treaty times, during a successive series of years...the original of this paper was given to me in July, 1883, whilst traveling in that portion of the North-West Territory of the Dominion of Canada in which the Cree tribe is predominant. After my return to England I sent it, in November, 1883, back to a friend in Winnipeg, who undertook to get it translated by a gentleman in the Indian Agency, with the intention that in its return it should form the frontispiece to ‘Life and Labour in the Far, Far West’. After much delay, and a good deal of correspondence, I received a letter dated August 13th, 1884m, saying the picture had been dispatched to my home address some time previously; but, as I had not received it...(thirteen months after I had parted with it), the drawing arrived in tattered condition.” Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 10.

⁷⁶³ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 147.

⁷⁶⁴ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 147.

⁷⁶⁵ George Bryce was born on a farm near Mount Pleasant, Ontario in 1844. His family were recent immigrants from Scotland. Bryce was a Presbyterian minister who moved from Ontario to Winnipeg in 1871. He was one of the founders of the University of Manitoba and taught science. He also served a term as the president of the Royal Society of Canada. He wrote several studies of Manitoba history focusing on Treaty 3 territory including “The Mound Builders” and “Early Days in Winnipeg”. Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 148.

⁷⁶⁶ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 148.

then loaned the document to another colleague to make a translation. During this time, the pictograph was reduced to a “tattered condition” with many notations written in pencil.⁷⁶⁷ The pencil notations that were made on the pictograph were clearly done by someone who was knowledgeable about Treaty 3 but not 4. Interestingly, Bryce gave a speech in 1884 and described a document that was “too-close-to-be-coincidence” to the Pasqua pictograph.⁷⁶⁸ In his speech, Bryce extolled the virtues of the document and gave his own interpretation of Pasqua’s meaning.⁷⁶⁹ It was clear that Bryce did not have much knowledge of Treaty 4 people but he “pretended it was his document and his knowledge”.⁷⁷⁰ Bryce later put the pictograph into the historical society’s museum where it was retrieved by Kerr and returned to Barneby in England.⁷⁷¹ The pictograph was never delivered to the Queen but was framed and hung in Barneby’s private collection.⁷⁷² It remained there for over 100 years.

The Pasqua pictograph attempted to convey to the Queen of England that the Indigenous participants of Treaty 4 did not feel that they had been treated fairly in the treaty negotiations. The capture of the pictograph and its time in the hands of men such as Bryce and Barneby was a failed attempt at Métissage. Bryce and Barneby did not see the pictograph as a message or as a protest of broken treaty promises. They viewed it as a curiosity. It was something to collect, a trophy that they could hang on a wall and show

⁷⁶⁷ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 111.

⁷⁶⁸ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 148.

⁷⁶⁹ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 148.

⁷⁷⁰ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 149.

⁷⁷¹ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 148.

⁷⁷² Robinson, “Historical pictograph”

off at dinner parties. To a certain extent, the pictograph experienced colonization as certainly as Pasqua's people did.

There has been a rift between the descendants of Treaty 4 since it was signed in 1874. Symbols of this rift have been on public display in Fort Qu'Appelle since 1915. If you walked into Treaty park in the centre of town, you would find a stark stone obelisk bleached by time and concrete in its settler language concerning the events of Treaty 4. Seven minutes away at the edge of a historic burial ground sits an Indigenous monument that tells the story from the perspective of the people who have inhabited the region for millennia.

2.6 A Tale of Two Monuments & the Lost Stone.

“...They say he asks too many questions but
doesn't wait to listen. Asks
much about yesterday, little about today
and acts as if he knows tomorrow.
Others don't like the way he's always busy writing
stuff in the notebooks he carries. Him,
he calls it poetry
and says it will make us who are doomed
live forever.
—Armand Garnet Ruffo (Ojibwa), “Poem for Duncan Campbell
Scott”⁷⁷³

“Canada has learned nothing from its history with Indigenous peoples. The current historical moment involves a striking repetition of egregious past mistakes, in which the overall demands of capital accumulation underwrite a set of colonial policies whose ultimate impact is the dispossession and impoverishment of indigenous communities.”⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷³ Armand Garnet Ruffo is a Canadian scholar, filmmaker, writer and poet with Ojibway ancestry. Armand Garnet Ruffo, *Opening in the Sky*. Penticton: Theytus Books, 1994.

⁷⁷⁴ Peter Kulchyski, "Trail to tears: Concerning modern treaties in Northern Canada." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 31, 1 (2015): 69-82, 69.

Treaty interpretation has a history of long held divergent explanations of treaty language and meaning between both Indigenous and settler peoples in Canada. Such discrepancies in meaning have long prejudiced “the relationship between the two founding peoples”.⁷⁷⁵ Robert Talbot states that many historians and scholars who have studied and written about Treaty 4 have “generally argued that treaty negotiations did not produce mutually understood terms”.⁷⁷⁶ However, there has been much speculation concerning the reason for “irreconcilable conceptions” over the meaning and significance of the treaties between settler and Indigenous peoples.⁷⁷⁷ John S. Milloy in his work “Tipahamatoowin or Treaty 4?: Speculations on Alternate Texts”, stated that “at the core of treaty-making, remembering and interpreting were, and continue to be, elemental cultural differences”.⁷⁷⁸ Many descendants of the Treaty 4 signatories have maintained that due to cultural and linguistic differences, in addition to differing views about land ownership, the signatories of Treaty 4 interpreted the meaning of the document differently than the commissioners. Modern interpretations of the treaty also argue that the lack of legal counsel and pressure from the commissioners to finalize the treaty left the Indigenous signatories with relatively little bargaining power.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁵ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage,” 534.

⁷⁷⁶ Robert Talbot, *Negotiating the Numbered Treaties: An Intellectual and Political History of Alexander Morris*. (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2019), 9.

⁷⁷⁷ Talbot, *Negotiating the*, 9.

⁷⁷⁸ Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin,” 93.

⁷⁷⁹ Peter Kulchyski states in his work “Trail to Tears: Concerning Modern Treaties in Northern Canada” that the numbered treaties included “a clause purporting to surrender or extinguish (though that word was not used) all rights, titles, or interests to lands of a Treaty Nations signatory in exchange for a series of loosely defined promises to reserve lands, education, health care (in some cases), harvesting rights, monetary payments and agricultural or harvesting tools. The Treaty Nations involved have often asserted that the treaty promises, frequently made orally, were much stronger and would make those agreements much more relevant if they were respected. In the event, the agreements were not particularly well respected by the settler colonial signatories, and the numbered treaties became one sided: allowing settlement and resource extraction while the well being of Treaty Nations was seriously eroded.”, 69.

Monuments and memorials are universal embodiments of collective memory. As previously discussed in this paper, the monument has long been an “integral part of the settler nation’s self-construction”. However, this has raised concern over the place of Indigenous memory within the national consciousness. As this project is working towards the realization of a commemoration model for the Indian Residential Schools in Canada, it will return to the Qu’Appelle Valley region to examine the contrast in meaning in the language and symbolism at the site of two monuments, one settler, one Indigenous. By re-contextualizing and re-visualizing the foundational texts of the treaties through the examination of treaty monuments, the following analysis will examine the history and the language of the two treaty monuments as foundational documents. This section will examine the history of the Fort Qu’Appelle Treaty 4 monuments analysing the motivation for their creation as well as the social geography of the time. Although they commemorate the same event, they have completely different messages, symbols and aesthetics. This analysis will help to understand how the disparities in treaty language continue to contribute to a rift in the relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples. If this thesis can address the divergence of the symbols, aesthetics, and language on two monuments that reside in the same town (only a seven-minute walk apart), perhaps, it can contribute to how Canadians and others learn from the past and create a foundation for an IRS commemoration model that will aid the reconciliation process and healing discourse surrounding the ongoing rift between Indigenous and settler populations.

2.6.1 The way to Treaty 4

In the Canadian government document, “Treaty Implementation: Fulfilling the Covenant,” there is considerable discussion concerning “divergent views” over treaty

terms between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government.⁷⁸⁰ The document contains discussions of many of the issues that have concerned and continue to concern Indigenous peoples to this day. These include, exercising hunting, fishing and trapping rights, land entitlement, consultation and accommodation, the value of annuities, the present value of unpaid treaty benefits in relation to economic assistance, health and education.⁷⁸¹ Of all of the above mentioned concerns, it seems that the right to land, title and resources was and continues to be of highest concern as it is the foundation for many of the rifts that have formed between Indigenous and settler groups.⁷⁸² By 1873, the first three of the numbered treaties had been completed and the Canadian government had stalled in its consultations to begin another treaty discussion. Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris who negotiated Treaty 3 had begun to lobby to initiate a treaty process with the Indigenous groups west of Manitoba. For Ottawa, the effort to create treaties with Indigenous peoples of the West was contingent on necessity. At that point, the government did not need a treaty for railway construction and major settlement had not commenced in the West. The government was moving to create treaties to secure, promote and protect commercial interests and to secure the border between Canada and the USA. However, there was agitation rising among Indigenous populations in the West. A number of issues had emerged that included Indigenous worries over the depletion of natural resources such as the bison population, the possibility of settler incursion into

⁷⁸⁰ Canada. Office of the Treaty Commissioner. *Treaty Implementation: Fulfilling the Covenant*. Purich Pub, 2007., 98.

⁷⁸¹ Canada, *Treaty Implementation*, 98.

⁷⁸² Canada, *Treaty Implementation*, 98.

Indigenous territory, border raids from Americans and the sale of Indigenous territory from the HBC to Canada.⁷⁸³

Alexander Morris reacted to rumours of the mounting anxiety and continued to pressure the government to agree to the negotiation of Treaty 4. In early September of 1874, Morris, together with a militia escort and accompanied by HBC employee William J. Christie and David Laird, headed to Fort Qu'Appelle to begin negotiations.⁷⁸⁴ The population of Treaty 4 was divided among several different Indigenous groups including Plains Cree, Saulteaux, Assiniboine and Sioux. Morris stated that the written treaty that he was offering was “a significant benefit for First Nations’ negotiators and their descendants”.⁷⁸⁵

However, regardless of Morris’s positive intentions, three issues plagued the negotiations from the beginning: the political rift between the Cree and Saulteaux, the apparent “sale” of HBC territory to Canada and the HBC’s continued trading activity in the area.⁷⁸⁶ The “sale” of HBC territory to Canada was in part the cause of the rift between the Cree and Saulteaux who disagreed over its importance in treaty negotiations but agreed on the conflict concerning the concept of “land sales”.⁷⁸⁷ Indigenous peoples often have a different understanding of the treaties from that of the federal government in part due to differences between what was said and what was written. Beal states that “in the Indian philosophy, the Creator had given the land and its resources to the Indians. The

⁷⁸³ Canada, *Treaty Implementation*, 98.

⁷⁸⁴ David Laird was the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories from 1876 to 1881. He was also a member of Parliament and was involved in the negotiation of several of the numbered treaties including Treaty 4. Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin,” 95.

⁷⁸⁵ Milloy, “Tipahamatoowin,” 95.

⁷⁸⁶ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 118.

⁷⁸⁷ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 118.

Indians did not “own” the land; the Creator did. The Indians could make appropriate use of the land and its resources, and they could share those uses with others. But they could not sell anything.”⁷⁸⁸ The use of language such as “cede”, and “share” are major differences between the two Treaty 4 monuments.

2.6.2 Edmund Morris and the Settler Monument

The origin and creation of the settler monument at Fort Qu’Appelle is connected to many notable figures from late 19th century Canada including members of the Canadian government, the Indian Residential School system, those involved in the negotiation and signing of many of the numbered treaties, the first Canadian monument designers and many cultural organizations that formed across Canada at this time. The inspiration for the first settler monument at Fort Qu’Appelle can be traced back to one man, Edmund Morris.⁷⁸⁹ Edmund was the youngest son of Alexander Morris and Margaret Cline. Edmund grew up immersed in his father’s work as Treaty commissioner. McGill states that Edmund was “exposed to Indian culture” from a young age as “Indian chiefs and headmen in colourful regalia frequently came to call on the Governor”.⁷⁹⁰ Edmund (most likely inspired by his childhood and his father’s legacy) had a lifelong fascination with Indigenous peoples.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁸ Beal, “An Indian Chief,” 118.

⁷⁸⁹ This paper will refer to Alexander Morris as Morris and his son as Edmund to save the reader from any confusion.

⁷⁹⁰ Endowed with a large inheritance, Morris II devoted his time practicing fine art specializing in painting and pastels. He began his education in Paris at the Académie Julian and the École des Beaux-Arts. He returned to Toronto in 1896 and joined a group of Montreal artists including Edmond Dyonnet and Maurice Galbraith Cullen. Jean McGill, “Edmund Morris among the Saskatchewan Indians and the Fort Qu’Appelle Monument,” *Saskatchewan History* 35, 3 (1982): 101-108, 101.

⁷⁹¹ McGill, “Edmund Morris,” 101.



First using photographs, Edmund began to create a portrait series of various treaty Indigenous chiefs in 1905. His work quickly gained admiration from Duncan Campbell Scott who was asked by Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier to purchase several portraits for display at Parliament. At this time, Edmund became close friends with Scott who eventually invited him to travel with his party to the negotiations of Treaty 9 in Northern Ontario. Edmund was not only a spectator but was under commission from the Ontario government to create portraits of all the “Indian leaders involved in the transactions” of Treaty 9.⁷⁹³ It is important to examine Scott and Edmund’s friendship especially when understanding the atmosphere of the era. They shared an artistic sensibility, as Scott was considered to be one of Canada’s poets.⁷⁹⁴ However, Scott’s poetry has long been overshadowed by his egregious actions regarding the lives of Indigenous peoples in Canada. A career civil servant focusing his entire career on Indigenous affairs, some of

⁷⁹² “L’artiste Edmund Morris peignant le chef Chessequim.” Library and Archives Canada/MIKAN 3629525, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayEcopies&lang=eng&rec_nbr=3629525&title=L%27artiste+Edmund+Morris+peignant+le+chef+Chessequim.+&ecopy=a059587

⁷⁹³ Stan Dragland, *Floating voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the literature of Treaty 9*. (House of Anansi, 1994), 209.

⁷⁹⁴ Scott was honoured for his writing during his lifetime and after his death. He was honoured as an elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1899, the Lorne Pierce Medal in 1927, Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1934, honorary degrees from the University of Toronto and Queen’s University and as a Person of National Historic Significance in 1948. However, due to his regime of assimilation of Indigenous peoples in Canada, not all of Scott’s accolades are positive, as he was voted one of the Worst Canadians in 2007 by The Beaver magazine.

his more questionable contributions include overseeing the operations of the IRS system, passing the 1920 amendment making IRS attendance compulsory, and creating the 1925 amendment to the Indian Act (Section 141) that prevented Indigenous peoples from hiring lawyers in land claims.⁷⁹⁵ Furthermore, Scott has been blamed for the high death rates of Indigenous children in the Indian Residential School system as he was accused of causing undue hardships for Indigenous children resulting in high death rates particularly by Dr. Bryce who wrote a pamphlet in 1922 titled “The Story of a National Crime”.⁷⁹⁶ Scott would meet with Edmund during his travels through Saskatchewan around the time that he was working on the designs for the settler Treaty 4 monument at Fort Qu’Appelle.⁷⁹⁷

Based on the success of the Treaty 9 portraits, Edmund was commissioned to travel “through Saskatchewan and Alberta” to find and draw portraits of the “remaining chiefs and headmen who had participated in the treaties negotiated by his late father”.⁷⁹⁸ To a certain extent, Edmund considered himself to be an amateur ethnographer as well as

⁷⁹⁵ Section 141 outlawed the hiring of lawyers and legal counsel by Indians, effectively barring Aboriginal peoples from fighting for their rights through the legal system. Brian E. Titley, *A narrow vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the administration of Indian affairs in Canada*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 93.

⁷⁹⁶ In 1922, Dr. Bryce wrote a book “The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada”. The book provided evidence of the Canadian governments role in the creation and maintenance of negative conditions in Indian Residential Schools that led directly to the high death rate among Indigenous students who attended the schools. He especially focuses on the government’s failure to act after they were warned and notified of death rates. He stated that “[In the schools, a }trail of disease and death has gone almost unchecked by any serious efforts on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs”. Milloy, “A National,” 51, Sproule-Jones, “Crusading,” 218–19.

⁷⁹⁷ Scott wrote a poem about Edmund called “Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris”. The poem is intricate and allows us a poetic insight into Morris II’s friendship with Scott. The poem alludes to Edmund’s terrible handwriting (this is also attested to by the Mary FitzGibbon, translator of Edmunds journals) as well as mentioning the Touchwood Hills close to Fort Qu’Appelle.

⁷⁹⁸ McGill, “Edmund Morris,” 101.

a portrait artist.⁷⁹⁹ Henderson points out that “the ethnographic imperative became a very important motive for Indian portrait making”.⁸⁰⁰ Edmund traveled to Qu’Appelle where it was suggested that he meet with Reverend J. Huggonard who founded the residential school at Lebret. Huggonard had been present at the signing of Treaty 4 and agreed to assist Edmund in finding Indigenous chiefs and “pure specimens” of Indigenous tribes of the area. Edmund (like many of his contemporaries) was obsessed with preserving Indigenous peoples through the collection of Indigenous artefacts, photography, the recording of Indigenous stories and legends, creating portraits of “Indian types” and encouraging provincial and the federal government to commemorate Indigenous heroes.⁸⁰¹ His search for “pure specimens” also fit into his hobby as ethnographer as he was “constant in search of those Indians who had existed before contact with white civilization”.⁸⁰² He stated that “No time should be lost...as the Indians who went on the warpath and hunted the buffalo are fast disappearing from the scene, and the younger generation are losing their identity”.⁸⁰³ Edmund like Barneby and his pictograph “shared the pervasive Euro-American belief that native cultures were in their death throes”.⁸⁰⁴ Ironically, Edmund was even known to encourage Indigenous artists such as “Sakimay” to record “a vanishing way of life” by supplying them with buffalo skins to paint their life stories on.⁸⁰⁵ Interestingly, many Indigenous artists that he encouraged actually asked for

⁷⁹⁹ His efforts as an ethnographer are also apparent in his use of pastels. Pastels could be used as a medium for on-the-spot sketching, they were easy to transport and could easily capture gradations of colour and shading when drawing from life. Lisa Gaye Henderson, “Emblems of Identity: An Introduction to the Painting of Indian Portraits in Canada” MA Thesis, 1991, 41.

⁸⁰⁰ Henderson, “Emblems of,” 41.

⁸⁰¹ Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 210.

⁸⁰² Henderson, “Emblems of,” 43.

⁸⁰³ McGill, “Edmund Morris,” 101.

⁸⁰⁴ Henderson, “Emblems of,” 58.

⁸⁰⁵ Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 210.

ledgers to work on but Edmund insisted on buffalo robes as he deemed them more authentic.⁸⁰⁶

2.6.3 The Lost Stone: The Smiling Buffalo

It is not clear what inspired Edmund to develop the plans for the Treaty memorials for Fort Qu'Appelle (Treaty 4), Fort Carlton (Treaty 6) and Fort Pitt (Treaty 6); however, some have surmised that it was due to the death of his father and connected with the time he spent among Indigenous peoples. Edmund was a strong supporter of art groups and associations in Toronto and he quickly aligned himself with the Saskatchewan branch of the Western Art Association.⁸⁰⁷ They were excited to be a part of the planning of a monument in their area and formed a committee in order to raise money.⁸⁰⁸ Edmund returned to Toronto and enlisted the help of friends Walter Allward⁸⁰⁹ (who was a well-

⁸⁰⁶ Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 210.

⁸⁰⁷ In 1908, the Winnipeg Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada decided to establish their own organization called the Western Art Association. The aim of the association was to celebrate and promote pioneer life in the province and celebrate and offer a marketplace for handicrafts and art history education. They also promoted and encouraged public interest in the study of art in Western Canada and maintained a permanent collection of Indigenous artifacts, organized the loan of artefacts to other museums and held studio tours and lecture series. They aided in the establishment of a branch of their association in Fort Qu'Appelle. From this branch, the association staged several events, lobbied for the creation of an art gallery and a museum, established a tea room and a shop specializing in settler and Indigenous handicrafts. They also worked to sponsor scholarships for female artists to access the Winnipeg School of Art. In 1914, they helped to open a marketplace for the sale of local sewing, cookery, toys and carving. The Saskatchewan branch remained open until 1921 with its main years of activity spanning the period between 1908 to 1916. Virginia G. Berry, *Taming the frontier: Art and women in the Canadian west, 1880-1920*. (Bayeux, 2005).

⁸⁰⁸ The committee was composed of Miss MacDonald (President of the Saskatchewan Branch) Edmund Morris, W.M. Graham, J.S. Court, Barnet Harvey and C. Spring-Rice. McGill, "Edmund Morris," 103.

⁸⁰⁹ Walter Seymour Allward (b. 1876-d. 1955) was a Canadian monumental sculptor who is best known for the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France. His other notable works include: The Boer War Memorial Fountain in Windsor, the South African War Memorial in Toronto, the Baldwin-Lafontaine Monument in Ottawa, and the Bell Telephone Memorial in Brantford.

known sculptor) and John Pearson⁸¹⁰ (architect) to collaborate on a design for the Fort Qu'Appelle monument. He proposed the idea for a monument to commemorate the signing of treaties to the Western Art Association.

Interestingly, there are numerous reports that Edmund had planned to incorporate an ancient stone from the area into the monument. He first mentions the stone in his diaries dated in 1909 that he had discovered a “large rock, crudely shaped like a head, large mouth from ear to ear and eyes, hollow in the rock where the Crees placed offerings. It was their custom & is still, I believe, to make journeys to this spot about July”.⁸¹¹ This ancient ribstone alternately known as the “Smiling Buffalo stone”, “the Lizard”, “the Berry Creek ribstone” and the “Morris stone” was collected by Edmund sometime between 1909 and 1911 during his travels across Alberta. The stone was later studied by researchers Marie Wormington and Richard Forbis in 1965.⁸¹² Wormington and Forbis extensively studied the “Ribstone Complex” and indicated that “ribstones” such as the “Smiling Buffalo” were “usually made on glacial erratics and consist of cupules and grooves or ribs”.⁸¹³ Erinn Dayle Schneider states that the Ribstone Complex includes the “Scapa, Viking, Trochu and Endiang Ribstone, as well as the Lizard/Smiling Buffalo, all of which show cupules and grooves”.⁸¹⁴ The “Smiling Buffalo” stone was removed from its original site in Alberta on Ribstone Hill, near Berry Creek (Sunnynook). A report created by Forbis in 1959 stated that the stone measured at 30”

⁸¹⁰ John A. Pearson (b.1867-d.1940) was a Canadian architect who was involved in the design of the Centre Block on Parliament Hill in Ottawa including the Peace Tower.

⁸¹¹ Edmund Morris, *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris: Western Journeys, 1907-1910*. (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1985), 121.

⁸¹² Erinn Dayle Schneider, "Rock art in southern Saskatchewan." PhD diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2003, 87.

⁸¹³ Schneider, “Rock Art,” 88.

⁸¹⁴ Schneider, “Rock Art,” 88.

long, 24” high and 18” wide. It was recorded that the stone was carved with two different Buffalo images. The report also states that the stone “has a broad smile”.⁸¹⁵ Gloria J. Fedirchuk, and Edward J. McCullough stated that the “Smiling Buffalo” stone was a part of a larger arrangement of stones “consisting of a face-like figure pecked into a large boulder at the head of a sinuous arrangement of rocks, suggestive of a snake”.⁸¹⁶ Fedirchuk in her work “Sacred Stones of the Parklands” stated that stones connected to the Ribstone Complex are all designed as “stylized bison”.⁸¹⁷ She also states that “although the Lizard/Smiling Buffalo may represent an early manifestation of the Ribstone Complex”, it may also be connected to the “Ironstone”.⁸¹⁸ This is indicated in reports that the stones were connected visually as a network of sacred sites. In Hugh Dempsey’s work “Big Bear: The End of Freedom”, he states that the stones were often visited by Indigenous hunters. If they happened to be close to a stone, they would make a “pilgrimage” to the site to pray and leave offerings.⁸¹⁹ If you stood on the hill that held the Iron Stone, you could see the surrounding hills that held other sacred stones including the Smiling Buffalo stone and the Viking stones.⁸²⁰ He writes “these monuments, though many miles apart, were on high hills, usually within sight of each other, so that a man standing beside the Iron Stone near the Battle River could see the hill holding the Rib

⁸¹⁵ Glenbow Foundation Archaeological Survey, “Index of Sites in Ribstones File” 1959, 7.

⁸¹⁶ Gloria J. Fedirchuk, and Edward J. McCullough. "Prehistoric Art and Spiritualism: A Perspective from Pine Coulee, Alberta." *Alberta Archaeological Review* 22 (1991): 11-19.

⁸¹⁷ Gloria J. Fedirchuk, "Sacred Stones of the Parklands." *Alberta Archaeological Review* 24 (1992): 16-20.

⁸¹⁸ Fedirchuk, “Sacred Stones.” 17.

⁸¹⁹ Hugh A. Dempsey, *Big Bear: The end of freedom*. Vol. 12. (Regina: University of Regina Press), 2006, 34.

⁸²⁰ Dempsey, *Big Bear*, 34.

Stone far to the southeast. These monuments were like sentinels on the prairie, each one a tribute to Old Man Buffalo, guardian of the herds.”⁸²¹

The Ironstone or the Iron Creek Meteorite (the second largest meteorite ever found in Canada) was found after it fell into the area of “Iron Creek near Hardisty”.⁸²² It was considered a sacred stone to the Cree and the Blackfoot and they called it “piwapiskowiw” or “it is of iron”.⁸²³ Settler reports of Indigenous legends state that the Ironstone was moved from the Iron Creek to a mound nearby.⁸²⁴ It was also reported that Cree and Blackfoot considered the stone to be a “manitou” or grandfather stone.⁸²⁵ The similarities between the Ironstone and the Smiling Buffalo stone are found in the carving as well as the representation of a face on the stone. The Ironstone has a rippled, bumpy surface with a “profile of a face”.⁸²⁶ It is thought that many of the stones (including the Smiling Buffalo) were carved in the image of the Ironstone meteorite. The original sites of the stones including the Smiling Buffalo were “viewed as places of power, they were locations where ceremonial offerings were made”.⁸²⁷ At the Berry Creek site, there is archaeological evidence of “offerings being left in the past, such as beads and stone pipes, and reports of tobacco being left as an offering up until the present day”.⁸²⁸

It is not clear how Edmund found out about the stone. He travelled extensively as a portrait painter of notable Indigenous leaders throughout Manitoba and Alberta in the

⁸²¹ Dempsey, *Big Bear*, 34.

⁸²² Fedirchuk, “Sacred Stones.” 17.

⁸²³ Kenneth Favrholt, “The iron stone.” *Alberta History*, 64, 3, (2016): 1-10, 1.

⁸²⁴ Favrholt, “The iron stone,” 2.

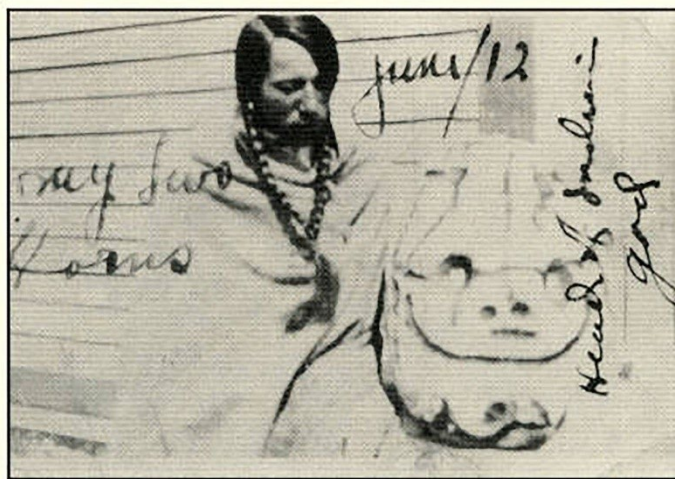
⁸²⁵ Favrholt, “The iron stone,” 2.

⁸²⁶ Fedirchuk, “Sacred Stones.” 17.

⁸²⁷ Schneider, “Rock Art,” 88.

⁸²⁸ Schneider, “Rock Art,” 88.

years preceding the removal of the stone. It was reported that Edmund had the “Smiling Buffalo” stone “shipped to Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan where it was to form part of a cairn to the Cree Indians, to commemorate the Signing of Treaty No. 6...it was not used in the cairn and eventually appeared in the National Museum in Ottawa”.⁸²⁹ There is a photograph of the stone on the Gleichen Train Station (Alberta) platform dated June of 1912. It was accompanied by an Indigenous man named Tom Two Horns.⁸³⁰



831

The Western Art Association’s fundraising efforts included the publication of a brochure that stated that the monument would “take the form of a slab of native rock with names of Signatories to the Treaty carved upon a Bronze Tablet which will be let into the face of the stone.”⁸³² The stone was then to be placed on a spot chosen by Mr. Archie MacDonald and Reverend Father Huggonard who both claimed to have been present at

⁸²⁹ Note that Fedirchuk and McCullough made an error on the Treaty number. Fedirchuk and McCullough, “Prehistoric Art,” 12.

⁸³⁰ Fedirchuk and McCullough, “Prehistoric Art,” 13.

⁸³¹ Photo of Tom Two Horns sitting on the train platform with the Smiling Buffalo stone in 1912. Gloria J. Fedirchuk and Edward J. McCullough. “Prehistoric Art and Spiritualism: A Perspective from Pine Coulee, Alberta.” *Alberta Archaeological Review* 22 (1991): 11-19, 16.

⁸³² McGill, “Edmund Morris,” 104.

the original signing of the treaty.⁸³³ It is clear that there was a disagreement between Edmund and the rest of the committee over the design of the monument, as the brochure did not describe the design that Edmund had created.⁸³⁴ Edmund's design was more elaborate and included two stone pillars each representing the two peoples flanking (settler and Indigenous) the sacred stone at the bottom with a slab of granite (symbolizing brotherhood) connecting the two pillars at the top. Edmund's design would be inscribed with all the names of the participants. Edmund had long been in contact with Sir Edmund Osler over the preservation of ancient landmarks across the West and he sought his help in raising funds for the Fort Qu'Appelle monument.⁸³⁵ He organized a committee of his own and proceeded to raise funds for his own monument design. In October 1912, Spring-Rice of the Western Art Association wrote to Edmund stating that they had "no idea that the memorial stone for Fort Qu'Appelle was to be so decorated and wanted a brochure to be prepared explaining the meaning of the Indian ideographs on the base of the stone". He further stated that the-Association would try to have a bronze bust of Edmund's father and "a typical Indian Chief's" to add to the monument.⁸³⁶ Edmund responded with the inscription that he wished for the monument; it reads as "The stone on this pedestal was carved by ancient aborigines. The Cree regarded it as sacred and were wont to journey north of the Red Deer River to Berry Creek where on a hill the rock stood. Here they assembled in large numbers and went through certain religious rites".⁸³⁷ The sacred stone is also mentioned in 1912, in a newspaper report discussing the

⁸³³ McGill, "Edmund Morris," 104.

⁸³⁴ McGill, "Edmund Morris," 104.

⁸³⁵ McGill, "Edmund Morris," 104.

⁸³⁶ McGill, "Edmund Morris," 104.

⁸³⁷ McGill, "Edmund Morris," 105.

unveiling of the stone at a memorial ceremony. The newspaper states that the town was decorated, and many people gathered to witness the ceremony. It goes further stating that “the stone itself was one of great historical interest, being a sacred stone held in great reverence by the Indian tribes and used as their meeting place for many generations. It had been purchased from them by the family of the late Governor Morris of the N.W.T.”.⁸³⁸ In another newspaper article from July 1913, the newspaper reported that a large engraved stone was in the possession of J.A. McDonald who was the son of Archibald McDonald (the last chief factor in the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Qu’Appelle). The newspaper reported that this stone was to be “incorporated by a huge monument to be erected on the spot where the treaty was signed”.⁸³⁹



840

⁸³⁸ McGill, “Edmund Morris,” 105.

⁸³⁹ “Relics of Early Days” The Morning Leader, July 17, 1913, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=vrNSAAAIBAJ&sjid=WzcNAAAIBAJ&pg=4111%2C2886583>

⁸⁴⁰ Photo of the removal of the Smiling Buffalo stone before it was shipped to Fort Qu’Appelle. The Smiling Buffalo stone is placed at the lower right corner. Fedirchuk and McCullough, “Prehistoric Art,” 13.

On August 21, 1913, Edmund drowned while on a sketching holiday in Quebec. His dreams and design for the Fort Qu'Appelle monument died with him and the Association went forward with the present monument. A stark sandstone obelisk (31 feet in height) resides today in the centre of town in Treaty Park located at Company Avenue and 5th Street. The monument was revealed to much excitement from the settler population and a commemorative pamphlet was published discussing the history of the monument.⁸⁴¹ Edmund is not mentioned in the pamphlet. The village of Fort Qu'Appelle agreed to keep the plot as a park. The monument was constructed from Tyndall stone⁸⁴² from Manitoba and four inscribed granite panels from Quebec. There is a coat of arms on each of the inscribed panels from Great Britain, the HBC, the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Saskatchewan. The settler monument language states that "Plaque 1: This monument was erected A.D. 1915 by The Western Art Association Saskatchewan Branch, to commemorate the First Treaty between the Indians of the North West Territories and Queen Victoria represented by her commissioners the Hon. Alex. Morris, Lt Gov. NWT Hon. David Laird, Indian Commissioner and W. J Christie. At Fort Qu'Appelle Sept. 15th, 1874 known as "The Qu'Appelle Treaty No. 4" whereby the Indian Chiefs ceded all their rights, titles and privileges to lands wheresoever situated within her Majesty's North West Territories to Her Majesty the Queen and Her

⁸⁴¹ Western Art Association, Saskatchewan Branch. *Souvenir of the Treaty Memorial Monument erected at Fort Qu'Appelle, A.D. 1915*. Winnipeg: Public Press, 1915?

⁸⁴² Tyndall stone is a dolomitic limestone that is quarried from the Selkirk Member of the Ordovician Red River Formation in the vicinity of Garson and Tyndall, Manitoba, Canada. It is a cream-coloured limestone with a mottling of darker dolomite. The mottling gives the stone a tapestry-like effect and it is common for use as an ornamental stone. Tyndall Stone is highly fossiliferous, and the fossils aid in its aesthetic appeal. It contains numerous fossil gastropods, brachiopods, cephalopods, trilobites, corals, and stromatoporoids. This stone is still in use today and has been used in many different buildings across the Canadian West and internationally, including Canadian Mennonite University, EPCOR Tower, the Canadian Embassy in Berlin, Canadian Museum for Human Rights, Ottawa City Hall, and the Manitoba Legislative Building. "Tyndall Stone", accessed January 18, 2019, <http://tyndallstone.com>.

Successors Forever.”⁸⁴³ No mention was made of Edmund’s part in the creation of the monument, the monument language does not reflect anything that Edmund suggested, and the last mention of the sacred stone was the newspaper article that found it in the possession of J.A. McDonald. To this date, the sacred stone has never been located.

2.6.4 “Man Holding Eagle”: The Indigenous Monument

The Indigenous monument known as “Man Holding Eagle” statue can be found in front of the Fort Qu’Appelle courthouse. The monument was erected in 1987 by the Touchwood, File Hills, Qu’Appelle District Chiefs. The monument has four plaques that commemorate the memory of those First Nations peoples who were buried at the site during Treaty negotiations as well as a reaffirmation of their commitment to Treaty 4. Artist Noel Lloyd Pinay of the Peepeekisis First Nation in Saskatchewan created the sculpture. He is also known for creating the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument at Confederation Park in Ottawa. The Fort Qu’Appelle monument that was put in place not only to commemorate the signing of Treaty 4 but also the Indigenous burial ground that was discovered in the area in 1985. The monument not only commemorates the historical event of the signing of Treaty 4 but also the accidental discovery of a “historic-period burial ground”.⁸⁴⁴ The discovery of the burial ground and the political controversy that

⁸⁴³ The rest of the settler monument plaques: “Plaque 2: Signed at Fort Qu'Appelle by her Majesty's Commissioners and the following Indian Chiefs. Ka-Kii-Shi-Way, Pis-Qua, Ka-We-Zauces, Ka-Kee-Na-Wup., Kus-Kee-Tew-Mus-Coo-Mus-Qua, Ka-Ne-On-Us-Ka-Tew, Can-Ar-Ra-Cha-Pew, Kii-Si-Caw-Ah-Chuck, Ka-Ra-Ca-Toose, Ka-Kii-Nis-Ta-Haw, Cha-Ga-Chas, Wa-Pii-Moose-Too-Sus, Gabriel Cote or Mee-May. Plaque 3: Witnesses: W. Osborne Smith C. M. C., Pascal Breland, Edward McKay, Charles Pratt. Interpreter: Pierre Poitras. Plaque 4: At Fort Qu'Appelle Sept 8th 1875. Cheeguck. Witnesses: William S. McKay. William Wagner. A. McDonald. Pascal Breland. At Fort Qu'Appelle Sept 9th, 1875, Wah-Pee-Makwa O'Kanes. Payepot. Le Croup De Pheasant, Kitchi-Kaw-Me-Win. Witnesses: Charles Pratt, A. McDonald, Jos. Reader.” Western Art Association, *Souvenir of*, 4.

⁸⁴⁴ Brian E. Spurling and Ernest G. Walker, “The Fort Qu’Appelle Burial Site: A Canadian Controversy” *The Journal of Field Archaeology* 14, 4 (1987): 481-486, 481.

ensued after its discovery proved to be a model for the future handling of similar discoveries.⁸⁴⁵ The burial ground was discovered in May of 1985 when construction workers who were excavating the area to construct a foundation for a future condominium discovered two skeletons in coffins, a flexed burial as well as a small amount of historical grave goods.⁸⁴⁶ This discovery caused the construction to be halted and the RCMP were called in to remove the remains.⁸⁴⁷ Brian E. Spurling (archaeologist with Heritage Resources Branch of the Saskatchewan Parks, Recreation and Culture office) and Ernest G. Walker (a physical anthropologist at the University of Saskatchewan) collected the first set of remains from the RCMP for analysis.⁸⁴⁸ When they returned to the site, three more burials were found. This caused the site to be closed under the Heritage Property Act.⁸⁴⁹ As the investigation continued, 24 burials were found consisting of the remains of 27 individuals. This was the beginning of a controversial conflict between the town, the developers and the District Chiefs backed by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. The conflict became national news as land developers wanted to remove the remains and continue construction and the District Chiefs came to the decision to leave all the remains in situ. As the conflict continued, all the archaeologists and anthropologists involved in the project refused to participate in any burial removal or relocation without consent from the Chiefs.⁸⁵⁰ In the end, the Premier of Saskatchewan stepped in to achieve a resolution that included the sale of half of the burial ground to the District Chiefs, the creation of a commemorative park and the use of

⁸⁴⁵ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 481.

⁸⁴⁶ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 482.

⁸⁴⁷ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 482.

⁸⁴⁸ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 482.

⁸⁴⁹ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 482.

⁸⁵⁰ Spurling and Walker, "The Fort Qu'Appelle," 484.

the other half of the land for a courthouse.⁸⁵¹ The park was commemorated with the “Man Holding Eagle” statue. Spurling and Walker stated that this conflict was a powerful policy lesson for the Saskatchewan archaeological community.⁸⁵² The dispute brought “archaeologists and Indians into a new and much-needed dialogue: a mutual understanding and an awareness of inter-dependency in dealing with archaeological burials”.⁸⁵³

If the handling of the Fort Qu’Appelle burial ground created a new space for discourse between policy makers, archaeologists and Indigenous groups, the language on the monument has not yet opened a discourse on treaty language interpretation. The Indigenous monument displays language that was carefully chosen by the Chiefs of the Touchwood, File Hills and Qu’Appelle district. In comparison to the settler monument, the “Man Holding Eagle” monument is diverse in its symbology, aesthetics and language. As previously discussed, the settler monument’s language focuses on the concept that the:

“Indian Chiefs ceded all their rights, titles and privileges to lands wheresoever situated within her Majesty's North West Territories to Her Majesty the Queen and Her Successors Forever.”⁸⁵⁴

In comparison, the “Man Holding Eagle” monument language states:

“In an exchange of solemn promises, they agreed to share this land with the newcomers. This was done in peace. This plaque was set up in 1987 by the Chiefs of

⁸⁵¹ Spurling and Walker, “The Fort Qu’Appelle,” 484.

⁸⁵² Spurling and Walker, “The Fort Qu’Appelle,” 485.

⁸⁵³ Spurling and Walker, “The Fort Qu’Appelle,” 485.

⁸⁵⁴ Western Art Association, *Souvenir of*, 4.

Indian Nations signatory to the Treaty to reaffirm their commitment to its spirit and intent of Treaty 4.”⁸⁵⁵

This difference in language is evident in Treaty disputes from the era of signing and have endured in land disputes between the Canadian government and Indigenous peoples to this day.

What we find in Fort Qu’Appelle is a settler monument and an Indigenous counter-monument. The counter-monument can be found in the Indigenous monument created to commemorate the treaty as well as the burial of Indigenous participants of Treaty 4. As Strakosch states in her work “Counter-Monuments and Nation-Building in Australia”, the counter-monument is meant to “challenge and invert the nation-building agenda of traditional state memorials”.⁸⁵⁶ She further points out that in comparison to monuments, the counter-monument does not present a “simple story of triumph or martyrdom” but rather a confrontation of the crimes of the nation-state.⁸⁵⁷ “Man Holding Eagle” presents a clear statement in comparison to the settler monument. It further proves that Indigenous peoples have not shifted in their resolution to achieve freedom in their connection to the land and through self-governance. In comparison, the settler monument

⁸⁵⁵ The Indigenous “Man Holding Eagle” monument states in full: “Plaque 1: The Commemorative Monument was commissioned by The Touchwood, File Hills, Qu’Appelle District Chiefs in honour of the Cree, Saulteaux and Assiniboine Indians known to be buried here. In the May of 1985, The T.F.H.Q. B.C.C. secured through the Court of Queens Bench, legal custody of the Memorial Cemetery. The deceased are believed to have passed away during Treaty negotiations between 1874 and 1890. Plaque 2: About the Sculpture. The Indian man is praying to the Great Spirit for allowing him to take the Golden Eagle for Ceremonial Purposes. In this manner he demonstrates a great reverence for the environment and a realization that man should be one with nature. Plaque 3: In September 1874, at this place, Indian Nations of the Southern Prairies met the Queen’s Commissioners to make a treaty. Cree, Saulteaux and Assiniboine nations held this land from the Great Spirit. Here, they had long supported themselves, had their own governments, traded and made alliances.”

⁸⁵⁶ Elizabeth Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments and Nation-Building in Australia” *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Science* 22 (2009): 268-275, 268.

⁸⁵⁷ Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments,” 268.

can be considered a “traditional monument”, it is permanent, static, and is constructed of “unchallengeable stories in monolithic stone”.⁸⁵⁸

As Johnston and Ripmeester state “part of the power of these monuments is that they represent ideology, quite literally set in stone, cast in bronze, or in some other time-defeating medium”.⁸⁵⁹ In the beginning, when the monument is unveiled, there is a crowd of spectators who participate in this moment of public memory. What happens to the monument after the excitement has died down? Does it still hold the same significance as an icon of memory? Or does it become a way of forgetting? Johnston and Ripmeester state that the “currency of any event will sit most dearly with the generation of individuals who have experienced it.”⁸⁶⁰ What happens to the monument after this generation is gone? Osborne states that monuments last too long, they remain static while “time moves on around them, their rigid materiality ensuring their estrangement from the ever-changing values of the society in which they are located”.⁸⁶¹ He states that the “past is not preserved but is socially constructed through archives, museums, school curricula, monuments, and public displays.”⁸⁶²

It is also evident in the significance of the symbology and aesthetics of each monument. Although Edmund had attempted to incorporate Indigenous symbolism into his monument design, it was still an act of colonialism. The idea that a sacred stone that

⁸⁵⁸ Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments,” 269.

⁸⁵⁹ R. Johnston and M. Ripmeester, “A monument’s work is never done: The Watson Monument, memory, and forgetting in a small Canadian city.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13, 2 (2007): 117-135. 121.

⁸⁶⁰ Johnston and Ripmeester, “A monument’s,” 121.

⁸⁶¹ B. Osborne, ‘Landscape, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place’. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, 3 (2001): 39–76, 39.

⁸⁶² Osborne, “Landscape, Memory,” 39.

had been removed from its place with unknown provenance other than it was thought to be Indigenous in origin reverberates throughout the history of colonialism in Canada. Since contact, Indigenous groups have often been lumped together into one large collection ignoring the unique differences between the groups. Edmund was attempting to be sympathetic to the people he had interacted with in his journey to preserve the image of the pure “Indian” and he was also honouring his late father. It is unfortunate that he died before he could see his design come to life, however, his monument (although subtler) would have been just as damaging as the monument that stands today.

The settler monument that replaced Edmund’s design is a stone obelisk. The obelisk has a long history in monument design originating in Europe during the Egyptian Revival. It became a popular monument shape in the 18th century due to a European obsession with the reproduction of Egyptian architecture and the collection of artefacts. By the middle of the 19th century, Egyptian styled obelisks appeared in monuments across Europe as well as in North American cemetery monuments. James Stevens Curl states that a “fashion for Egyptiana ensured that countless Egyptianizing objects were designed and marketed”.⁸⁶³ The Western Art Association would have been influenced by the fads of the period and most likely thought that the monument was prestigious and in the style of the era. Ironically, the use of an obelisk can be correlated to the plunder of Egyptian artefacts and culture first by Roman tourists continuing into the British Victorian era.⁸⁶⁴ In comparison, the “Man Holding Eagle” is a beautiful monument

⁸⁶³ James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian revival: ancient Egypt as the inspiration for design motifs in the West*. (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁸⁶⁴ Brian Fagan, *The rape of the Nile: Tomb robbers, tourists, and archaeologists in Egypt*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 2004).

sculpted in the form of an Indigenous man who is “praying to the Great Spirit for allowing him to take the Golden Eagle for Ceremonial Purposes. In this manner he demonstrates a great reverence for the environment and a realization that man should be one with nature”.⁸⁶⁵ While the settler monument dominates the landscape with an alien form constructed of stone, the Indigenous monument reaffirms not only the Treaty promises but also the Indigenous spiritual reverence for the land and their stewardship of it.



866

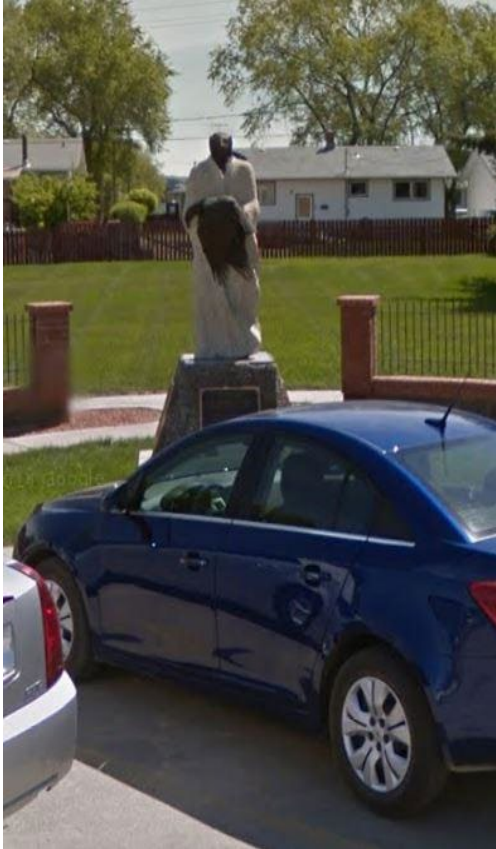


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⁸⁶⁵ <http://starsregina.ca/category/fort-quappelle/>

⁸⁶⁶ Treaty 4 Monument at Treaty Park, erected in 1915 by the Western Art Association. “Indian treaty monument, Fort Qu'Appelle, <https://library2.usask.ca/postcardsquappelle/fqlxx1208.html>. Retrieved on January 20, 2018.

⁸⁶⁷ Google Earth, <https://www.google.ca/maps/@50.7664012,-103.7956986,3a,22.4y,349.67h,92.79t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sK28rVowVYwiGpitORELC0g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656>



868



869

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has traveled through the timeline of the Qu'Appelle valley region to lay the foundation for a national commemoration model. By creating insights into the early years of contact, this chapter has addressed the role of Métissage and “Indigenous Métissage”⁸⁷⁰ in the national collective memory. It has ventured into the wilds of Saskatchewan through the journal of Henry Kelsey, walked the ancient trails that once

⁸⁶⁸ “Man Holding Eagle” monument to Treaty 4 and those buried in the burial ground, erected in 1987, accessed on January 18, 2019, Google Earth <https://www.google.ca/maps/@50.7687414,-103.7918272,3a,60y,67.99h,91.53t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sXq1v8Mix8CxclAbAuDg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656>

⁸⁶⁹ Raquel Bellefleur, “Professional Portfolio: My story of becoming a teacher” accessed on January 18, 2019, https://raquelbellefleurportfolio.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/20141008_134224_resized.jpg

⁸⁷⁰ Donald, “Indigenous Métissage”.

and still criss-cross the province, sat with Chief Pasqua as he attempted to send his plea to honour treaty promises to the Queen of England, walked the streets of Fort Qu'Appelle to view the settler and Indigenous monuments set as bastions in concrete opposition of each other and discovered a sacred stone that was removed from its sacred space and was lost. In each instance and with each object, a collective narrative can be found. In each instance, the semiology of the object has shifted and fluctuated throughout the colonial and into the contemporary eras. For example, objects such as the pictograph have become important in the contemporary era as a symbol of the past and Indigenous people's movement into the future. For others like the sacred stone, their meaning has become clouded through the passage of time and the negative repercussions of colonialism. To that end, it was significant to re-read and re-frame the historical geography of the region focusing on the effects of colonialism. By analysing the various objects, it is clear that Métissage has always played an important part in the national collective narrative. However, it is evident that with an Indigenous Métissage "sensitivity", a new discourse can be created through the commemoration of colonial activities.⁸⁷¹ The national collective story can be revisited and reframed thus paving the road for a new relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples.

⁸⁷¹ Donald, "Indigenous Métissage,".

Chapter 3: Envisioning a Keeping Place at Fort Qu'Appelle.

“Education has gotten us into this mess, and education will get us out”.⁸⁷²

In the pages that precede this chapter and the memorialisation model that follows, I have traced the path to the Indian Residential School. This is a journey of lines; lines of conquest, lines of colonization, lines of interaction, and lines of movement.⁸⁷³ When we walk, weave, observe, sing, tell stories, draw and write, we are “proceeding along the lines of one kind or another”.⁸⁷⁴ This journey has read the journal of Kelsey, it has observed Chief Pasqua as he drew his pictograph for Queen Victoria, traced the network of pathways that criss-cross the West, and followed the journey of a sacred stone across the nation. From the earliest years of colonization to the contemporary remnants of imperialistic thought and assimilative actions, this study has focused on the historical consciousness of settler and Indigenous peoples.

Returning to the meaning of Indigenous Métissage as the weaving together of different ideas and concepts, Tim Ingold points out that the line (whether it is found woven into a tapestry or in a written verse) is “perceived as one of movement and growth”.⁸⁷⁵ He examines the concept of linearity and its relationship to the Western and non-Western world. In the Western world, it is thought that societies “comprehend the passage of history, generations and time” in a linear fashion. This is evident in historical timelines and textbooks. It is also clear that Western societies often view non-Western

⁸⁷² Anderson, “Murray Sinclair,” November 2, 2019.

⁸⁷³ Ingold, *The life* ’’.

⁸⁷⁴ Ingold, *Lines*, 19.

⁸⁷⁵ Ingold, *Lines*, 16.

societies as non-linear or as alternative. He redefines colonialism not as the “imposition of linearity upon a non-linear world, but the imposition of one kind of line on another”.⁸⁷⁶ Interestingly, Gupta and Ferguson state that colonization “represents the displacement of one form of interconnection with another”.⁸⁷⁷ Attempting to unravel the layers of settler colonialism in a large geographic area is not feasible, however, focusing on a specific site or “source” that is rich with historical strata allows for analysis of imperialism at its foundation.

How do we as Canadians come to terms with a difficult past in relation to our movement into the future? Can we investigate the past, examine the crimes that were committed against Indigenous peoples across Canada and reconcile our collective history? In recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in the study of the memorialization of sites of trauma, the relationship between memory and history and the link between collective memory and nation building. Any memorialization of the impact and legacy of the Indian Residential School system (IRS) must acknowledge that government policy of Indian assimilation was not an isolated process but was another step in the unremitting and ongoing project of colonization, land dispossession and disenfranchisement of Canada’s Indigenous population. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its final report were the result of an ongoing battle to nationalize and educate the remembrance of the IRS system. Putting the TRC’s recommendations at their simplest, there is a call and a need for the education of every Canadian (settler and

⁸⁷⁶ Ingold, *Lines*, 17.

⁸⁷⁷ Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond “Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 1 (1992): 6-23, 8.

Indigenous) in the history of the IRS system.⁸⁷⁸ In its most basic form, the practice of memory and memorialization of trauma sites includes the intent to acknowledge events of the past, tell the truth about what happened and thereby prevent it from occurring again. It also must be recognized that the practice of memory can have different meanings for every individual. What is often missing from memorialization sites is recognition that diverse methods of remembrance bring distinct views of what could be taught, what could be learned, and how this learning/teaching is to be achieved within the realm of traumatic history. If we examine Justice Murray Sinclair's address to the Senate Committee on Aboriginal peoples (in the quote above), it is certain that we need to reach the moment when "realization gives way to understanding, resolve takes hold" and the "truth becomes not only known but felt".⁸⁷⁹ As Sinclair states, only when the truth is known can Canada move from a state of apology to a state of reconciliation.

⁸⁷⁸ This project pays special attention to several different goals that were laid out by the commission, they include: "acknowledging Residential School experiences, impacts and consequences", "promote awareness and public education of Canadians about the IRS system and its impacts", "identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and use", and "support commemoration of former Indian Residential School students and their families". Additionally, it is significant to note that several Canadian Universities have created archives and repositories for TRC materials. These include the University of British Columbia's Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre in Vancouver and the University of Manitoba's National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation in Winnipeg. This is an excellent beginning for the continued education and knowledge of IRS history. Both of these institutions are also offering storage facilities for historical records and survivor testimony as well as public access and education. They are focused on providing safe housing to survivor stories, records, and information. <http://www.trc.ca/about-us/our-mandate.html>. Retrieved November 20, 2018.

⁸⁷⁹ Anderson, "Murray Sinclair".

3.1 In a State of Apology: Apologies, Truth Commissions and the Reconciliation of Trauma

It all starts with an apology (or several). Howard-Hassmann and Gibney write, “there seems almost universal recognition that a society will not be able to successfully pass into the future until it somehow deals with its demons from the past”.⁸⁸⁰ Meredith Gibbs posits in her work “Apology and Reconciliation in New Zealand’s Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Process” that an apology generally contains several elements which include: (1) the perpetrator or wrongdoer acknowledges and accepts responsibility to the victim for their wrongful act, (2) the perpetrator or wrongdoer feels “regret, sorrow or remorse for the act”, (3) the perpetrator or wrongdoer promises not to commit similar wrongs in the future.⁸⁸¹

In 1996, the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was a “useful beginning” but did not focus specifically on the IRS system.⁸⁸² As John Ralston Saul stated in his book *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada*, the creation of the RCAP report offered “a vast and complex analysis that could have been seized upon immediately to help get us back on track”.⁸⁸³ In 1998, Jane Stewart (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) issued a “Statement of Reconciliation” on behalf of

⁸⁸⁰ Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark Gibney “Introduction: Apologies and the West” in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, eds. Mark Gibney, Rhoda e. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Niklaus Steiner, 1-30 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 1.

⁸⁸¹ Meredith Gibbs, ““Apology and Reconciliation in New Zealand’s Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Process” in in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, eds. Mark Gibney, Rhoda e. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Niklaus Steiner, 154-170 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 157.

⁸⁸² David D. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, “The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, 2 (2012): 427-449, 428.

⁸⁸³ Saul, *A fair*, Introduction.

the government of Canada.⁸⁸⁴ In her address, she directed her comments to the First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples who had suffered sexual and physical abuse at residential schools.⁸⁸⁵ Although this statement was positioned with the final RCAP report delivery, it failed to respond to the report's call for the "dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs or for the establishment of a separate Aboriginal parliament".⁸⁸⁶ Ten years later, Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered another apology in an official statement that was linked to the 2007 Indian Residential Schools Settlement as well as the initiation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).⁸⁸⁷

The RCAP report was the catalyst for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that focused on reconciliation as the end goal for the creation of a healthy relationship between settler and Indigenous peoples. The process of "truth-recovery" was intended by the commission to result in "some kind of psychological healing". However, it is clear that the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not the end of a process but the beginning of a movement that will serve as a starting point for "national reconciliation and reparative measures" as well as "reconstruction".⁸⁸⁸ Before "reconciliation" and "reconstruction" can occur, it is important to gauge if Canada is ready for reconciliation. The process of reconciling is deeply connected to the relationship between perpetrator and victim, the recognition of responsibility by the state,

⁸⁸⁴ Matthew Dorrell, "From Reconciliation to Reconciling: Reading What "We Now Recognize" in the Government of Canada's 2008 Residential Schools Apology" *ESC* 35, 1 (2009): 27-45, 27.

⁸⁸⁵ Dorrell, "From Reconciliation," 27.

⁸⁸⁶ Dorrell, "From Reconciliation," 28.

⁸⁸⁷ Government of Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "Statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools" <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649> (Accessed June 8, 2019).

⁸⁸⁸ Wiseman Chirwa, "Collective memory and the process of reconciliation and reconstruction." *Development in Practice* 7, 4 (1997): 479-482, 161.

and the raising of "public consciousness".⁸⁸⁹ The concept of reconciliation is often difficult to define and apply and this must be addressed as a potential obstacle in the creation of a national memorialization project for the IRS system. The TRC defines reconciliation several times in different contexts. According to the TRC, reconciliation is directly tied to memory and memorialization. The report of the TRC explains that "to some people, reconciliation is the re-establishment of a conciliatory state".⁸⁹⁰

To offer reconciliation is to state for the record that a relationship has been ruptured and that the resulting estrangement needs to be overcome. Overcoming that estrangement means ensuring the full restoration and rights of Indigenous peoples, not their disappearance.⁸⁹¹ It further defines reconciliation specifically in the context of the IRS system as "coming to terms with events of the past in a manner that overcomes conflict and establishes a respectful and healthy relationship among people, going forward".⁸⁹² While these statements are well-intentioned, they are vague in their actual meaning. Is reconciliation a universal trope? Can reconciliation have a different meaning for each individual Canadian regardless of background, and identity? Susan Dwyer, in "Reconciliation for Realists" writes, "the notable lack of any clear account of what reconciliation is, and what it requires, justifiably alerts the cynics among us".⁸⁹³ She further points out that reconciliation is often being "urged... upon groups of individuals

⁸⁸⁹ Chirwa, "Collective Memory", 161.

⁸⁹⁰ This definition of reconciliation is refuted by many Aboriginal people in Canada as many have stated that this state "never existed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people". TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 6.

⁸⁹¹ Roger Epp, "We are all treaty people: History, reconciliation, and the settler problem." in *Dilemmas of Reconciliation*, eds. Carol A.L. Prager and Trudy Govier, 223-244 (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003), 223.

⁸⁹² TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 6.

⁸⁹³ Susan Dwyer "Reconciliation for Realists" in *Dilemmas of Reconciliation*, eds. Carol A.L. Prager and Trudy Govier, 53-72 (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003), 54.

whose very self-conceptions have been structured in terms of historical and often state sanctioned relations of dominance and submission”.⁸⁹⁴ She finds that the most recent calls for reconciliation across the globe focus on the “morally right” thing to do as the focus of rationalizing reconciliatory movements.⁸⁹⁵ Dwyer states that a model of reconciliation based on “forgiveness, or that emphasizes interpersonal harmony and positive fellow-feeling, will fail to be a realistic model of reconciliation”.⁸⁹⁶ Additionally, tensions that remain between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples in Canada are largely due to a lack of inclusion in the national narrative. Dwyer recommends that reconciliation be “understood as the incorporation” not the elimination of tension between two groups.⁸⁹⁷ With this “incorporation” comes the objective to “find a way to live” with the past.⁸⁹⁸ Dwyer simplifies reconciliation into three steps: (1) a clear account of the events in question, (2) an “articulation of a range of interpretations” of those events, and (3) a choice by each party from the “range of interpretations” to revise the pre-existing narrative and include the newly-revised narrative into the history of the two reconciling peoples.⁸⁹⁹

This simplified model of reconciliation becomes more complicated when it moves from the micro to the macro level. Dwyer points out that in South Africa, the attempt was made to speak to the “nation becoming reconciled to its past”.⁹⁰⁰ However, for a nation to

⁸⁹⁴ Dwyer also states that uncertainty of definition must be addressed as reconciliation can be considered to be a “religious conception” and has “powerful religious overtones, including intimidations of purification and cleansing as well as the restoration of an individual’s relationship to God” and that “love and faith in God are required for reconciliation”. Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 54.

⁸⁹⁵ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 54.

⁸⁹⁶ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 70.

⁸⁹⁷ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 70.

⁸⁹⁸ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 59.

⁸⁹⁹ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 153.

⁹⁰⁰ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 154.

reconcile to past wrongs, the nation must be unified in a similar narrative that can “look together back on its past”.⁹⁰¹ Has Canada reached the point that it can create a national narrative that combines the views of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous accounts of the past and plans for an inclusive future? Harvey M. Weinstein in his work “The myth of closure, the illusion of Reconciliation” states that “we have focused entirely too much on the notions of closure and reconciliation”.⁹⁰² He states that over a billion dollars has been spent globally on “mechanisms of transitional justice, such as truth commissions, trials and memorials”.⁹⁰³ In fact, TRC commissions have become industries with a number of “reconciliation advocates and practitioners” plying their trade.⁹⁰⁴ Furthermore, it is unclear if reconciliation can have the same meaning for everyone including the victim and the perpetrator.

This is directly tied to the concept of closure. Weinstein points out that the term has become “ubiquitous in the western world”.⁹⁰⁵ The term is often described as the goal for those who have suffered trauma, for groups to come to terms with the “ ‘past’ or ‘settle accounts’ ”.⁹⁰⁶ The term closure first appeared in the 1920s as part of “a Gestalt approach to perceptual organization”.⁹⁰⁷ The concept of closure can apply when human beings tend to see complete figures even when there is information missing. A good example is the drawing of an incomplete circle, even though the circle is not complete,

⁹⁰¹ Dwyer “Reconciliation,” 154.

⁹⁰² Harvey M. Weinstein, “Editorial note: the myth of closure, the illusion of reconciliation: final thoughts on five years as co-editor-in-chief.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011): 1-10, 3.

⁹⁰³ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 2.

⁹⁰⁴ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 2.

⁹⁰⁵ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 4.

⁹⁰⁶ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 4.

⁹⁰⁷ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 4.

we tend to perceive it as complete. It is thought that this is a survival technique that is pre-wired into human beings allowing them to perceive the form of a predator with limited or incomplete information. It has become a normal term to describe “a psychological state where all emotional dissonance is resolved”.⁹⁰⁸ However, is closure “a valid concept” and is it relevant “across cultures?”.⁹⁰⁹ Weinstein points out that due to the vagueness of the concept, it is difficult to determine if closure has or can be achieved.⁹¹⁰

There are many dilemmas of reconciliation that can be addressed. As discussed earlier, ongoing issues over definition, meaning and process have continued to plague the reconciliation process. In “We are all Treaty People: History, Reconciliation and the Settler Problem” Epp argues that what reconciliation requires is for people “to ‘awake from history’, to recognize which inherited identities are not fate, and to reject the ‘nationalist fiction’”.⁹¹¹ He returns to the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) and examines the use of reconciliation language. The RCAP report attempted to create a new relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. However, more than twenty years later and the resulting TRC Report as one its recommendations, it is clear that all Canadians have not embraced reconciliation or created a working “Cultural Interface” on which to create a healthy discourse on what the future holds.⁹¹² Epp states that “solemn offers of reconciliation, however sincere,

⁹⁰⁸ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 4.

⁹⁰⁹ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 4.

⁹¹⁰ Weinstein, “Editorial note,” 5.

⁹¹¹ Epp, “We are all,” 124.

⁹¹² Martin N. Nakata, *Disciplining the Savages, Savaging the Disciplines*. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2008), 195.

however eloquent, are spoken not into a void but rather into a liberal, settler political culture...suspicious of history, or more likely, indifferent to it".⁹¹³ For reconciliation to be a success, it must also be backed with "economic, health and educational initiatives".⁹¹⁴ Wiseman Chirwa in his work "Collective Memory and the Process of Reconciliation and Reconstruction" finds that truth commissions, war crime and compensation tribunals are often "state strategies for creating collective memories".⁹¹⁵ They require a legal framework to operate and a national strategy and bureaucracy for execution. There are examples of "local communities" that do not have the legal provisions or the funding to set up commissions that have shown to be successful in other ways.

Chirwa points out that alternatives to state- or nation-sanctioned truth commissions have "embarked on the process of creating their collective memories to facilitate the process of healing, reconciliation and reconstruction".⁹¹⁶ Although the South African government was one of the first to embark on a journey of truth and reconciliation in 1995, other non-government organizations are "actively involved in creating, documenting and preserving collective memories".⁹¹⁷ In addition, the "khulumani (speak out) groups in South Africa are another practical example of how collective memory is created, documented and preserved".⁹¹⁸ This is a group of victims, relatives of victims and sympathisers who meet regularly to discuss their experiences.

⁹¹³ Epp, "We are all," 334.

⁹¹⁴ Susan Dwyer "Reconciliation for Realists", 70.

⁹¹⁵ Chirwa, "Collective Memory", 161.

⁹¹⁶ Chirwa, "Collective Memory", 161.

⁹¹⁷ Chirwa, "Collective Memory", 163.

⁹¹⁸ Chirwa, "Collective Memory", 164.

They also work together to create strategies to bring to the government concerning “issues of justice, reparation and physical protection”.⁹¹⁹

There is and has been an element of denial in Canada’s collective history. Canadians do not want to be viewed as having a “record of racism in the past and to the possibility of continued racism” against Indigenous peoples.⁹²⁰ In *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada*, Regan argues that the problem lies in a lack of knowledge as well as ownership of past actions. She states that Canadians have been and remain divided on how they have interpreted and applied the concept of reconciliation. Surveys concerning the role of individual non-Aboriginal Canadians in reconciliation efforts, have found that “fully two-thirds (67%) of Canadians believe that individual Canadians have a role to play in efforts to bring about reconciliation in response to the legacy of the Indian residential school system, even if they had no experience with Indian residential schools”.⁹²¹ According to Regan, although it is encouraging that most Canadians believe that they have to accept some form of responsibility when it comes down to the understanding of what reconciliation actually means, the two groups are at complete odds.⁹²² Although some identified “acknowledgement or accepting responsibility as essential”, a higher percentage “emphasized the importance of achieving closure and moving on”.⁹²³ Taiaiake Alfred argues that Canadians like the idea of the restoration of “good relations” between the two groups, but when it comes to actual practice “reconciliation...is conceptually weak and

⁹¹⁹ Chirwa, “Collective Memory”, 164.

⁹²⁰ Regan, *Unsettling*, 72.

⁹²¹ Regan, *Unsettling*, 60.

⁹²² Regan, *Unsettling*, 60.

⁹²³ Regan, *Unsettling*, 60.

morally flawed; it assuages settler guilt in ways that benefit the majority population while failing to make any substantive difference in the lives of Indigenous people”.⁹²⁴

3.2 X marks the spot: The Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place

In order to create a collective history that is inclusive of Indigenous and settler memory, there must be a “safe” zone where the two can meet. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Qu’Appelle Valley region of Saskatchewan is the focus of the project, as it is known to be abundant in historical and contemporary Indigenous and settler interactions. It is a physical environment that is laden with sites of memory including: the site of the signing of Treaty 4, the site of the Qu’Appelle Indian Residential School (Lebret) and the Fort Qu’Appelle Sanatorium (Fort Qu’Appelle), the Treaty 4 marker (Fort Qu’Appelle), the North-West Mounted Police Post (Fort Qu’Appelle), the Riel Rebellions (Troops mustered out of Fort Qu’Appelle), Chief Sitting Bull’s last stop before his expulsion to the United States (Lebret and Fort Qu’Appelle), a crossroads of various historical trails that connected the area to the North-West Territories, a Grand Trunk Pacific Railway station and junction (Fort Qu’Appelle) and a Hudson’s Bay Trading Post (Fort Qu’Appelle).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the foundation of this model begins through the examination of the historical geography of the Qu’Appelle Valley region. It examined various historical interactions between Indigenous and settler peoples through the study of historical and cultural objects to better understand the lasting effects of colonization on the past, present and future relationship. Each object is connected to the region of the

⁹²⁴ Regan, *Unsettling*, 61.

Qu'Appelle Valley region (which will be the “ground zero” for the creation of the Qu'Appelle Valley Keeping Place model). Through the ‘reading’ of historical objects, this project has examined the connections between settler and Indigenous individuals and include: “the journal”, “the trail/map”, “the pictograph”, and “the monuments/sacred stone”. Where can this analysis lead us? By looking at the path of certain artefacts, this paper can focus on an Indigenous Métissage “Cultural Interface” in the historic relationship between Indigenous, settler peoples in the Qu'Appelle valley region and the province of Saskatchewan. The analysis of those objects and the historical moments that surrounded them can help explain colonial thought and imperialism and by what means both became ingrained in Canadian national collective thought and memory. Furthermore, this analysis supports discourse surrounding the impetus behind the creation and history of the Indian Residential School and how it continues to act as an impediment in creating a bridge of reconciliation between Indigenous and settler peoples.

3.3 Building the Model: The Keeping Place, Monument and Counter-Monument

The Qu'Appelle Valley Keeping Place model will propose suggestions for the placement, design and construction of the building, for the creation of a digital component as well as a mandate for the operations of the space. Before any considerations are made to create or seek funding for a Keeping Place in the Qu'Appelle Valley, the coordinators must seek Indigenous community support for the work and an Indigenous co-researcher must be brought on board to assist in community relations and negotiations. This model must first acknowledge and provide a context to consider the roles that can be played by Indigenous and settler peoples. This will be a place that will

bridge the gap between cultural knowledge and traditions and the long and short-term preservation and representation of Indigenous and settler memory. The Keeping Place is also a space that can contain “sacred, secret and generally known knowledge”.⁹²⁵

For the purposes of creating this model, this dissertation has included different examples of memorial architecture in Germany and Australia. Through the analysis of various memorial theories and features and the handling by each artist/architect in the design of monuments/buildings to display traumatic and painful memory and history, this review provides the groundwork for the design of the Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place model.

3.3.1 Transparency in the Memorialization of Perpetrator Architecture

The Topography of Terror in Berlin is an excellent example of the preservation and memorialization of perpetrator architecture. Spanning the years 1933 to 1945, the most important institutions of the Nazi administration were located in Berlin on the grounds of the former Prinz-Albrecht Palace which became the headquarters of the Gestapo, including the SS (Schutzstaffel or Security Division) Reich main security office and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst or Secret Security Service of the Reichsführer). Located centrally in Berlin, it is “a unique site where the victims are absent, and the perpetrators cannot be commemorated”.⁹²⁶ This was the centre of the Nazi terror machine. The documented catalogue of the site states that this was the “centre of the terror apparatus.

⁹²⁵ Sophie Lissonnet and Liddy Nevile, Lissonnet, S. and Nevile, L., A Forum for Indigenous Culture Building and Preservation. In J. Trant and D. Bearman (eds). *Museums and the Web 2007: Proceedings*. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, published March 31, 2007 at <http://www.archimuse.com/mw2007/papers/lissonnet/lissonnet.html>, 1.

⁹²⁶ Claudio Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror'." *arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 18, 2 (2014): 110-122.

Here stood the desks of Himmler, Heydrich, Kaltenbrunner and Heinrich Muller.”⁹²⁷ The Topography of Terror foundation was initiated on January 28th, 1992. Its purpose was to “research and communicate historical knowledge concerning the National Socialist era and its crimes”.⁹²⁸

The buildings that housed the Gestapo and the SS were damaged by Allied bombing in 1945. They were not destroyed and could have been restored but they were left to decay. Perhaps, this was based on German guilt but also connected to the construction of the Berlin Wall in the 1960s. The decrepit buildings were demolished soon after the construction of the wall.⁹²⁹ This space was left empty for a number of years. By the 1970s, the site was used as a temporary car park, a “dodgem car rise” and a recycling ground.⁹³⁰ In 1979, a number of different foundations began to campaign to preserve and document the history of the site.⁹³¹

In 1983, an international open competition was held to create a memorial on the site. In 1984, the winning bid was chosen. The winning project proposed to level the entire site and to cover the ground with heavy lead plates “each to be inscribed with a document from the archives of the Nazi regime”.⁹³² Spaces would be left in between each plate and trees would be allowed to grow turning the space into a park.⁹³³ This project

⁹²⁷ Rürup, Reinhard, and Werner T. Angress. *Topography of terror: Gestapo, SS and Reichssicherheitshauptamt on the "Prinz-Albrecht-Terrain": a documentation*. (W. Arenhovel, 1989), 11.

⁹²⁸ Leoni, “Peter Zumthor’s”, 111.

⁹²⁹ A section of the wall remains intact adjacent to the Topography of Terror museum and installation.

⁹³⁰ Leoni, “Peter Zumthor’s”, 111.

⁹³¹ Leoni, “Peter Zumthor’s”, 111.

⁹³² Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, “‘Topography of Terror’ in Berlin: Is remembrance of forgetting possible?” *Journal of Arts Management* 25, 1 (1995): 1-10.

⁹³³ Irwin-Zarecka, “Topography,”.

was heavily criticized as it was thought to have too much of a “symbolic approach” and it was dropped by the City Council.⁹³⁴

In 1986, the site was examined, and excavations took place. Archaeologists discovered that “fragments of building foundations, boundary walls and cellars” had escaped destruction.⁹³⁵ It was decided that a temporary exhibition should be held on the site during the 750th anniversary of Berlin in 1987. The temporary exhibition was curated by Verein Aktives Museum (Active Museum Association). The Association’s aim was to “develop an alternative museum concept” and to avoid “an artistic interpretation”.⁹³⁶ Although the site was initially covered with a temporary protective canopy, the 1987 exhibit proved to be successful and it was decided that a permanent exhibition should be designed.⁹³⁷ It was also considered that the design of the permanent space include a documentation centre and a “‘place of learning and thinking’ which would offer space for meetings, discussion and silent remembrance”.⁹³⁸ Furthermore, it was concluded that the building that was constructed should be “austere” and the site should “be retained as a visible ‘open wound’ within the city to provoke reflection on history”.⁹³⁹

In 1992, a second architectural competition was initiated to design a permanent museum space. This competition was complex, and it was requested that the applicants design an exhibition hall, visitor centre, documentation centre with library and archive as well as an international meeting place. In 1993, architect Peter Zumthor won the

⁹³⁴ Leoni, “Peter Zumthor’s”, 111.

⁹³⁵Rürup and Angress, *Topography of Terror*, 218.

⁹³⁶ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 112.

⁹³⁷ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 112.

⁹³⁸ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 112.

⁹³⁹ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 112.

competition. In the beginning, Zumthor's plan for the site was positioned as a response to the excavations. It was designed to perch over the excavations, to "sit awkwardly on the site, marking the 'open wound' in the urban context".⁹⁴⁰ The major theme of the design was transparent with no solid walls but a number of thin posts enclosed in "stain-less (sic) steel framed glass".⁹⁴¹ Although the building was filled with windows, the long thin hallway of the building would not allow the viewer to see more than a "fraction of the whole site at once".⁹⁴² Zumthor's decision to use white concrete was connected with an attempt to "avoid allusions with (sic) bunkers" and to further his theme of transparency.⁹⁴³ It was also evocative of Classical architecture constructed from white marble. Leoni states that "marble has always been perceived in Germany as 'Non-Germanic': sandstone or granite were seen as German materials, while marble always had Mediterranean connotations".⁹⁴⁴ Zumthor felt that this would make the building look quite "alien to its surroundings" and that the building's appearance seemed to "deny the ground where it would have stood".⁹⁴⁵ He stated that the "building, exhibition and site would create an atmosphere of reflection" and that through the architecture "the feeling for the reality of this site of perpetrators and victims" would remain.⁹⁴⁶

Leoni addresses Zumthor's approach and compares it to the work of Jacques Lacan who was a psychoanalyst and psychiatrist notable for his theory of three orders

⁹⁴⁰ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

⁹⁴¹ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

⁹⁴² Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁴³ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

⁹⁴⁴ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

⁹⁴⁵ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

⁹⁴⁶ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 113.

“the Imaginary, the Symbolic and the Real”.⁹⁴⁷ Lacan’s concept of the “three orders” theorizes that “our understanding of the world is based upon language or, rather, when perceived images are put into words” and this is the symbolic and the imaginary.⁹⁴⁸ However, he states that the real “remains outside language and resists signification”.⁹⁴⁹ As the real can only be “conjectured”, it can become an “object of anxiety and trauma”.⁹⁵⁰ Lacan pointed out that attempts to process trauma are actually attempts to “return to the real”.⁹⁵¹ Leoni states by applying this to the Topography of Terror, the Holocaust becomes the “‘real’ that can neither be realised comprehensively nor be represented adequately”.⁹⁵² He continues that it is impossible to understand the events of the Holocaust and what they meant to every single human being that was affected.⁹⁵³ It is also difficult to comprehend how “everyday people” could become perpetrators and thus the memorialization of perpetrator sites must “provoke reflection on those unconscious aspects which may sleep within ourselves”.⁹⁵⁴ Leoni believed that Zumthor’s design would have created a “gap within our realities, a gap where the real could have been conjectured”.⁹⁵⁵ The physical design of the site echoed Lacan’s concept of the “real” with “visibility and invisibility” oscillating between “reality’s unimaginable entirety and our partial understanding”.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁴⁷ Lacan, Jacques. *The four fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis*. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 279.

⁹⁴⁸ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁴⁹ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵⁰ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵¹ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵² Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵³ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵⁴ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵⁵ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 117.

⁹⁵⁶ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 118.

Zumthor's construction never saw completion. It provoked "intense disagreement" from the beginning as his design was considered to be "too artistic".⁹⁵⁷ Leoni also states that the design was also deemed too introspective and individual.⁹⁵⁸ In the late 1990s, Berlin was undergoing considerable financial strain, the project was postponed and city officials sought ways to lessen the cost of construction.⁹⁵⁹ The city began to reconsider Zumthor's design and held a meeting deciding in the end to demolish the partial construction and launch a new competition.⁹⁶⁰ In 2004, a new design for a documentation centre was created by architect Ursula Wilms and landscape architect Heinz W. Hallman; the site was completed in 2010. Like Zumthor's design, Wilms and Hallman's design did not receive much positive attention but for very different reasons. It was mainly criticized for being "dreary and backward looking, for washing away traces of the past rather than preserving them".⁹⁶¹ It obscures more of the site and the original

⁹⁵⁷ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 119.

⁹⁵⁸ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 119.

⁹⁵⁹ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 119.

⁹⁶⁰ Zumthor sued the Berlin City Council at the Federal Supreme Court. He lost his case and the partial construction was demolished in the winter of 2004. Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 119.

⁹⁶¹ The Topography of Terror documentation centre holds three permanent exhibitions presented in German and English. The "Topography of Terror. Gestapo, SS, and Reich Security Main Office on Wilhelm- and Prinz-Albrecht-Straße" exhibition focuses on the SS and the police forces of the Reich as well as their actions across Europe. This exhibition focuses on photographs and facsimiles of documents with computer stations and reading folders. It also utilizes audio and film recordings as well as a number of maps including the location of SS and police command stations and sites where atrocities occurred. The exhibition, "Berlin 1933–1945: Between Propaganda and Terror" is placed in the exhibition trench alongside the excavated remains of the cellar wall. This exhibition addresses National Socialist policy on Berlin and its consequences and how it affected the city and its population. It provides a timeline and an idea of how the Nazi's were able to slowly take over Berlin and establish the city as their main headquarters. This exhibition focuses on glass panels that allow visitors to view the excavated ruins as well as photos, newspapers and documents. The exhibition titled "The Historic Site "Topography of Terror." A Site Tour in 15 Stations" is an outdoor exhibit that was designed to complement the indoor exhibit. It was designed to introduce visitors to the terrain and landscape of the site. It is separated into fifteen different stations each fitted with information lecterns, photos, documents and 3-D graphics. There is also an audio guide that is available to visitors that outlines the site and provides information at each station. This exhibition also incorporates a section of the Berlin Wall and preserved parts of the Prinz-Albrecht-Straße. The site hosts and produces temporary and traveling exhibitions including "The Reich Ministry of Labour 1933–1945: Civil Servants of the Nazi State", "Kristallnacht" – Anti-Jewish Terror 1938. Events and Remembering, The people's court 1934–1945", "When Nazi terror became law, Berlin 1933 – The Path to

rubble piles have been removed. However, it did meet the earliest requirements for the site, the new building appearance is “sober” and “technical” without any artistic or symbolic significance.⁹⁶² Leoni states that the exhibit has been negatively meditated and this veils “the reality of the site” and transforms it “into a commonplace history exhibition”.⁹⁶³

Although, it took years of consideration and planning, the architecture and intention of the building are focused on acceptance of past wrongs and the collection and preservation of all memory connected to the actions of the Nazi party. These include documents from both victim and perpetrator and provide a “Keeping Place” for all documents and artefacts. Furthermore, the Topography of Terror is placed on the site that was the “brain” of the Nazi regime and can be connected to every atrocity committed during the war years. This site is an excellent example of memorial use of perpetrator architecture. It develops a place of memory at a physical site that would be a sore spot for every German and opens it to the public to share, learn and interact with. This creates a site of living memory with thousands of documents and an extensive library available for everyone to access. Returning to the “Keeping Place” model, the Topography of Terror is

Dictatorship”, “Aktion Reinhardt” - They arrived at the Ghetto and went into the unknown”, “Serving Racial Politics”: Propaganda Photographs on Reich Minister Darré’s instructions”, “The Descent into Darkness. The Year 1938”, “Repressed Memory. How West Berlin Dealt with Sites of Nazi Perpetrators”, “Luther’s words are everywhere ...” – Martin Luther in Nazi Germany”, “Mass Shootings. The Holocaust from the Baltic to the Black Sea 1941–1944”, “Stumbling Stones – Remembrance and Social Sculpture”, “Fire! Anti-Jewish Terror on “Kristallnacht” in November 1938” and “March Formations: The Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg”. The site also hosts an extensive library that includes information on National Socialism, the SS and SD and the Gestapo. Topography of Terror. “PERMANENT EXHIBITION: The Historic Site “Topography of Terror.” A Site Tour in 15 Stations” <https://www.topographie.de/en/exhibitions/site-tour/#c1071> (accessed April 5, 2019), Topography of Terror. “SPECIAL AND TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS” <https://www.topographie.de/en/exhibitions/special-exhibitions/> (accessed April 5, 2019.), Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 118.

⁹⁶² Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 118.

⁹⁶³ Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's", 118.

critical as it places itself in a transparent location. This is an essential feature for a Canadian “Keeping Place”.

3.3.2 Finding Memory through Authenticity and Absence

The concept of placing a “Keeping Place” on or near the ruins of a residential school at Fort Qu’Appelle was considered carefully. This is also connected to authenticity. Bordo states that “both an artwork and the material artefact have to occupy a space. They are defined by the physical locations that they occupy”. The Qu’Appelle Residential School site could be seen as the authentic site for an Indian Residential School “Keeping Place”.⁹⁶⁴ Bordo states that it has “everything to do with its attachment to a locality.”⁹⁶⁵ He uses the Bibliothek monument in Berlin as an example of this attachment. The memorial was created with the “aim of marking the infamous Nazi book burning of 10 May 1933”.⁹⁶⁶ The city of Berlin invited Micha Ullman (an Israeli-born sculptor and professor of art) to design a monument for the Bebelplatz.⁹⁶⁷ Ullman created a monument on the exact site of the first Nazi book burning on Berlin’s Bebelplatz (formerly known as Opernplatz or Opera Square, the former “cultural epicentre of Berlin”).⁹⁶⁸ The Bebelplatz is a large open square that occupies a city block and is bordered by the State Library, the entrance to Humboldt University, the War Memorial, the Faculty of Law and the Opera House and Symphony Hall.⁹⁶⁹ The memorial was

⁹⁶⁴ Jonathan Bordo, "The witness in the errings of contemporary art." in *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundary of the Artwork*. ed. Paul Duro (New York: Cambridge UP, 1996), 106.

⁹⁶⁵ Bordo, “The Witness,” 107.

⁹⁶⁶ James Young, “Germany’s memorial question: Memory, counter-memory, and the end of the monument” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 96, 4 (1997) 853-880, 867.

⁹⁶⁷ Micha Ullman was born to German Jews who immigrated to Mandate Palestine in 1933.

⁹⁶⁸ Jonathan Bordo, "History Lessons: Imitation, Work and the Temporality of Contemporary Art." *Art History* 37, 4 (2014): 806-825, 822.

⁹⁶⁹ Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

inaugurated in May of 1995. To visit the monument, you must peer through a window into the earth, into a “ghostly white , underground room of empty shelves that Ullman has installed”.⁹⁷⁰ A steel tablet is set into the cobblestone pavement beside the monument quotes Heinrich Heine’s words “Where books are burned, so one day will people be burned as well”.⁹⁷¹ Ullman’s memorial is thought to be one of the most poignant of all existing Holocaust memorials. It does not “stage a performance” but “produces an empty space from which books and bodies are absent”.⁹⁷² By incorporating Heinrich Heine’s words into the memorial, Ullman uses the “medium of a memorial to create a context, a space that invites those who pass through it to perform an act of commemoration”.⁹⁷³ Bordo states that the Bibliothek is a “mahnmal”.⁹⁷⁴ The Bibliothek as a mahnmal (a German word for monument that means “to prompt thinking again, to reflect”), performs its work through absence rather than presence.⁹⁷⁵ It allows the viewer to think about what is missing, what was lost and what can never be found or recovered. Bordo recalls this absence as a lack of “closure”.⁹⁷⁶ He finds that the “aesthetic of absence leaves a visible and irreparable scar”.⁹⁷⁷ The memorial inspires thought about the end result of the book burning but also the legacy of the place in which it is situated. The Bebelplatz is

⁹⁷⁰ Young, “Germany’s memorial,” 867.

⁹⁷¹ Young, “Germany’s memorial,” 867.

⁹⁷² Na'ama Rokem, *Prosaic Conditions: Heinrich Heine and the Spaces of Zionist Literature*. (Northwestern University Press, 2013), xi.

⁹⁷³ Rokem, *Prosaic Conditions*, xi.

⁹⁷⁴ Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

⁹⁷⁵ Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

⁹⁷⁶ Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

⁹⁷⁷ Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

surrounded by “Keeping Places” such as the library and the faculty of law, which “hold the records and are the records”.⁹⁷⁸

3.3.3 Intersecting Lines: Housing Traumatic Memory

The Jewish Museum in Berlin is another “intriguing” example of a “Keeping Place”. Daniel Libeskind stated in his essay “Between the Lines: The Jewish Museum, Berlin”, that “Berlin was not only a physical place, but also something in the mind, something belonging to a past which never was present. A spiritual reality that makes itself immediately comprehensible to everyone in the world”.⁹⁷⁹ The Jewish Museum (Jüdische Museum Berlin) is the largest Jewish museum in Europe. It comprises three different buildings, two that were built by architect Daniel Libeskind. Its square footage is 120,000 sq. ft. and the cost for the construction was USD 40.05 million. The Jewish museum and its collections have a long history in Berlin; it was originally founded in 1907 after Dresden jeweler Albert Wolf endowed his collection of artefacts, portraits, manuscripts, prints and archaeological finds to the Jewish Community of Berlin. This collection was exhibited at the community library and the collection grew through the efforts of the Zionist Jewish Peoples Party. In October 1927, the community hired Karl Schwartz as an assistant and he later became the curator and director of the Jewish Museum. It opened at Oranienburger Strasse 31 and was run by the Jewish community of Berlin.

⁹⁷⁸ Bordo, Bordo, “History Lessons,” 822.

⁹⁷⁹ Daniel Libeskind, "Between the lines: The Jewish museum, Berlin." *Research in phenomenology* (1992): 82-87.

James E. Young states that “ it was with catastrophic timing that Berlin’s first Jewish museum opened in January 1933, one week before Adolph Hitler was installed as chancellor”.⁹⁸⁰ Under Schwartz’s direction and curatorship the new Jewish Museum featured exhibits on Jewish history and a number of modern collections of Jewish art. Besides the museum the Oranienburger Strasse complex also housed a synagogue, a Jewish community centre and library. Young points out that the “Jewish Museum opened quite deliberately in the face of the Nazi rise to power”.⁹⁸¹ It was intended as a way to revitalize and incorporate Jewish artists into German art history. As well, it was meant to be a space of “living history” for Jewish academics and intellectuals. Nevertheless, from the beginning there was disagreement in the Jewish community about the focus of the museum. Questions arose about what the museum would display, would it be devoted to Jewish artists and would it exclude non-Jewish art? The first exhibition focused on the work of artists of the Berlin Secessionists⁹⁸² led by German Jewish artist Max

⁹⁸⁰ James Edward Young, "Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin: the uncanny arts of memorial architecture." *Jewish Social Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 1-23, 3.

⁹⁸¹ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 3.

⁹⁸² The Berlin Secession was a German artist group founded on May 2, 1898. The term secession is derived from the Latin term *secessio* and means "separation" or "splitting off". It was thought to be the antithesis to the dominant academic art industry of the time. Today, it is stylistically referred to as Berlin Impressionism and occupies an outstanding position in German impressionism. It was founded under the leadership of Walter Leistikow, Franz Skarbina and Max Liebermann. Members included: Hans Baluschek, Ernst Barlach, Paul Baum, Max Beckmann, Charlotte Berend-Corinth, Josef Block, Martin Brandenburg, Erich Büttner, Lovis Corinth, Anna Costenoble, Charles Crodel, Heinrich Harry Deierling, Ludwig Dettmann, Adolph Eckhard, Otto Heinrich Engel, Lyonel Feininger, Philipp Franck, Oskar Frenzel, Oswald Galle, August Gaul, Robert Genin, Rudolf Großmann, Hugo von Habermann, Karl Hagemeister, Theodor Hagen, Philipp Harth, Emil van Hauth, Erich Heckel, Franz Heckendorf, Adolf Edward Herstein, Curt Herrmann, Dora Hitz, Ferdinand Hodler, Richard Hohly, Ulrich Hübner, Willy Jaeckel, Franz M. Jansen, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Fritz Klimsch, Paul Klimsch, Max Klinger, Wilhelm Kohlhoff, Georg Kolbe, Käthe Kollwitz, Leo von König, August Kraus, Bruno Krauskopf, Max Kruse, Walter Leistikow, Franz Lenk, Reinhold Lepsius, Sabine Lepsius, Max Liebermann, Heinrich Eduard Linde-Walther, Otto Modersohn, Marg Moll, Oskar Moll, George Mosson, Edvard Munch, Emil Nolde, Ernst Oppler, Ernestina Orlandini, Emil Orlik, Waldemar Rösler, Max Schlichting, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Clara Siewert, Renée Sintenis, Franz Skarbina, Maria Slavona, Max Slevogt, Eugene Spiro, Robert Sterl, Adolf Strübe, Wilhelm Trübner, Lesser Ury, Max Uth, Arnold Waldschmidt, Karl Walser, Emil Rudolf Weiß, Hedwig Weiß, Julie Wolfthorn, and Heinrich Zille.

Liebermann.⁹⁸³ This was also criticized as Curt Glasser (a Jewish art historian) attacked the idea of a Jewish museum and the “presumption that Liebermann’s work was...somehow essentially Jewish—even though there was nothing thematically Jewish in the work itself”.⁹⁸⁴

For over five years, the Nazi’s pressured the museum to close. The museum resisted and held several exhibitions of German Jewish artists. It was not until the Nuremberg Laws defining Jewish peoples as essentially “un-German” that the Nazi’s banned all Jews from visiting the museum.⁹⁸⁵ With this decree, the museum was transformed into “a segregated ghetto of art and culture by Jews for Jews”.⁹⁸⁶ Jewish art was also classified as being “’entartete’ or decadent”.⁹⁸⁷ The museum was then plundered and damaged during Kristallnacht or, Night of Pogroms on November 10, 1938.⁹⁸⁸ The director (Franz Landsberger) was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen while the museum was dismantled, and its holdings confiscated.⁹⁸⁹ A large cache of 400 paintings was discovered in the cellar of the former Ministry of Culture of the Reich. After the war, the cache was immediately seized by the Jewish Relief Organization and was sent to the Bezalel National Museum (that would later become the Israel Museum).⁹⁹⁰

Interest in reviving the Jewish Museum did not occur until 1971. This concurred with construction of the new Berlin museum. Heinz Galinski (head of the West Berlin

⁹⁸³ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 4.

⁹⁸⁴ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 4.

⁹⁸⁵ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 4.

⁹⁸⁶ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 4.

⁹⁸⁷ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 4.

⁹⁸⁸ The Kristallnacht or the Night of Broken Glass, was a pogrom against Jews carried out by SA paramilitary forces and civilians throughout Nazi Germany on November 9–10, 1938.

⁹⁸⁹ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 5.

⁹⁹⁰ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 5.

Jewish community) declared that the city was responsible to rebuild the Jewish museum.⁹⁹¹ He was interested in having the Jewish museum integrated into the Berlin museum. This initiated a mandate that the Berlin museum would begin to collect materials and artefacts relating to Jewish history and would eventually host a Jewish department within the museum.⁹⁹² The first exhibition, held in 1975, was titled “Contribution and Fate: 300 Years of the Jewish Community in Berlin, 1671-1971”.⁹⁹³ In 1975, The Society for a Jewish Museum was founded and the Berlin Senate established the need for a Jewish department within the Berlin Museum.⁹⁹⁴ The Society’s mandate was to promote an autonomous Jewish museum as a department of the Berlin Museum.⁹⁹⁵

Beginning in 1982 and continuing to 1987, there was a debate about the completion of a Jewish Museum. There were two sides who were concerned with the placement. One side discussed whether or not to locate the Jewish museum outside the Berlin Museum and the other discussing where it would be located if it was not incorporated into the Berlin Museum.⁹⁹⁶ In 1988, the Senate agreed to fund a Jewish Museum department within the Berlin museum but agreed that the building would be constructed separately from the other buildings. Competition for the design of a new building was held in 1989. It was an open competition and the committee invited twelve architects from outside of Germany to apply.⁹⁹⁷ Three conceptual areas would have to be

⁹⁹¹ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 5.

⁹⁹² Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 5.

⁹⁹³ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 6.

⁹⁹⁴ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 7.

⁹⁹⁵ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 7.

⁹⁹⁶ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 7.

⁹⁹⁷ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 9.

considered by potential applicants. They were: 1. The Jewish religion, customs and rituals objects that would be displayed, 2. The history of the Jewish community in Germany and its rise and fall under the Nazi's would be examined and, 3. The lives and works of generations of Berlin Jews would be incorporated.⁹⁹⁸ An international jury was chosen, and 165 submissions were reviewed. The prize was awarded to Daniel Libeskind.⁹⁹⁹ Although Libeskind's design was complex and many thought possibly "unbuildable", it was awarded first prize.¹⁰⁰⁰ Young points out that Libeskind differed from other applicants as he was not as concerned with the physical technicalities but rather the "spatial enactment of a philosophical problem".¹⁰⁰¹ Young describes Libeskind's methods in a question "if architecture can be representative of historical meaning, can it also represent unmeaning and the search for meaning?".¹⁰⁰² Interestingly, Libeskind's design tackles many of the difficulties associated with memorial design. He does not attempt to answer the difficult questions such as: "How to give voice to an absent Jewish culture without presuming to speak for it? How to bridge an open wound without mending it? How to house under a single roof a panoply of essential oppositions and contradictions?".¹⁰⁰³ A number of drawings that he submitted to the committee "have come to be regarded as masterpieces of process art as well as architectural design".¹⁰⁰⁴

⁹⁹⁸ Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 8.

⁹⁹⁹ Libeskind is an American architect who was born to the survivors of a Polish Jewish family who had lost many family members in the Holocaust

¹⁰⁰⁰ Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 10.

¹⁰⁰¹ Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 10.

¹⁰⁰² Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 10.

¹⁰⁰³ Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 10.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Young, "Daniel Libeskind's," 9.

The location of the museum is at the intersection of Markgrafenstrasse and Lindenstrasse on the edge of the Friedrichstadt. It is also close to the former Royal Residence as well as Karl Schinkel's Schauspielhaus¹⁰⁰⁵ and Carl von Gontard's two tower structures.¹⁰⁰⁶ It is also near the remnants of the Berlin Wall. Libeskind took account of the surrounding architecture and created a design that he felt attempted to create a "new language for Berlin" while responding to the past "fragmentation and segregation of the area".¹⁰⁰⁷ He used a number of different themes in the planning, they include an " 'irrational matrix' which resembled a distorted star: the yellow star that was worn often on this very site", Schönberg's opera "Moses and Aaron"¹⁰⁰⁸, inspiration from the Gedenkbuch¹⁰⁰⁹ which contains names, dates of births and places/dates of deportation

¹⁰⁰⁵ The Schauspielhaus (known as the Konzerthaus) is a concert hall that is located on the Gendarmenmarkt square in the central Mitte district of Berlin housing the German orchestra. It was built as a theatre in 1821 under the name of the Schauspielhaus Berlin, later also known as the Theater am Gendarmenmarkt and Komödie, its usage changed to a concert hall after the Second World War. designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. It was severely damaged by Allied bombing and the Battle of Berlin and was rebuilt in 1977.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Carl Philipp Christian von Gontard (Birth January 13, 1731 in Mannheim – Death September 23, 1791 in Breslau) was a German architect who worked primarily in Berlin, Potsdam, and Bayreuth in the style of late Baroque Classicism. He designed the Potsdam's Brandenburg Gate. He was considered one of the most important architects of the era of Frederick the Great of Prussia. The Gendarmenmarkt is a square in Berlin and the site of an architectural ensemble including the Berlin concert hall and the French and German Churches. The two identical domed towers were erected by architect Carl von Gontard under the rule of Friedrich II.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Emma Scarmack and Daniel Libeskind. "Between the lines." *Architectural Design* 67 (1997): 1-29, 7.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Moses und Aron (English: Moses and Aaron) is a three-act opera by Arnold Schoenberg or Schönberg with the third act left unfinished. The opera has its roots in Schoenberg's earlier play, *Der biblische Weg* (The Biblical Way, 1926–27) and is a response in dramatic form to the growing anti-Jewish movements in the Germany after 1848. Schönberg was deeply disturbed by the persecution of the Jews in Europe and is clear in a letter that he wrote to Wassily Kandinsky in April 1923. He stated, "I have at last learnt the lesson that has been forced upon me this year, and I shall never forget it. It is that I am not a German, not a European, indeed perhaps scarcely even a human being (at least, the Europeans prefer the worst of their race to me), but that I am a Jew." Aaron Tugendhaft, "Schoenberg's Moses und Aron," *The Chicago Undergraduate Journal of Jewish Studies*, 3 (1997).

¹⁰⁰⁹ The "Gedenkbuch Berlins : der juedischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus/ German Federal Archive's The Memorial Book for the Victims of the Nazi Persecution of Jews in Germany (1933–1945), was a four-volume printed version but is now online and fully searchable. The original volumes were published to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. The online version of the Memorial Book is permanently being updated. An online portal was installed at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin.

or death of “missing Berliners”, and Walter Benjamin’s text “One Way Street”.¹⁰¹⁰

Young states that before Libeskind began the design for the actual architecture, he created a “metaphysical map of Berlin, constituted not so much by urban topography as it was by the former residences of its composers, writers and poets—that is, the cultural matrix of their lives in Berlin”.¹⁰¹¹ The distorted star was the composite of the matrix that was drawn connecting the addresses of Berliners such as Heinrich von Kleist¹⁰¹²,

¹⁰¹⁰ Benjamin’s work “One Way Street” is a collection of prose that created an observation of urban life in Weimar Germany. Scarmack and Libeskind, “Between,” 8.

¹⁰¹¹ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 12.

¹⁰¹² Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist (Born October 18, 1777 – Death November 21, 1811) was a German poet, dramatist, novelist, short story writer and journalist. He is best known for works such as the theatre plays *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, *The Broken Jug*, *Amphitryon*, *Penthesilea* and the novellas *Michael Kohlhaas* and *The Marquise of O.*

Heinrich Heine ¹⁰¹³, Rahel Varnhagen ¹⁰¹⁴, E.T.A. Hoffmann ¹⁰¹⁵, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe ¹⁰¹⁶, Schönberg ¹⁰¹⁷, Paul Celan ¹⁰¹⁸ and Walter Benjamin ¹⁰¹⁹.

Secondly, Libeskind was inspired by Schönberg's unfinished opera Moses and Aaron. He states that his inspiration was "not only that it had twelve letters in the title...but also the fact that Schönberg started it in Berlin, but could not finish it...it intrigues me that such a genius, an incredible intellect, and a great composer, was unable to complete act III".¹⁰²⁰ The third theme focused on what Libeskind describes as the

¹⁰¹³ Christian Johann Heinrich Heine (Born December 13, 1797 – Death February 17, 1856) was a German poet, writer and literary critic. He is best known outside Germany for his early lyric poetry, which was set to music in the form of lieder (art songs) by composers such as Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert.

¹⁰¹⁴ Rahel Antonie Friederike Varnhagen (Born May 19, 1771 – Death March 7 1833) was a German writer who hosted one of the most prominent salons in Europe during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Although, Rahel converted from Judaism to Catholicism when she married, she remained a great supporter of Jewish causes especially during the 1819 Anti-Semitic outburst.

¹⁰¹⁵ Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (commonly abbreviated as E. T. A. Hoffmann; born Ernst Theodor Wilhelm Hoffmann; January 24, 1776 – Death June 25, 1822) was a German Romantic author of fantasy and Gothic horror, a jurist, composer, music critic and artist. He was the author of the novella "The Nutcracker and the Mouse King" that the Nutcracker ballet was based on.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (Born Maria Ludwig Michael Mies; March 27, 1886 – Death August 17, 1969) was a German American architect. Mies is considered one of the pioneers of modernist architecture (alongside Alvar Aalto, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius and Frank Lloyd Wright). He was the last director of the Bauhaus before the school was closed and its members dispersed by the Nazi party. He moved to Chicago where he headed the architecture school at the Illinois Institute of Technology. He is also known for coining the phrases "less is more" and "God is in the details".

¹⁰¹⁷ Arnold Schoenberg or Schönberg (Born September 13, 1874 – Death July 13 1951) was an Austrian-born American composer, music theorist, teacher, writer, and painter. He is widely considered one of the most important and influential composers of the 20th century. He was associated with the expressionist movement in German poetry and art, and leader of the Second Viennese School. His work was disliked by the Nazi party and was labeled "degenerate".

¹⁰¹⁸ Paul Celan (Born November 23, 1920 – Death April 20, 1970) was a Romanian-born German language poet and translator. He was born as Paul Antschel to a Jewish family in Cernăuți (Czernowitz), in the previous Kingdom of Romania (contemporary Chernivtsi, Ukraine), and adopted the pseudonym "Paul Celan". He became one of the major German-language poets of the post-World War II era.

¹⁰¹⁹ Walter Bendix Schönflies Benjamin (Born July 15, 1892 – Death September 26, 1940) was a German Jewish philosopher, cultural critic and essayist. Benjamin was an eclectic academic, combining elements of German idealism, Romanticism, Western Marxism, and Jewish mysticism. He made a lasting and significant contribution to aesthetic theory, literary criticism, and historical materialism. He was associated with the Frankfurt School and is best known for his essays "The Task of the Translator" (1923), "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936), and "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (1940). He committed suicide in 1940 while attempting to escape from the invading Nazi army.

¹⁰²⁰ Libeskind, "Between," 84.

“textual dimension”.¹⁰²¹ He looked through the Gedenkbuch or Memorial Book that contained the names of the Jewish people who were deported from Berlin.¹⁰²² Libeskind stated that he built the new museum to “serve to inspire poetry, music, and drama but also should give a home to the ordered—disordered, the welcome—unwelcome, the chosen—not chosen, the vocal which is silent.”¹⁰²³

Every part of the architecture of Libeskind’s design was created to inspire thought and “give voice to a common fate, common to Jews and non-Jews, to Berliners and non-Berliners, to those who live abroad and those who live at home, those in exile, and those in the wilderness”.¹⁰²⁴ The angular and often sharp corners of the building were designed to “reproduce the horridity (sic) of the Concentration camps” with specific thought to geometry that was intended to make visitors feel ill.¹⁰²⁵ The interior walls are often sloped in angles that make it impossible to display artwork. The building materials are mainly concrete, glass and steel and zinc.¹⁰²⁶ The foundation and supporting beams were all reinforced for strength and exterior of the building was constructed of poured concrete.¹⁰²⁷ This allowed for differently sized doors and windows as well as more space inside the building due to lack of interior structural columns.¹⁰²⁸ The building are constructed of concrete but the structural members are clad in zinc.¹⁰²⁹ This provided a

¹⁰²¹ Libeskind, “Between,” 84.

¹⁰²² Libeskind, “Between,” 84.

¹⁰²³ Libeskind, “Between,” 85.

¹⁰²⁴ Libeskind, “Between,” 85.

¹⁰²⁵ Libeskind, “Between,” 20.

¹⁰²⁶ Libeskind, “Between,” 22.

¹⁰²⁷ Libeskind, “Between,” 22.

¹⁰²⁸ The construction of the skeleton of the building had several setbacks due to difficulty involving casting the high exterior walls. The museum thus became a “model project in which to test new methods of handling concrete”. Libeskind, “Between,” 24.

¹⁰²⁹ Libeskind, “Between,” 17.

Teutonic connection for the building and visually lightens the mass of the building.¹⁰³⁰ It was intended that the shine of the zinc gradually dulled down to a blue-grey. It was also a cost-efficient choice for the building construction.

The new building was also constructed under the old and “criss-crosses underground”.¹⁰³¹ Three axes cross on the lower level of the building. The underground axes are designed to tell three different stories. They are titled the Axis of Exile, the Axis of the Holocaust and the Axis of Continuity. The Axis of Continuity is the longest passage; it leads to a steep eighty-two step staircase that then leads into the exhibition spaces of the museum. Along this staircase, there are many artefacts that tell the story of the Jewish people who were persecuted, murdered and exiled during the Nazi era. The axis of Exile leads to the exterior and the Hoffman Garden (or Garden of Exile) and represents the exile of the Jewish people from Germany. The “Garden of Exile” was designed to “distort” the perception of visitors. It is symbolic of the forced exodus of the Jews out of Berlin to the many locations of the concentration camps. It contains forty-nine concrete stelae (square columns) with a 12° gradient that serves to induce feelings of “instability and lack of orientation” symbolizing the plight of those driven out of Germany.¹⁰³² Oleaster is planted on the top of each pillar as a symbol of hope.¹⁰³³ Forty-eight of the stelae are filled with soil from Berlin, the forty-ninth with soil from

¹⁰³⁰ Libeskind, “Between,” 17.

¹⁰³¹ Libeskind, “Between,” 9.

¹⁰³² Libeskind, “Between,” 13.

¹⁰³³ In North America, it is often considered to be an invasive weed. It is a drought resistant, disease resistant thorny shrub and can grow into a small tree. The flowers are also used to create perfumes, the gum from the plant is used in calico printing and the trunk and branches are also used by carvers. The wood was also used in ancient shipbuilding as it is resistant to wood worm. In ancient mythology, the club of Heracles was created using Oleaster wood. The wood also makes an excellent fuel source.
<https://godasagardener.com/tag/oleaster/>

Jerusalem. Olea Oleaster (Latin names: *Olea europea* and *Elaeagnus angustifolia*, also known as the Russian and Wild Olive) is a symbolic plant in Jewish history. It is native to southern Europe and western Asia. In Israel, it is found in wood and shrub lands and is also found on Mount Hermon. It was and is used to construct sacred booths during Jewish holidays such as the Festival of Tabernacles.¹⁰³⁴

The axis of the Holocaust leads to a dead end representing the “Voided Void” or “Holocaust Tower”.¹⁰³⁵ Interestingly, the “Holocaust void” is one of five different void spaces in the building. These void spaces are simply walls of bare concrete with no artificial light, heating or air conditioning.¹⁰³⁶ Many visitors have experienced feelings of oppression or anxiety in these spaces.¹⁰³⁷ The “Holocaust void” passage leads visitors through a heavy black steel door into the Voided Void/Holocaust Tower. The tower is constructed of bare concrete and is 24 metres high, and outside sounds are muffled. It is lit by a narrow crack in the wall high above the ground. It was designed to pay tribute to the “numerous victims of mass murder”.¹⁰³⁸ Libeskind explained that the “new extension was conceived as an emblem where the visible has made itself apparent as a void, an invisible.”¹⁰³⁹ The museum was built around a void that is “experienced by the

¹⁰³⁴ Besnard, Guillaume, and André Bervillé. "Multiple origins for Mediterranean olive (*Olea europaea* L. ssp. *europaea*) based upon mitochondrial DNA polymorphisms." *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences-Series III-Sciences de la Vie* 323, 2 (2000): 173-181.

¹⁰³⁵ Libeskind, “Between,” 9.

¹⁰³⁶ Libeskind, “Between,” 14.

¹⁰³⁷ Jewish Museum Berlin, “The Libeskind Building” <https://www.jmberlin.de/en/libeskind-building> (Retrieved October 12, 2019).

¹⁰³⁸ Libeskind, “Between,” 14.

¹⁰³⁹ Libeskind, “Between,” 85.

public”.¹⁰⁴⁰ This void was symbolic of “an absence rather than a presence” as very little remains of the Jewish presence in Berlin.¹⁰⁴¹

The project for this thesis can take inspiration from two different themes found at the Jewish Museum. First, is the theme concerning the effective ‘housing’ of traumatic memory and second, is the use of Libeskind’s “irrational matrix” in the architecture of the building. The design of the Jewish Museum is noteworthy as it “houses” the memory of “a people no longer at ‘home’ there.”¹⁰⁴² This can be considered when conceptualizing the creation of a Keeping Place on the site of a ruined residential school. : The Keeping Place is a place to hold memory, the memory of the history of encounter between Indigenous peoples and the colonizers. In this sense it is similar to the German experience in which memory constitutes “the history and cultures of two people – whose fate had been inextricably mingled for centuries in Berlin.”¹⁰⁴³ Young quotes Freud in an effort to understand the practice of memory at sites of trauma. To create a Keeping Place of memory is not a “reintroduction” but an “excavation of memory already there, though long suppressed”.¹⁰⁴⁴ Freud’s theory of the uncanny in reality states that this type of memory is “nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and old established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression...the uncanny [is] something which ought to have remained hidden but has come to light”.¹⁰⁴⁵ This is clear in the “anxiety” surrounding the creation of places of

¹⁰⁴⁰ Libeskind, “Between,” 85.

¹⁰⁴¹ Libeskind, “Between,” 85.

¹⁰⁴² Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 1.

¹⁰⁴³ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 2.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 2.

residential school memory in Canada.¹⁰⁴⁶ The challenges surrounding the housing of traumatic memory must also be addressed in the Keeping Place model. The architect of such a space is tasked with “housing memory that is neither at home with itself nor necessarily housable at all”.¹⁰⁴⁷

Secondly, Libeskind designed the Jewish Museum, Berlin based on an “irrational matrix” of lines connecting the lives of different Berliners. Libeskind wrote a poem titled “Between the Lines” that defined the foundation of his design. He connects all the citizens of Berlin “those of the past, of the present, and of the future, discover their common heritage and individual hope”.¹⁰⁴⁸ The museum was designed to “give home to the contradictions of the ordered/disordered, the chosen/unchosen, the welcome/unwelcome, the vocal/silent”.¹⁰⁴⁹ Libeskind states that the architecture serves to “reconnect Berlin to its own history, which must never be forgotten”.¹⁰⁵⁰ In Chapter 2 of this thesis, the introduction of different objects served to introduce the story of colonization in Canada and illustrated the complexities of Métissage among settler and Indigenous peoples. The concept of creating connections through invisible lines that could connect the Keeping Place site to different individuals in residential school history, to sites in Ottawa, to other Indian Residential School sites, and to sites where survivor or settler testimony were taken may be an interesting aspect to include in the design of the Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place architecture.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 2.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Young, “Daniel Libeskind’s,” 3.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Libeskind, “Between the,” 48.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Libeskind, “Between the Lines,” 48.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Libeskind, “Between the Lines,” 48.

3.3.4 Reconciling through Memory: Slivers, Bone Coffins and Blankets

Traditionally, monuments have been erected to commemorate an event, a person or an ideology. The monument is usually made of stone or concrete as it is intended to be a permanent installation. However, as the material endures, the meaning of the monument often shifts and changes with the passing of time. In some cases, the monument shifts from the remembrance of a nation-defining event to one of trauma and pain. The message of the monument can be adapted to fit with a political agenda or nation-building message. After the horrors of WWII, there was a rise in monument building. The post-war era of the monument instigated the rise of a divergent movement known as the counter-monument (Gegendenkmal). The counter-monument aimed to “challenge and invert the nation-building agenda of traditional state memorials”.¹⁰⁵¹ As Young observed, counter-monuments are “brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being”.¹⁰⁵² Counter-monuments are often designed in such a way to “accommodate the memorial needs of different groups involved in traumatic events” thus finding room for both victim and perpetrator memory in the same space.¹⁰⁵³ This section will examine Reconciliation Place and the Australian Memorial at Canberra, Australia and the Witness Blanket at Saskatchewan, Canada. They are all considered to be counter-monuments.

¹⁰⁵¹ Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments,” 268.

¹⁰⁵² Young, “The counter-monument,” 271.

¹⁰⁵³ Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments,” 274.

In Australia in the early 1990s, the “global reconciliation process was still in its infancy”.¹⁰⁵⁴ At this time, Australia began to address its long history of colonialism and initiated an examination of “the politics of reconciliation against the claims for Aboriginal sovereignty”.¹⁰⁵⁵ In 1991, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act was passed.¹⁰⁵⁶ This legislation was designed to assist Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia in their movement towards “thinking about the past, the present and the future of race relations in the country”.¹⁰⁵⁷ The legislation was met with criticism as it has been stated that reconciliation processes are often “ a further stage in the colonial project of assimilating the Aboriginal population into the colonizing society”.¹⁰⁵⁸ Catriona Elder states that the Australian reconciliation act focused on any negative acts as moments in the past. Other defining reconciliation moments included the Mabo Native Title decision¹⁰⁵⁹ and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission report on the Stolen Generations “The National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families, Bringing Them Home”.¹⁰⁶⁰ Both occurrences-initiated reconciliation discourse and opened “space for the postcolonial

¹⁰⁵⁴ Catriona Elder, “Unfinished Business in (Post)Reconciliation Australia” *Australian Humanities Review* (2017): 74-93, 77.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap. "Aboriginal sovereignty and the politics of reconciliation: the constituent power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, 3 (2012): 534-550.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 77.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 77.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Muldoon and Schaap, “Aboriginal sovereignty,” 536.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The Mabo Native Title Decision occurred on June 3, 1992; the High Court of Australia decided that “terra nullius” should not have been applied to Australia. The Mabo decision recognized that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have rights to the land that existed pre-contact and continue to exist today.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Bringing Them Home is the 1997 Australian Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families. The report marked a pivotal moment in the controversy that has come to be known as the Stolen Generations.

political framing that had been marginalised since the 1970s”.¹⁰⁶¹ Elder further observes that the “recognition of native title” was more upsetting to most non-Indigenous

Australians than admitting to the theft and abuse of generations of Indigenous children.

¹⁰⁶² She opines that at this time, the reconciliation debate was cut in two. Elder states that reconciliation discussions could now be discussed through the “development of amicable race relations” and through the “development of new political relations”.¹⁰⁶³

In the late 1990s, postcolonial rights discourse began to gain importance, a series of groups formed and began to create new ideas around what reconciliation could mean.¹⁰⁶⁴ One of the key groups became known as Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR).¹⁰⁶⁵ The release of the Bringing Them Home report in 1997 was critical in the reconciliation debate. It included first-person narratives of Indigenous peoples who had suffered through the Stolen Generation era. It was further strengthened through the release of a film titled Rabbit Proof Fence in 2002.¹⁰⁶⁶ Elder states that the Mabo case, the Bringing Them Home report and the consequent literature and film created a new “social practices” around reconciliation.¹⁰⁶⁷ This led to the creation of

¹⁰⁶¹ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 79.

¹⁰⁶² Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 79.

¹⁰⁶³ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 80.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 81.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Directly from ANTaR’s website, they state that they “have been working with working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations and leaders on rights and reconciliation issues since 1997. ANTaR is an independent, national network of organisations and individuals working in support of Justice, Rights and Respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. ANTaR is an independent non-government organisation and is non-party-political.” ANTaR, “Purpose,” <https://www.antar.org.au/about/purpose> (retrieved April 8th, 2019).

¹⁰⁶⁶ “Rabbit Proof Fence,” a film released in 2002 was based on the story of Doris Pilkington Garimara. It follows the true story of Indigenous children who ran away from an internment camp called the Moore River Native Settlement. The site was renowned for its poor living conditions and the high percentage of children who died there from mistreatment and disease. The story follows the journey of the children as they walk for nine weeks (over 1500 miles) to return to their families following the Australian rabbit proof fence while being pursued by white law enforcement authorities to return.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 82.

“Reconciliation Place” in Canberra. Elder states that “this official site for the commemoration of reconciliation reflects quite powerfully the ‘unfinished business’ of reconciliation”.¹⁰⁶⁸

Initially called Reconciliation Square, Reconciliation Place is an urban landscape monument centrally located in Australia’s capital city of Canberra. It is strategically placed at the junction of Walter Burley Griffin’s Land Axis, the Australian High Court and the National Library of Australia. It also “complements and reinforces the monumental landscape of the Parliamentary Triangle whose axial lines connect the major institutional symbols of the Australian State”.¹⁰⁶⁹ It was commissioned through a national design competition in 2001 by the Australian Federal government to “acknowledge and commemorate the journey of reconciliation as a joint undertaking between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians”.¹⁰⁷⁰ The design brief highlighted that Reconciliation Place “should offer a way of placing reconciliation both physically and symbolically in the centre of Australian democratic and cultural life”.¹⁰⁷¹ A requirement of the competition was the inclusion of an Indigenous or Torres Strait Islander as part of the design team.

The winning entry was designed by architect Simon Kringas with the aid of Indigenous cultural advisor Sharon Payne. The creation of a central mound with pathways leading to the National Library and the National Gallery would eventually incorporate up to 50 “slivers”. The current memorial consists of a grove of four original

¹⁰⁶⁸ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 82.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Muldoon and Schaap, “Aboriginal sovereignty,” 546.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Muldoon and Schaap, “Aboriginal sovereignty,” 546.

¹⁰⁷¹ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 83.

“slivers” and has grown to seventeen sculptures, each representing a different episode in the reconciliation process.¹⁰⁷² Each “sliver” has a display of images and text dedicated to different themes of reconciliation. The first four “slivers” included: a dedication to Ngunnawal country (the original Indigenous people of the region) and an acknowledgment of traditional Indigenous land ownership, the recognition of Indigenous land title and ownership, Indigenous leaders including Neville Bonner and Vincent Lingiari, and the separation of Indigenous children from their families.¹⁰⁷³ The site is also marked with a mound of earth covered with turf marking the cross-axial intersection between Commonwealth and Reconciliation Places.¹⁰⁷⁴ Inspired by Aboriginal middens, it also functions as a place to view the site.¹⁰⁷⁵ Before the construction of Reconciliation Place, Indigenous presence in this area was concentrated at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy located at the steps of Old Parliament House. Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap in their work “Aboriginal sovereignty and the politics of reconciliation: the constituent power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia” have created a comparison between the Reconciliation Place and the Aboriginal Embassy. Muldoon and Schaap state that the “Reconciliation Place exemplifies the constitutional ordering of space”.¹⁰⁷⁶ Elder states that Reconciliation Place is a learning place and that “what is learned...will differ

¹⁰⁷² Muldoon and Schaap, “Aboriginal sovereignty,” 546.

¹⁰⁷³ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 83.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Christopher Vernon, “Canberra: where landscape is pre-eminent.” in *Planning twentieth century capital cities*, 146-165 (London: Routledge, 2006), 146.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Aboriginal middens are shell mounds that have been built up over hundreds and often thousands of years as a result of countless meals of shellfish. They are found all over Australia but are often clustered along ocean coasts, rivers, and inland lakes. Additionally, they may contain remnants of clay, fish bones, bird bones, animal teeth and bones, charcoal, stone flakes and the remains of tools. Sometimes, middens can contain human remains. Vernon, “Canberra,” 146.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Muldoon and Schaap, “Aboriginal sovereignty,” 546.

according to which audiences engage with it”.¹⁰⁷⁷ She points out that this learning experience will change over time and as new “slivers” are added and “new visions of what reconciliation might entail”.¹⁰⁷⁸ However, although Reconciliation Place was created as an attempt to “establish a new, more inclusive and ‘reconciled’ understanding of political identity”, it has been found to be controversial and has created feelings of “tension and hostility”.¹⁰⁷⁹ It has been stated that the act of creating a monument such as Reconciliation Place has ended the reconciliation discourse between settler and Indigenous peoples in Australia.

The Aboriginal Memorial is a contemporary art installation designed by Djon Mundine (an Indigenous curator) and created by forty-three Australian artists including David Malangi and George Milpururru. Designed and installed in 1988, the exhibit consists of 200 decorated hollow log coffins created by Indigenous male artists. All of the artists originated in a remote community near Ramingining close to the coast of Central Arnhem Land, part of the Northern Territory of Australia. It was created in conjunction with the Australian Bicentenary and commemorates the deaths of Indigenous Australians who died as a result of European colonization and settlement.¹⁰⁸⁰ It has been on permanent display at the National Gallery of Australia since 1988. The memorial is designed to imitate the course of the Glyde River estuary. Each coffin was designed by an artist from the region and the coffins are placed approximately where the artist's family clan lived along the waterway. The designs on the coffins are traditional and many of the

¹⁰⁷⁷ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 84.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Elder, “Unfinished Business,” 84.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Strakosch, “Counter-Monuments,” 269.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Aboriginal Memorial. Accessed December 4, 2019.

<https://nga.gov.au/aboriginalmemorial/home.cfm>

logs are painted in themes that Australian Indigenous artists often paint on bark or skin. Traditionally, “the Aborigines use these naturally hollowed-out trunks as logs for coffins or for the tubes of drone-pipe instruments”.¹⁰⁸¹ Hollow logs made for burial ceremonies are often large, smaller logs may be used to store bones. The logs can also represent the deceased person as the designs on the logs are the same as designs painted on the deceased body. As Bordo explains, “the hollow-log bone coffin is deeply, inextricably, and essentially architectural”.¹⁰⁸² However, it is “profoundly different from the way that Western architecture comes to constitute the space/nonspace of its presence with the land”.¹⁰⁸³

The Canadian “Witness Blanket” memorial is an installation that consists of physical fragments that have been reclaimed from Residential Schools, churches, government buildings, cultural centres, band offices, treatment centres and universities from across Canada. It is a large-scale art installation created by Carey Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game (who is a multi-disciplinary artist and master carver) using hundreds of artefacts that are symbolically “woven together into the form of a blanket”.¹⁰⁸⁴ He states that “in Ka Kwakwaka’wakw culture, blankets represent who we are. We stitch our symbols onto them—our totems and family crests. We wear them in ceremony; they are part of our identity and, like a name tag, they identify our lineage. For many of us, it identifies who we are and where we’re from—we wear them in ceremony and give them

¹⁰⁸¹ Bordo, “The Witness,” 184.

¹⁰⁸² Bordo, “The Witness ,” 186.

¹⁰⁸³ Bordo, “The Witness ,” 186.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Carey Newman-Hayalthkin’game and Catherine Etmanski. "Truthful Engagement: Making the Witness Blanket, an Ongoing Process of Reconciliation." *Engaged Scholar Journal: Community-Engaged Research, Teaching, and Learning* 5, 2 (2019): 236-243, 236.

as gifts. Blankets protect our young and comfort our elders.”¹⁰⁸⁵ The artwork was intended as a “national monument to recognize the atrocities of the Indian Residential School era, honour the children, and symbolise ongoing reconciliation”.¹⁰⁸⁶ Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game considers each artefact woven into the blanket to be “a witness” to the ongoing legacy of the Indian Residential School system.¹⁰⁸⁷ The “Witness Blanket” is on a tour across Canada until 2022.

All of the above-mentioned memorials or monuments make significant additions to the discourse of memorial in Australia and Canada. They each present a unique method of approaching the memorialization of traumatic memory through the presentation of both Indigenous and settler memory. The creation of Reconciliation Place monument at Canberra was a reaction to the “process of colonisation” that has been “inextricably interwoven with an attempt to deny or erase any signs of Indigenous presence in the landscape”.¹⁰⁸⁸ The erasure of the Indigenous in the colonial history of Australia is very similar to Canada’s. This is especially evident in the Canadian West as the move to settle and colonize eradicated the Indigenous way of life and pushed Indigenous peoples from their territories onto reserves. Harris refers to this as a “cult of forgetfulness” that allows for the erasure of Indigenous memory from the landscape.¹⁰⁸⁹ The landscape becomes a palimpsest, a “kind of parchment on which successive generations have inscribed and re-inscribed the process of history”.¹⁰⁹⁰ The monuments at Canberra are strategically placed

¹⁰⁸⁵ Newman-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski, “Truthful Engagement,” 236.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Newman-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski, “Truthful Engagement,” 236.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Newman-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski. “Truthful Engagement,” 237.

¹⁰⁸⁸ M. Harris, “Mapping Australian Postcolonial Landscapes: From Resistance to Reconciliation?” *Law Text Culture* 7, 4 (2003): 71-97, 71.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Harris, “Mapping Australian,” 72.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Harris, “Mapping Australian,” 72.

in the landscape at Parliamentary Triangle in Canberra between the Australian High Court and the National Library. The use of “slivers” that are each dedicated to different episodes of the reconciliation process is very interesting as it is considered an evolving project and more “slivers” are added to the monument every year. This allows the monument to change and develop with the journey of reconciliation. It also prevents the monument from becoming static and concrete.

This is also evident in the Australian Memorial at the National Gallery of Australia and the Witness Blanket at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. The burial coffins “constitute a double statement of death and redemption”.¹⁰⁹¹ Although the Aboriginal Memorial was designed as an artistic exhibit, Terry Smith states that it can also be categorized as an artefact.¹⁰⁹² The bone coffins exhibited in the memorial were never used or intended to be used for a specific burial ceremony. However, as Bordo points out “such art evokes ritual practices but substitutes for them a metaphor of a more subtle and widespread kind of memorialization”.¹⁰⁹³ The use of landscape is also of interest to this project. The layout of the exhibit is designed in such a way to emulate the natural landscape of where the Glyde River meets the Arafura Sea.¹⁰⁹⁴ Smith states that the work can be read as a landscape, and more importantly, an Indigenous landscape (see Schematic Map of the peoples of the Glyde River region).¹⁰⁹⁵ It is also a counter-memorial that was created in opposition to the “obsessive remembering of deaths in

¹⁰⁹¹ Terry Smith, "Public art between cultures: The" Aboriginal Memorial," Aboriginality, and nationality in Australia." *Critical Inquiry* 27, 4 (2001): 629-661, 636.

¹⁰⁹² Smith, "Public art," 643.

¹⁰⁹³ Smith, "Public art," 644.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Smith, "Public art," 647.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Smith, "Public art," 647.

European and Asian wars that mark every public space in Australia”.¹⁰⁹⁶ This is certainly comparable to Canadian memorial culture; every town and city has a war memorial but rarely a memorial to Indigenous history .

This type of responsive memorial is also present in Canada with the creation of the “Witness Blanket”.¹⁰⁹⁷ Similar to the relevance for Australian Indigenous people and wood bone coffins, the symbol of the blanket was chosen by Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game because he felt it was “a universal symbol of protection.”¹⁰⁹⁸ In the beginning, Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game only considered the inclusion of artefacts from residential schools. However, as the project progressed, he realized that he should include pieces of “churches and government buildings because they’re part of the same story. Government buildings are where the decisions and policies that led to the schools were made. Churches operated the schools.”¹⁰⁹⁹ He also stated that the closing of the last residential school (in 1996) was not the end to the story of the residential school system. For Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game, it is the beginning of the story and this inspired him to also include artefacts from “traditional structures, healing centres and other contemporary Indigenous buildings”.¹¹⁰⁰ This is complementary to the concept of the Keeping Place model. For the project to be successful and to begin to “re-story” the national collective narrative and residential school history, it is extremely important to include memory, artefact and documents from both Indigenous and settler peoples. As Newmanor-

¹⁰⁹⁶ Smith, “Public art,” 656.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski. “Truthful Engagement,” 237.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski. “Truthful Engagement,” 237.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski. “Truthful Engagement,” 238.

¹¹⁰⁰ Newmanor-Hayalthkin’game and Etmanski. “Truthful Engagement,” 238.

Hayalthkin'geme pointed out, the residential school, the government and church architecture are all part of "the same story".¹¹⁰¹

3.4 Where do we go from here? Community-Based Participatory Research, Indigenous Métissage and the Cultural Interface in the Qu'Appelle Valley

"Our spiritual leaders tell us we have reached the time to choose paths. The challenge for our generation is work cooperatively—to use the diverse knowledge of all to build strength on the path to mutual success and peace. This teaching has inspired my research on community-based participatory archaeology. I embarked on this investigation to explore archaeological research practices that allow for the "braiding knowledge" called for in my ancestors' teachings."¹¹⁰²

Inspired by the work of Donald, Mulvaney, Bordo and Nakata, this dissertation has envisioned how to create a "bridge of reconciliation" between Indigenous and settler memory. Where can Indigenous and settler peoples meet to reconsider our collective history? The Fort Qu'Appelle Keeping Place is the proposed repository for the preservation of Indian Residential School memory from Indigenous and settler peoples and for the education of all Canadians. It will be a safe place, a place to keep things, a place to show things, a place to feel things and a place to know things.¹¹⁰³ However, how as Canadians can we come together through a difficult history and find each other in the Keeping Place? One of the main issues that remains a sore spot for many Indigenous peoples is education. In my experience, the question pops up repeatedly. Who can

¹¹⁰¹Newman-Hayalthkin'geme and Etmanski. "Truthful Engagement," 238.

¹¹⁰² Sonya Atalay, *Community-based archaeology: Research with, by, and for indigenous and local communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012, x.

¹¹⁰³ The term "things" can refer to artifacts, memories, oral testimony etc.

educate? How can we weave together Indigenous and settler perspectives while remaining respectful of both? How do we memorialize the Indian Residential School system? We are left divided on apology, on the meaning of reconciliation, on policy and on human rights. There are irreconcilable differences between many aspects of Indigenous and settler thoughts about memory. How can we bridge this gap? How do we find the “Keeping Place”?

To properly embark on this path, a model of community-based participatory research (CBPR) methods must first be assessed and introduced.¹¹⁰⁴ Sarah de Leeuw, Emilie S. Cameron, and Margo L. Greenwood in their work "Participatory and community-based research, Indigenous geographies, and the spaces of friendship: A critical engagement" have created a thoughtful and critical methodology concerning community-based engagement and research focusing on Indigenous peoples. They state that it is important to make research “socially embedded and socially accountable” and to build “meaningful, long term commitments with Indigenous communities”.¹¹⁰⁵ It is significant that they acknowledge past attempts by non-Indigenous researchers that are often “power-laden” and “invasive”.¹¹⁰⁶ The foundation for participatory, community-based research puts emphasis on “social justice, political engagement, non-hierarchical relations and process-based practice”.¹¹⁰⁷ Rhonda Koster, , Kirstine Baccar, and R. Harvey Lemelin. in "Moving from research ON, to research WITH and FOR Indigenous communities: A critical reflection on community-based participatory research" point out

¹¹⁰⁴ Sarah de Leeuw, , Emilie S. Cameron, and Margo L. Greenwood, "Participatory and community-based research, Indigenous geographies, and the spaces of friendship: A critical engagement." *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 56, 2 (2012): 180-194.

¹¹⁰⁵ de Leeuw, Cameron and Greenwood, “Participatory and community,” 182.

¹¹⁰⁶ de Leeuw, Cameron and Greenwood, “Participatory and community,” 182.

¹¹⁰⁷ de Leeuw, Cameron and Greenwood, “Participatory and community,” 184.

that Western research has generally been driven by what is known as the “Western Paradigm”.¹¹⁰⁸ Certain principles can be employed to incorporate Indigenous paradigms into research that include the acknowledgement that Western research processes are not universal, the goals of research should be established in ways that are “sympathetic, respectful and ethical” and that research should incorporate Indigenous “perspectives”.¹¹⁰⁹ Renee Pualani Louis maintains that there are four principles that must be employed when engaging in community-based research, “relational accountability”¹¹¹⁰, “respectful representation”¹¹¹¹, “reciprocal appropriation”¹¹¹² and “rights and regulation”.¹¹¹³

Creating this framework involves acknowledgement of imbalances of power between researchers (who are almost always coming from an academic setting) and research subjects (who are generally not), this can be achieved through the use of

¹¹⁰⁸ The “Western Paradigm” finds that “regardless of methods employed, researchers and their expertise traditionally have been portrayed as objective and disembodied and this privileged over those they study”. Rhonda Koster, Kirstine Baccar, and R. Harvey Lemelin. "Moving from research ON, to research WITH and FOR Indigenous communities: A critical reflection on community-based participatory research." *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 56, 2 (2012): 195-210, 196.

¹¹⁰⁹ Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, “Moving from,” 198.

¹¹¹⁰ Relational accountability “describes the concept that Indigenous peoples share about their dependence on everything and everyone around them, casually referred to as ‘all our relations, be it air, water, rocks, trees, animals, insects, humans, and so forth’”. Renee Pualani Louis, “Can You Hear Us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research” *Geographic Research* 45, 2 (2007): 130-139, 133.

¹¹¹¹ Respectful accountability describes the concept that the researcher is required to “consider how you represent yourself, your research and the people, events, phenomena you are researching”. Furthermore, it concerns “accepting decisions of the Indigenous people in regard to the treatment of any knowledge shared. This is because not all knowledge shared is meant for a general audience”. Louis, “Can You,” 133.

¹¹¹² Reciprocal appropriation describes “the attitudes of Native Americans to the environment...it recognizes that ‘all research us appropriation’ and requires adequate benefits for both the Indigenous people and the researcher”. Louis, “Can You,” 133.

¹¹¹³ Rights and Regulation refers to research that is “driven by Indigenous protocols, contains explicitly outlined goals, and considers the impacts of the proposed research”. In addition, it requires that the “entire research process be collaboration and any publication or announcement of ‘findings’ must be written in understandable language and shared with and received the endorsement of the Indigenous community”. Louis, “Can You,” 133.

participatory research practices. de Leeuw et.al. state that “participatory research makes the effort to open new spaces for academics to work outside conventional research ‘on’ or ‘about’ people and places”.¹¹¹⁴ It further strengthens the difference between participatory community-based and traditional research through its ability for collaboration and partnership rather than to “remove knowledge” from a community.¹¹¹⁵ Koster et.al. point out that there are some general steps that can be followed when begin any consultation or research within Indigenous paradigms. First, the researcher can form a “research partnership” with the Indigenous group and co-create the research plan.¹¹¹⁶ Second, the researcher must divulge how the research or its benefits will “flow to the community” and how that community can “control the information” including its generation, usage and dissemination.¹¹¹⁷ Third, the researcher must develop a method or platform for Indigenous partners to “review and revise drafts of findings and ensure access to the final product”.¹¹¹⁸ Fourth, the researcher will develop and maintain “relationships” that combine both “Western ethics protocols and within Indigenous cultural frameworks”.¹¹¹⁹ This can occur through the application of the Cultural Interface.

Nakata describes the Cultural Interface as a “multi-layered and multi-dimensional space of dynamic relations constituted by the intersections of time, place, distance, different systems of thought, competing and contesting discourses within and between different knowledge traditions, and different systems of social, economic and political

¹¹¹⁴ de Leeuw, Cameron and Greenwood, “Participatory and community,” 184.

¹¹¹⁵ de Leeuw, Cameron and Greenwood, “Participatory and community,” 184.

¹¹¹⁶ Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, “Moving from,” 199.

¹¹¹⁷ Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, “Moving from,” 199.

¹¹¹⁸ Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, “Moving from,” 199.

¹¹¹⁹ Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, “Moving from,” 199.

organization”.¹¹²⁰ There is a “common ground” that can become the interface “between different cultures”.¹¹²¹ The Cultural Interface is a shifting intersection of lines between different peoples, cultures, narratives, thoughts, languages, ideas and reactions. The safety of the Cultural Interface allows all the elements to be found in one place, this becomes the place of keeping. In the Keeping Place, we can safely find all the elements that “inform, constrain or enable what can be seen or not seen, what can be brought to the surface or sutured over, what can be said and not said, heard or not heard, understood or misunderstood, what knowledge can be accepted, rejected, legitimised or marginalised”.¹¹²² Indigenous Métissage is also intertwined with the theory of the Cultural Interface and can be used in conjunction when creating the methodological foundation for the Keeping Place. Corresponding to the weaving together of Western and Indigenous knowledge, the Cultural Interface provides pathways between Indigenous and Settler knowledge systems.

Nakata points out that the Cultural Interface “accepts that the intersections of different knowledges and discourses produce tensions and condition what is possible but do not directly produce certainty of outcomes”.¹¹²³ If we use the metaphor of the human brain’s reaction after traumatic damage, the basis of recovery stems from neuroplasticity.¹¹²⁴ If the human brain suffers trauma, the brain has an ability to make changes on the structural and functional level and to re-route the pathway on a molecular,

¹¹²⁰ Nakata, *Disciplining the Savages*, 199.

¹¹²¹ Tyson Yunkaporta, “Aboriginal pedagogies at the Cultural Interface” Professional Doctorate thesis, James Cook University, 2009, 5.

¹¹²² Nakata, *Disciplining the Savages*, 199.

¹¹²³ Martin Nakata, “Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: Underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems” *IFLA Journal* 28 (2002): 1-11, 6.

¹¹²⁴ Stanley Finger and C. Robert Almli. "Brain damage and neuroplasticity: mechanisms of recovery or development?." *Brain Research Reviews* 10, 3 (1985): 177-186.

synaptic and cellular level. If differences between settler and Indigenous peoples are “irreconcilable”, the Cultural Interface can be re-routed over and over again to create new pathways to the Keeping Place.¹¹²⁵ Nakata proposes that the Cultural Interface is the way to “work with opposite systems in a non-oppositional way, neutralising the factor of their incompatibility”.¹¹²⁶ It makes space for Indigenous knowledge and takes into account that “Indigenous knowledge is different things in different places to different people”.¹¹²⁷

Successfully negotiating the Cultural Interface will be determined by the effectiveness of the principles of a community-based participatory research (CBPR) plan. The creation of a CBPR plan can be based on four factors, (1) first steps in the fostering of collaborative relationships in the community including consultation and research design, (2) advancing ethical consideration, attention and sensitivity to the values and beliefs of community members, (3) continuing collaboration, transparency and partnership between researchers and the community, (4) an effective plan for the translation of knowledge and the dissemination and sharing of research findings and data.¹¹²⁸

¹¹²⁵ Yunkaporta, *Aboriginal pedagogies*, 60.

¹¹²⁶ Yunkaporta, *Aboriginal pedagogies*, 60.

¹¹²⁷ Nakata, “Indigenous Knowledge”, 3.

¹¹²⁸ This CBPR research plan was inspired by several studies completed in Canadian and Australian settings. This includes Mariam Naqshbandi, Stewart B. Harris, Ann C. Macaulay, Jinette Comeau, Joceline Piché, and Dawn Montour-Lazare. “Lessons learned in using community-based participatory research to build a national diabetes collaborative in Canada.” *Progress in community health partnerships: research, education, and action* 5, 4 (2011): 405-415, Melody E. Morton Ninomiya and Nathaniel J. Pollock. “Reconciling community-based Indigenous research and academic practices: Knowing principles is not always enough.” *Social science & medicine* 172 (2017): 28-36, Julie R. Bull, “Research with Aboriginal peoples: authentic relationships as a precursor to ethical research.” *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics* 5, 4 (2010): 13-22, Heather Castleden, Vanessa Sloan Morgan, and Christopher Lamb. ““I spent the first year drinking tea”: Exploring Canadian university researchers’ perspectives on community-based participatory research involving Indigenous peoples.” *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 56, 2 (2012): 160-179.

The first principle of building collaborative relationships in the community should begin with community consultation. This can be initiated with a “start-up” meeting that will allow the researchers and the community to meet, review the draft research design and study materials and initiate a method of accepting and considering community recommendations.¹¹²⁹ After the initial meeting, the researchers can revise study methods to reflect the incorporation of local knowledge and obtain community consent.¹¹³⁰ Interestingly, other studies have found that the use of verbal, textual and visual aids such as diagrams and illustrations was more effective when attempting to convey research goals to a diverse range of community members.¹¹³¹

Obtaining community consent can also be an intricate endeavour and methods of understanding should be incorporated from the beginning. In addition, community consent is not always a speedy process. In many CBPR examples, researchers dedicated time to Indigenous communities and were active in “listening to and respecting the ideas of Indigenous knowledge-holders”.¹¹³² For participants from non-Indigenous communities, providing written consent may not be an issue, However, in Indigenous communities, obtaining consent in a “culturally appropriate manner” may also include community collaboration between researchers and community Elders.¹¹³³ In some

¹¹²⁹ This is an excellent time for researchers to meet with community representatives or organizational leaders to exchange research ideas and initiate contacts. Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb. “I spent,” 168. Naqshbandi et.al. “Lessons Learned,” 408.

¹¹³⁰ Naqshbandi et.al. “Lessons Learned,” 408.

¹¹³¹ It is important to note that the use of graphics was intended “to simplify content or concepts...graphics were used to convey complex ideas efficiently, offering information in an accessible way, and to enhance memory and recall in comparison to spoken and written language”. Morton Ninomiya and Pollock. “Reconciling community-based,” 33.

¹¹³² This can be of detriment to both community members and researchers alike, as many researchers cannot afford to devote time for relationship building and without relationships with researchers many communities would never agree to participate. Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb. “I spent,” 168.

¹¹³³ Naqshbandi et.al. “Lessons Learned,” 409.

studies, Elders were employed to accompany researchers when requesting consent from community members.¹¹³⁴ Elders were identified and located through recommendation from the Band Council.¹¹³⁵

The research plan would also outline the roles and responsibilities of community partners. For example, if an Indigenous First Nation Council agrees to participate in the project, they would have to sustain a number of roles and responsibilities. This could comprise the following, approval of study objectives and methods, provisions for approval for participation from community members, agreement over ownership of research results and data, open communication and transparency concerning study process and participation in the final decisions concerning project results.¹¹³⁶ The same process would apply to any researchers or academics participating in the project. This could comprise the following, signing an oath of responsibility that agrees to maintaining the privacy of the community, attends proposed training sessions specified by the research body as well as the community, provides continuously guidance on the study principles, participates (in collaboration) in the dissemination of the study results.¹¹³⁷ Consistency is also key to ensure continued participation from the community. Involving identified community partners in every aspect of the research ensures that the community will be invested in the results and any projects that follow. It is also important to note that research methods that are tailored to individual communities cannot be applied universally and this must be assessed through assistance with the community partners.

¹¹³⁴ Naqshbandi et.al. "Lessons Learned," 409.

¹¹³⁵ Naqshbandi et.al. "Lessons Learned," 409.

¹¹³⁶ Naqshbandi et.al. "Lessons Learned," 408.

¹¹³⁷ Naqshbandi et.al. "Lessons Learned," 408.

This can be achieved through the employment of individuals from the community to act as coordinators reporting to a central hub that would ensure transparency within all participating communities. Disseminating research results, findings or suggestions can also be a challenge for non-Indigenous researchers. This is when community partners can assist and play an integral role in interpreting and disseminating research data.

After community consent has been obtained and sustained, the project should focus on authentic research including ethical considerations as well as sensitivity for beliefs and values of the community. As Julie R. Bull states in her work “Research with Aboriginal Peoples: Authentic Relationships as a Precursor to Ethical Research” ethical research practices encompass more than the “filling out a generic form and receiving approval from an institution” but rather continuous “consultation, consent and dissemination” with an enduring investment in the community.¹¹³⁸ Researchers should remain transparent in their research intentions and continuously invite community members to participate in every aspect of the research including the translation of knowledge and the dissemination of reports and final determinations.¹¹³⁹ Researchers can take on the job of knowledge translation but it will be more effective to engage with the community and integrate collaborative knowledge translation as a continuous method in the research plan. This also applies to the dissemination of research results at the end of the process. Research reports should be provided to the community and its influencers throughout the timeline of the project. This also includes creating a clear plan at the onset of community consultation outlining expectations for final publication or

¹¹³⁸ Bull, “Research with,” 17.

¹¹³⁹ Bull, “Research with,” 20.

intellectual property ownership.¹¹⁴⁰ It is also significant to note that in other examples of community-based participatory research projects that the relationship with the community was not generally expected to end with the final report or dissemination of the research data.¹¹⁴¹

To conclude, what the future holds can depend on what we create in the Cultural Interface at the Keeping Place. I have mentioned that Canadians are all responsible for the “re-storying” of the narrative of Canada. In many situations, this “re-story” is blocked by fear, anger, guilt and trauma. Indigenous knowledge, thought, oral history and methodologies have suffered in Western knowledge systems. Anger towards the Western system is completely justified. Due to past wrongs, settler memory is often depicted as colonial and exclusive. This is completely true. Settler memory finds its way into the national narrative and often obliterates Indigenous memory and thought. Nevertheless, it must be included alongside Indigenous memory, or the interface will not work. Donald states that “the act of weaving a textual braid of diverse texts provides a means for Métissage researchers to express the interconnectedness of wide and diverse influences in an ethically relational manner”.¹¹⁴² There is a need to recognize that in order to create a Keeping Place, it is necessary to work collectively to intertwine settler and Indigenous memory “in a way that highlights difference (racial, cultural, historical, socio-political,

¹¹⁴⁰ Creating a clear plan for the dissemination of results at the end of the project including publishing can prevent disagreements or negativity between the researchers and the community members. However, it is not ironclad as research findings or results may cause conflict between the two or within the community. Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb. “I spent,” 171.

¹¹⁴¹ Castleden, Morgan and Lamb pointed out that “It’s not about research anymore, it’s about the relationship, and continuing to reciprocate and support and help...the expectation is, in some way, to continue the relationship, and to support in areas that might have absolutely nothing to do with the research.” “I spent,” 171.

¹¹⁴² Donald, “Forts, curriculum,” 8.

linguistic) without essentializing or erasing it, while simultaneously locating points of affinity”.¹¹⁴³ Understanding and following the tenets of Indigenous Métissage allows the Cultural Interface to weave together “all these different intersections” in a place of understanding. This allows more than one method of understanding to be present in the Cultural Interface, it could draw from and correlate personal understanding, collective understanding and “historical ways of understanding”.¹¹⁴⁴

3.5 Conceptualizing the Model

3.5.1 Fort Qu’Appelle Keeping Place: A Model

The Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place must be an inclusive space that can include a physical and digital library and archive, a community meeting place, a private area that is climate controlled, space for educational classes and presentations. It will also provide appropriate gallery space for the display of traveling exhibitions of residential school memory such as the “Witness Blanket”.¹¹⁴⁵ The design of an institution such as a keeping place at Fort Qu’Appelle must identify its approach including the scope and emphasis of the project. A national call for a competition to design and construct the Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place design and construction would be advantageous. This would ensure that the principles of the proposed design would be achieved.

The proposed design elements of the Qu’Appelle Valley Keeping Place can be separated into four spaces within the proposed institution. They include, An Indian

¹¹⁴³ Donald, “Forts, curriculum,” 9.

¹¹⁴⁴ Nakata, *Disciplining the Savages*, 201.

¹¹⁴⁵The Witness Blanket. Accessed December 15, 2019. <http://witnessblanket.ca/>,

Residential School survivor space, a settler memory space, a space of study and a tourist space. The first is an Indian Residential School survivor (and the descendants of survivor's) space. This can include a place to keep objects including memories, names of students, testimony, artefacts, memorabilia etc. from the schools. This space would be semi-private but can be accessed by survivors and Elders. Any object that is placed within the keeping place will have distinctive levels of access. The depositor can indicate if they want the object to be made public or private and they will have the option to remove the object at anytime. They will also be assured that the object will be cared for by the keeping place indefinitely. If the keeping place had to close, the object would be returned to the depositor or the family or descendants of the depositor. If this is not possible, arrangements would be made for the safe storage of the object.

The second is similar to the first but would focus on settler (and the descendants of settlers) memory of the Indian Residential School system. This space would accept objects including memories, artefacts, memorabilia etc. from the schools. This space would be open to the public and contain an accessible archive for any who were interested in viewing the objects. The third space would be a place of study. It would include a public library, archive and quiet space for reading and study. As well, access to available survivor and settler objects would be made available. All the rules of a traditional archive would be put in place. This space would also include access to a digital keeping place and archive with a gatekeeper. The fourth and final space would be focused on tourists visiting the site. This part of the institution would include a gallery space for incoming exhibits, a children's learning space as well as access to the library.

It is important to note that any object, artefact, any individual memory pertaining or contributing to the collective memory of the Indian Residential School system will be accepted into the Keeping Place and will be cared for. It is important to re-emphasize that the Keeping Place will include Indigenous and settler memory. This is an important key to the creation of a new relationship between Indigenous and settler peoples.

This will be physical as well as digital Keeping Place and will be open to the public. Digital archives will be maintained on site and will eventually connect the site to other Keeping Places. The introduction of digital collections has transformed the traditional definitions of the display of sacred items and collections. It allows items to be accessed from remote locations. This could also instigate the repatriation of certain objects to Indigenous groups while leaving the digital surrogate in the archive.¹¹⁴⁶ When digital records are involved including the recording of storytelling, testimony, and oral memory, it is important that participants know that the recording will be retained for as long as they want it to be. The foundation of the Keeping Place is based on trust and safety. Consequently, participants will retain the right to remove the recording from the Keeping Place at any time.

It is important to note that before any part of the model is implemented including fund raising, artefact collection (etc.) that the project would commence with complete transparency and the Indigenous peoples in the region would be consulted and their feedback would be incorporated into the model. It is also essential that settler populations

¹¹⁴⁶ Lissonnet and Nevile, *A Forum*, 4.

in the surrounding area would also be consulted on the proposed creation of a keeping place.

3.5.2 The Alternate Model: Making Fort Qu’Appelle a Keeping Place by using different spaces in the region

At this time, the construction of a physical keeping place might not be feasible. This could be due to a lack of funding or that a “keeping place” could be instituted during the fund-raising process in preparation for the final design and construction. Fortunately, however, Fort Qu’Appelle has a number of facilities and institutions that can become the different spaces of the keeping place (outlined above). Fort Qu’Appelle and the surrounding region have a number of different sites including the All Nations Healing Hospital, the White Raven Healing Centre, The Treaty 4 Governance Centre and the Fort Qu’Appelle museum. The All Nations Healing Hospital opened in 2004 and replaced the Fort Qu’Appelle Indian Hospital. It houses patient space as well as the White Raven Healing Centre. The hospital has a number of guiding principles that include the protection of the governing jurisdiction of the First Nations, to promote and protect treaty history, to promote policies and programs that protect First Nations individuals as well as self-determination and self-government.¹¹⁴⁷ The White Raven Healing Centre provides mental health and addictions services that integrates First Nations healing with mainstream therapeutic practices. It runs a program called the Indian Residential Schools Resolution Health Support Program. The program provides emotional support to IRS survivors, cultural support services from Elders regarding Indian Residential School

¹¹⁴⁷ File Hills- Qu’Appelle Tribal Council, “All Nations Healing Hospital” Accessed June 12, 2019, <http://fhqtc.com/anhh/>.

issues, and the facilitation of information workshops for Truth and Reconciliation and Commemoration events. It also provides counseling programs, training workshops, addiction counselling, in House Elders and many cultural programs including access to ceremonies and traditional support, traditional teachings, sweat lodge ceremony, pipe ceremony, feasts and healing circles.¹¹⁴⁸

The Treaty 4 Governance Centre opened in 2000. It is a 54,000 square foot building which contains offices, a keeping house and archives. The statement of purpose includes an interest in the promotion and protection of the heritage of 35 First Nations in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The keeping house on site was designated to “collect, conserve, catalogue and display objects for educational purposes” as well as to make those objects accessible to First Nations Elders and communities.¹¹⁴⁹ The keeping house at the site is 3500 square feet and features a “climate-controlled ‘cocoon’, storage spaces, archival shelving, offices and a receiving/workshop area”.¹¹⁵⁰ Additionally, 2000 square feet have been made available for “historical and educational displays”.¹¹⁵¹ While this site is dedicated to the “collection of artifacts directly connected to Treaty Four”, it has included other artefacts including residential school memorabilia.¹¹⁵²

The Fort Qu’Appelle Museum has three connected buildings including part of the original Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor’s house from the trading post and two modern additions. The museum has a number of different permanent exhibits including

¹¹⁴⁸File Hills- Qu’Appelle Tribal Council, “White Raven Healing Centre” Accessed June 12, 2019, <http://fhqtc.com/>

¹¹⁴⁹ Stonechild, “Recovering,” 7.

¹¹⁵⁰ Stonechild, “Recovering,” 7.

¹¹⁵¹ Stonechild, “Recovering,” 7.

¹¹⁵² Stonechild, “Recovering,” 8.

First Nations artefacts, a North West Mounted Police display, information on Fort San, and settler artefacts. There is also a display that discusses the history of Treaty 4 as well as the chair and table that are believed to be the ones that were used during the Treaty signing.¹¹⁵³

Conclusion

To conclude, the Qu'Appelle Valley Keeping Place would be a valuable addition not only to Fort Qu'Appelle but as a catalyst for the creation of a network of Keeping Places across the nation. Once consultation with the surrounding Indigenous and settler population has proved that a keeping place is a viable solution for Indian Residential School memorialization, it may be helpful to institute a temporary keeping place during the design and fund-raising process. As previously mentioned, there are a number of different facilities in the Fort Qu'Appelle region that could be utilized for the different facets of the temporary Fort Qu'Appelle Keeping Place. This could be a viable solution and could be used to provide examples of the effectiveness of the Keeping Place model.

¹¹⁵³ Tobias Sperlich and Lace Marie Brogden, "Rural Museum Spaces as Catalysts for Collaborative Research: Detours and Possibilities" *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 28 (2015): 70-84, 76.

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