

University of Alberta

Stone Bodies in the City:
Unmapping Monuments, Memory and Belonging in Ottawa

by
Tonya Katherine Davidson

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

Doctor of Philosophy

Sociology

©Tonya Katherine Davidson

Fall 2012

Edmonton, Alberta

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Libraries to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only. Where the thesis is converted to, or otherwise made available in digital form, the University of Alberta will advise potential users of the thesis of these terms.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis and, except as herein before provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatsoever without the author's prior written permission.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Tom and Katherine Davidson.

Abstract

In this ethnographic study of the dynamic lives of a population of monuments in Ottawa, I argue that long after they have been unveiled, monuments are imbued with many capacities to act. Monuments inspire loathing or affection, and settle or disturb dominant understandings of place, nation, race, and gender. I suggest that monuments have these affective capabilities because they operate like ‘stone bodies’ in their urban environments. Additionally, spirited with a certain life-force, monuments have the ability to haunt, unsettling relationships between place, memory, and belonging. These affective charges of monuments are felt and expressed through articulations of imperial and colonial nostalgia, feminist and other activist mobilities and various articulations of patriotism. To understand the affective power of monuments I developed an understanding of unmapping as a methodological perspective. I define unmapping as a practice that attends to the discursive and affective motility of monuments through using methods like narrative ethnography that attend to movements through space, and site genealogies that attend to shifts within and around monuments over time. I focus on four monuments in downtown Ottawa: the National War Memorial, a monument to the French explorer Samuel de Champlain accompanied by an Aboriginal Scout, a monument to murdered women titled, “Enclave: the Women’s Monument” and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. I was also inspired by a monument to War of 1812 heroine Laura Secord, and Champlain’s lost-and-found astrolabe to create narrative ethnographic accounts of Ottawa flanerierie attuned to representations and absences of women and Aboriginality in the built environment.

Preface

Monuments as dynamic beings produce a conduit through which visitors learn not just about Canadian history, but also how to feel about Canada, affects that are produced through structures of imperial and colonial nostalgia, and gendered relations to the city spaces. Monuments are affectively-charged sites that align people with normative narratives of nation, gender, and race in intimate ways. As dynamic things, they also enable the conjuring of alternative narratives of belonging which erupt through social hauntings, forms of what Roger Simon (2005) calls ‘remembering otherwise’. In this dissertation I offer three key interventions in the study of monuments.

First, I argue that the affective properties of monuments are possible because they are particular ontological things, ghostly, stone bodies. Materially, monuments appear to be stable and inflexible. However, the dynamic lives of monuments demonstrate their inherent affective and discursive motility. I argue that the monuments accrue their power to shock, comfort, or inspire, because they emerge through the synthesis of both material and virtual properties. They are both stable like stone, and dynamic like bodies. Through their virtual capacities, monuments allow for messy tangling of relationships to place and the past. The ambiguity of monuments, the many acts to reassert original commemorative intentions, and acts of defacement, signal towards the affective properties of these urban objects.

Employing this theoretical understanding poses methodological questions. In particular, how is it possible to understand the affective work of these dynamic urban objects? To answer this question I pursue the idea of unmapping as a methodological orientation. In critical place-based studies, unmapping works to understand how social spaces are produced by undoing dominant, static forms of cartography, and engaging with the contradictions of masculinist, colonial ideologies that have produced social cartographies. I unmap Ottawa’s built environment by producing narrations of place that are mobile through the trope of

the walking tour, and by offering genealogies of the monuments' homes. Through these methods, I both subverted the apparent stability of the monuments studied, and was able to engage with the contradictions they embodied.

These theoretical and methodological ideas were pursued in Canada's capital city Ottawa as I asked: what kind of affective relationships to the nation are produced through Ottawa's monuments? I chose four monuments from different eras (ranging from 1915-1992) and representing different commemorative moments: the National War Memorial, a monument to a nameless Aboriginal Scout that accompanied a monument to Samuel de Champlain, the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and "Enclave": the Women's Monument.

At the National War Memorial, understandings of World War One as an imperative national creation myth were constantly re-inscribed, marking both great allegiance to this idea, and a subtle anxiety that this creation myth might be fading. A moment of public urination and the placement of a solitary peace-poppy wreath hinted to these other possibilities for remembering or being ambivalent about Canadian war history. Similarly, the Aboriginal Scout in the central Nepean Point enabled the articulations of colonial nostalgia, as visitors protested his relocation and celebrated what some perceived as his subservient position at foot of a monument to Champlain. Throughout the studies, there is an analysis of the constant privileging of heroic masculinity, both in the content of the monuments and in the ritual valorization of the citizen-soldier at the National War Memorial.

The more recent monuments in this study, the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and "Enclave": the Women's Monument simultaneously reinforce certain ideologies of Canadian liberal multiculturalism and feminism and challenge the dominant spatial narrative of Elgin Street by enabling multiple disruptive street protests.

These four monuments, and the others I encounter in the process of various protest marches and walking tours, offer insights into many modes of belonging in the capital city, in particular through understandings of race, gender, and sexuality. Missing from this analysis is an understanding of how Ottawa's

built environment produces understandings of French-English relations. However, my analysis of imperial nostalgia throughout the dissertation could be expanded to critique how the capital city produces an Anglo-centric understanding of Canada to the exclusion of French Canadians and non-English speaking Canadians.

In the context of a capital city like Ottawa, monuments offer a series of material, compelling interpellations into the texture of the nation. While these seductions are structured by discourses of race, gender, and nation, the specific ontology of monuments allows the precariousness of these discourses to be engaged. Acts of defacement, removal, and neglect all highlight the ability of monuments to engage with these sets of precarious logic. In Ottawa, visitors learn that to belong in Canada is to mourn the soldiers from WW1, to celebrate the hero statesmen on Parliament Hill, and to applaud contemporary commitments to human rights. However, the insistence to compulsively remember WW1 veterans becomes subtly undone through acts of defacement, protest marches suggest that Canada is not a bastion of upholding human rights, and allegorical female figures highlight not only male desires, but the threat of the barely-visible female other.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my parents Tom and Kathe for their endless and sincere support. I would like to thank my supervisor Rob Shields for his enthusiasm for this project and encouragement to pursue tangential ideas and whims of intellectual fancy. I would also like to give profound acknowledgements to Dr. Sara Dorow, and the late Dr. Sharon Rosenberg for their provocative insights, thoughtful reading and support of this project.

This dissertation and all of my academic writing would not be possible without the generous reading, editing, and inspiration of my colleagues at the University of Alberta and elsewhere. The genius that I have encountered and been able to work with at the University of Alberta has been endlessly inspiring. In particular, I need to thank Carolina Cambre, Bonar Buffam, and Ondine Park for their continuing support and thoughtful editing. I am indebted to the intellectual generosity of the Space and Culture reading group at the University of Alberta. I would also like to thank my sister Stephanie for offering up her support for this project by making maps, illustrating colouring books, reading drafts, and being an ever-willing creative collaborator.

I would like to express appreciation to the individuals that I interviewed in the course of this research. I look forward to engaging more thoroughly with their stories of statues in the future. Many archivists and librarians have helped me along this journey; in particular, the meticulous research of the late Terry Guernsey that was donated to the National Gallery archives was incredibly helpful. My examining committee: Michael Gismondi, Sarah Carter, Karen Till, and Sourayan Mookerjee provided very comprehensive readings of this project which I hope to attend to in the future.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and give a hearty thanks to all of my friends, roommates, neighbours, and relatives who have shown interest, cheered me on, and suggested that devoting many years to writing about the social lives of statues was in fact a good idea.

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Monuments as Stone Bodies</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Unmapping as a Methodological Practice</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Part I: Unmapping Nation</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Chapter 3: Phantasm Agora: Confederation Square</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Chapter 4: The Life of the National War Memorial: Ritual, Offerings and Defacement</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Part II: Aboriginality & Colonialism in Ottawa</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Chapter 5: Unmapping Nepean Point</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Chapter 6: Unmapping Coloniality</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Part III: Unmapping Multiculturalism, Gender and Sexuality</i>	<i>190</i>
<i>Chapter 7: Unmapping Gender in Ottawa's built environment: Laura Secord keeps walking</i>	<i>190</i>
<i>Chapter 8: Dwelling at the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and "Enclave": The Women's Monument</i>	<i>217</i>
<i>Chapter 9: The Protest March and the Motility of Monuments: Unsettling belonging on Elgin Street.</i>	<i>243</i>
<i>Chapter: Conclusion</i>	<i>259</i>
<i>Appendix 1: Chart of Monuments</i>	<i>271</i>
<i>References</i>	<i>274</i>

List of Figures

Figure 1—Lion and Unicorn, Parliament Hill. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 2
Figure 2— Prominent Ottawa Monuments. Credit: Stephanie Davidson, 2012.	P. 11
Figure 3—Confederation Square. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 57
Figure 4—Back of NWM, Remembrance Day 2008. Front of NWM, Remembrance Day 2008. Credit: T. Davidson	P. 87
Figure 5—Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 114
Figure 6—The Valiants Memorial. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	
Figure 7—Aboriginal Scout in Major’s Hill Park. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 138
Figure 8—National Aboriginal Veterans’ Memorial, Remembrance Day 2009. Credit: Davidson.	P. 155
Figure 9—Totem Pole, Confederation Park. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 175
Figure 10— Sharpshooters Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 178
Figure 11— Assembly of First Nations Chief Shawn Atleo unveiling a language plaque at the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. June 21, 2010. Credit: Davidson.	P. 182
Figure 12—San Jose de Martin. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 185
Figure 13--Downtown Aboriginal Hunter. Credit: Davidson.	P. 188
Figure 14—Laura Secord monument. Credit: Davidson 2010.	P. 191
Figure 15—Laura Secord’s view. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 200
Figure 16—Allegorical figure at statue to John A. Macdonald. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 204
Figure 17—“Women are Persons!” Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 207
Figure 18—Baldwin and Lafontaine monument. Credit: Davidson, 2009.	P. 209

Figure 19—National Aboriginal War Veterans’ Memorial. Credit: Davidson, 2010.	P. 215
Figure 20—Enclave: The Women’s Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2008.	
Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. Davidson, 2010. `	P. 220
Figure 21—“The House of Canada” June 2010. Credit: Davidson.	P. 223
Figure 22—Column, CTHR. Credit: Davidson, 2010.	P. 228
Figure 23—Enclave: The Women’s Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2010.	P. 232
Figure 24—Enclave, December 6 th 2009. Credit: Davidson	P. 234
Figure 25—“Markers” 2010. Credit: Davidson.	P. 237
Figure 26—Dr. Tiller vigil. Credit Davidson, 2009.	P. 251
Figure 27— “The Clothesline Project” May 2010. Credit: Davidson	p. 255

Introduction

On the first nice spring Sunday in 2009, I ventured out on a long, meandering walk around Ottawa. I arrived on Parliament Hill, visiting the squirrels that live in the esoteric ‘cat house’ and reading the historic plaques. On this muddy spring day, I was struck by the whimsy of the capital. There are many lions, wobbly lions that insist on carrying a scepter in one paw while walking, and there are more unicorns in the capital city than you might think. These creatures suggest to me that the city has wonderland potential. In all of the lion’s invocations in the Ottawa streetscape— on its hind legs, carrying a scepter, the lion is an invocation of the strength of the British Empire, while the unicorns are symbols of purity and Scotland. Together they appear in the crest of Canada, securing their uncontested presence all over Ottawa. There is a statue of a lion and a statue of a unicorn that preside over Centre Block’s main entrance. These figures, the design and craftsmanship of Coeur de Lion MacCarthy, were installed between 1919-1928 during the construction of the Peace Tower (MacLeod 1985, n.p).

In July of 1985, two men, Ebie Weizfeld and Yvon Dubé drove on to Parliament Hill, jumped out of their vehicles and, wielding sledgehammers, began swinging at the statues of the lion and the unicorn, damaging the figures in at least five places. The vandals had been part of a peace camp that had been stationed on Parliament Hill (MacLeod 1985, n.p). Eleanor Milne, as the Dominion sculptor for thirty years, was responsible for not only overseeing the design and construction of monuments in the capital, but also for taking care of injured and abused monuments. She repaired the knee of the Aboriginal Scout that was pushed off of its pedestal in 1963, and, decades later she tended to the lion that guards the front doors of Parliament Hill. Milne suspected that the vandals had thought, “Well, they can’t fix that,” assured of the permanence of his attack. Milne asserted that she and her colleague “did a beautiful job, but you can see [the scars] if you look hard” (Milne personal communications, January 19th 2009). On my visit this Sunday, I found the lion and the unicorn guarding the front doors of Parliament Hill, and I did find the seams of their repairs.



Figure 1—Lion and Unicorn, Parliament Hill. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Two elements of this instance speak to the whimsy and persistence of British imperialism in the Canadian capital: the moment of the defacement and the moment of the repair. This is how Michel Taussig (1999) understands defacement:

When the human body, a nation's flag, money, or a public statue is defaced, a strange surplus of negative energy is likely to be aroused from within the defaced thing itself. It is now in a state of desecration, the closest many of us are going to get to the sacred in this modern world (p.1).

Taussig continues his argument by stating that the moment of defacement reveals a public secret. Defacement, rather than killing the thing defaced initiates a process by which the public secret is articulated. The public secret Taussig defines as “that which is generally known, but cannot be articulated” (p.5). What happened when the vandals hacked at the lion’s paw? What negative energies were released, and what is still being articulated through the visible scar? While the beavers carved into the external walls of Parliament Hill are charming and honour the role of the beaver to Canada’s historic fur trade, the lions and unicorns that abound within the capital city suggest a colonial presence that is both powerfully seductive and other-worldly. How does this moment of defacement allow for unarticulated feelings towards colonial histories and present, both masked in whimsy and gargoyles, to emerge? The relationship between lions and unicorns and a distant unchallenged colonial power that structures attachments to Ottawa as a place and as

a capital city, was perhaps the ‘public secret’ spoken at the moment the lion’s paw was hack-sawed.

Secondly, the seams on the lion’s paw, unintentionally visible, operate as traces of defacement. Elizabeth Spelman (2008) identifies two types of possible seams: the invisible seams of which tailors boast, and visible seams evident in some Japanese aesthetics, where cracks in tea pots are soldered in intricate gold work to emphasize the break (p.147). While invisible seams attempt to hide past damage and aim for a full restoration, “visible mending sustains continuity with the past, by acknowledging, even emphasizing the history of rupture” (ibid, p.147)¹. Intending for the seams to be invisible, Milne and her colleague worked to restore the lion to their original states. In effect, they worked to restore the sanctity of Canada’s imperial origins. The lion is both a memory object and an object reflecting and constantly producing a set of colonial desires. The barely visible seam of the conservator’s labour on the lion’s paw is symbolic of both the presence of colonialism and its eternal precariousness.

As I discovered over the course of the research for this dissertation, the figures of the lion and the unicorn are not only emblems of the British Empire, they are also analogous to the workings of monuments in the capital. The lion and the unicorn, in their seemingly benign and yet overwhelming presence (on one walk in downtown Ottawa I counted twenty unicorns), embody a sort of imperial nostalgia. In fact, the unicorn—the creature we recognize today with the body of a horse, a long horn, and sweeping tail, is the result of colonizing expeditions. An early folkloric unicorn resembled a goat, however after expeditions to what is now the Canadian Arctic and the import of Narwhal tusks as ‘unicorn horns’ the unicorn as we imagine it was created (“Mythic beasts” 2009). Explorers and charlatans created the contemporary unicorn through voyages to the imperial margins. As part of Canada’s coat of arms, the unicorn was then returned to these same marginal worlds to reassert the presence and totalizing authority of the imperial heart. Now with the lion, the unicorn guards important government buildings, is seen in official letterhead, even on the door handles of numerous Ottawa buildings. The unicorn is simultaneously omnipresent, invisible and magical, a very specific ontological feat.

In this dissertation, I suggest that monuments are the creation of many sets of desires and operate in ways similar to the ubiquitous Ottawa unicorn. Rather than being static, stone (bronze,

¹ I would align visible seams with Svetlana Boym’s (2002) understanding of reflective nostalgia, which is a type of playful engagement with the past.

granite, concrete ...) figures destined to represent antiquated but charmingly benign feelings of grandeur I propose that monuments are in fact dynamic and alive. They are spirited, if not with unicorn-like whimsy, then with a certain geist that has the agency to complicate memories, histories, and senses of belonging to place. In addition, like the defacement of the lion's paw, challenges to the presence of monuments ignite many sets of nostalgias, desires, and pain.

Monuments are very particular urban objects. Unlike other displays of public history, no admission is charged to visit monuments. You can touch them, photograph them and visit them in the middle of the night to tell your secrets. James Young (1993, p. 5) argues that once public history and memories are recognized in monument form, people allow the monument to do the remembering, a passive form of remembrance replacing active everyday remembering. Yet, it seems whenever the naturalized presences of monuments are challenged, a particular sacredness is revealed, or as Taussig (1993) suggests, these moments are "the closest many of us are going to get to the sacred in the modern world" (p. 1). What hold do monuments have on urban dwellers? If monuments are naturalized and are largely invisible, why does the vandalism of monuments, whether through public urination or graffiti, incite discussion in the House of Commons and weeks of editorials? I suggest that monuments have this affective charge because they operate like 'stone bodies' in their urban environments; they are both subject and object, acting and being acted upon.

This research began with a desire to map the monuments of Ottawa, to analyze the relationships between politics, history, and place. My first impulses were to engage in a content analysis of sorts to analyze how many politicians, how few women, the presence or absence of Aboriginal peoples. As the research progressed, I adopted a more ethnographic approach and limited my field of study to four specific monuments: the National War Memorial, Enclave: The Women's Monument, the Scout (formerly located at a monument to Samuel de Champlain) and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights.

In attending to how these bodies are operative in generating diverse sets of memories and producing place, I suggest a methodology of 'unmapping;' To unmap is to tease out relationships between cartographic apparatuses (such as monuments), power, place and belonging (Phillips 1997; Razack 2002). While maps suggest objective and static representations of space, I suggest that unmaps are dynamic, street-level, and self-consciously inconclusive. This methodological practice is best suited to engaging with the messy, inconclusive realities of social ghosts,

collective memories, and communities of human and other bodies. I ‘unmap’ four Ottawa monuments within their locations, their relationships to their built environments and their relationships to the multiple times in which they have been/ are operative.

In this dissertation I suggest that monuments as ‘stone bodies’ offer possibilities for conjuring social ghosts, complicating understandings of belonging and historic time and tangling collective and personal memories in urban spaces. Unmapping as a methodological perspective allows for attending to the affectively-charged, ghostly elements of monuments.

In the next two sections I define monuments and offer a brief synopsis of what constitutes the field for this ethnographic study, Ottawa’s monument landscape.

Defining Monuments

There are many conflicting and nuanced definitions of monuments and memorials. According to Arthur Danto,

Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings.

Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends...Monuments make heroes and triumphs, victories and conquests, perpetually present and part of life. The memorial is a special precinct, extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead.

With monuments, we honor ourselves (cited in Young 1993, p.3).

Marita Sturken (1997) follows Danto’s taxonomy of monumentality. She suggests that “Memorials tend to emphasize specific texts or lists of the dead, whereas monuments offer less explanation; a memorial seems to demand the naming of the lost, whereas monuments are usually anonymous” (p.48). Danto’s taxonomy suggests that memorials are a commemoration of loss and mourning while monuments celebrate collective triumph and building. For James Young (1993) this distinction is problematic when the two can be interchangeable; for example, a monument that celebrates the birth of a nation and mourns the loss of fallen leaders. The Peacekeepers’ Monument in Ottawa is a monument to celebrate peacekeeping that includes a memorial grove of trees. The recent Valiants Memorial positioned at the National War Memorial includes a parade of monuments to Canadian military leaders and a Virgil text inscribed on a large underpass as a memorial. Danto’s distinction between monuments and memorials becomes significant however when considering the role of monuments as primarily for mourning and remembrance (memorial), or nation-building and myth-making (monuments). Considering that

one structure can have multiple receptions and dynamic lives, I prefer to follow James Young's (1993) definition of monuments. For Young, monuments "will refer here to a subset of memorials: the material objects, sculptures, and installations used to memorialize a person or a thing...I treat all memory-sites as memorials, the plastic objects within these sites as monuments...." (p.4). A memorial need not be a monument, but a monument is always a memorial. Considering monuments as always being memorials allows me to ask: what type of cultural memory is being sanctioned and produced through monuments? In this dissertation monuments are autonomous material constructions placed to act as memorials to a particular event, peoples, or person².

The Field: Ottawa

Like many capital cities, Ottawa is a veritable playground for and of monuments. It is also the city where I developed my affection for human (and other) figures cast in bronze. As a tour guide, while studying at Carleton University, the figures became the convenient pedagogic sites for explaining to Canadian and foreign tourists how William Lyon McKenzie King was Canada's longest-running and quirkiest Prime Minister or the lore of the Canadian hero Terry Fox³. There are over 70 monuments in Ottawa representing a variety of interests, neighbourhoods, and histories. Hockey players, marathon runners, foreign dignitaries, scientists, and a librarian are all monumentalized in Ottawa. Ottawa's role as the national capital has assured that it has also become the capital of national monument-making, making it an ideal site for this research. However, Ottawa is also a problematic site for this research. Is focusing on monuments in the nation's capital re-inscribing Ottawa as Canada's ceremonial heart at the expense of analyzing the rest of the country's monumentalizing practices? Ottawa is doubly-

² Because of their specific memorializing intent, monuments are distinct from public art and sculpture. However, monuments and public sculpture share some characteristics; they both have place-creating properties, offering themselves as meeting places, urban resting spaces, and as subjects for the tourist-photographer. Monuments and public sculpture are both engaged with by a varied public, are re-inscribed with meaning, are protested and adored, and contribute great texture to urban spaces. In a rough taxonomy it seems that public sculpture privileges aesthetic innovation, is purely conceptual, and may offer a tribute to certain local or national values. This intent differs from monuments which aim to inspire forms of remembrance, privilege clarity of meaning over aesthetic innovation, and are considered as public creations rather than credited entirely to an artist's design. Monuments are also distinct from public art with respect to their frequent roles as sites of rituals.

³ King personally oversaw the design and installation of a monument to his best friend and roommate—Henry Albert Harper. Harper, a young man who died by drowning in the Ottawa River, has been immortalized in the form of "Sir Galahad" at the entrance gate of Parliament Hill since 1905 (Gwyn 1984, p. 326).

situated as a city on the “edge of empire” (Jacobs 1996), designed and anointed by Queen Victoria in 1858 to act as an imperial out-post city, as well as a colonial heart, acting as Canada’s capital. I do not suggest that the workings of monuments in this city are representative of the work of monuments in Canada as a whole however, monuments in Ottawa act as further articulations of Ottawa’s position as a postcolonial capital city.

Ottawa, as the nation’s capital, has become a site for celebrating both local and national persons and events. Amos Rapoport (1993) suggests that capital cities draw their strength from being “a centre of symbolism, of culture-specific expression of grandeur, elaboration, sacredness, resources invested, etc” (p.33). The role of a capital city to showcase national desires and values is an employ that has been taken seriously in Ottawa. Since 1899, the Ottawa Improvement Commission which became the National Capital Commission (NCC) in 1959 has had the sole responsibility of developing Ottawa and the national capital region as the nation’s capital: a city and region to act as a showcase and front for the rest of the country. Ottawa is commonly referred to as a metonym for the federal government. Physically, Ottawa is also produced to act metonymically for national ideals, national grief, national celebration, and hope. As Brian Osborne (2004) suggests, “Not simply a matter of vistas and arrangements of public buildings, increasingly, the capital-complex came to be loaded with symbolic icons that rendered in allegorical terms the nation’s progress from colony, through empire, to state-nation” (p. 13).

Commemorations in the National Capital Region are complicated both by the diversity in forms commemorations take and the institutional bodies that administer these commemorations. The commemorative aspects of the region are and have been produced through the cooperation of many judicial and public bodies: the National Capital Commission, the City of Ottawa, National Historic Sites and Monuments Board, Public Works Canada, and local communities. These commemorations take many forms: plaques, memorial gardens, monuments.

The four monuments that I have chosen allow me to focus on different ways in which belonging to Ottawa is structured. The Scout and Champlain monuments are an ideal site through which to think about present engagements with colonialism. The National War Memorial is both a central icon in Ottawa and a site through which the dominant creation myth of Canada’s birth at the Battle of Vimy Ridge is constantly articulated. This is also a site from which understandings of imperialism and gender are negotiated. In a similar vein, the Canadian Tribute to Human rights offered a contemporary articulation of Canadian values. “Enclave”: The

Women's Monument and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights together allowed me to further my thesis about monuments-as-stone-bodies by applying this idea to more contemporary, abstract forms. I also chose these four monuments because they were in conversation in many ways, as is demonstrated throughout this dissertation. Finally, early on it became apparent that these four monuments had the most dynamic social lives of the many monuments in Ottawa.

Chapter Outline

I present this dissertation as a series of seven 'unmappings' of Ottawa. These unmappings offer temporal genealogies of monuments and the spaces they create by engaging in the monuments' dynamic lives and by exploring how the spaces they inhabit are in process. The National War Memorial is an exemplar of a monument's ability to evoke various, conflicting social ghosts. The Scout (formerly at Champlain) highlights how a monument can operate as a complicated site of imperial nostalgias and postcolonial desires. The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and Enclave: The Women's Monument are sites that encourage specific practices of mobility throughout the city. Finally, through Enclave: The Women's Monument and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights I demonstrate how monuments, even monuments that do not conform to a figurative-human form, inspire particular forms of engagements and activities through their ontology as 'stone bodies.' Two of the unmappings are walking tours in the form of narrative ethnographies that engage in the relationships between monuments, their urban environments, and imagined flaneurs/euses. Inspired by the monument and historic figure of Laura Secord, I develop a feminist unmapping of gender and monuments in Ottawa. Likewise, the monument of the Aboriginal Scout inspires an unmapping of Aboriginal Ottawa.

In Chapter 1, I present the guiding theoretical perspective shaping this dissertation which is that monuments can be understood to operate in their urban environments like 'stone bodies'. This metaphor and theoretical schema underpins an understanding of monuments as beings with dynamic lives as both subjects and objects. 'Stone bodies' presents an oxymoron; while stone is a substance of understandable solidity, bodies grow, move, need nourishment, etc. It is exactly in the crux of this contrast that I argue monuments operate. They are made of substantial materials (not exclusively stone) however they are discursively and materially animated, and responded to throughout their lives. Their ontology as bodies is not limited to physical qualities. I suggest that monuments are imbued with and develop their own spirits that animate a monument with certain

ghostly properties. These properties are made present at moments in monuments' lives which challenge or reassert their representational responsibilities, moments of defacement or celebration.

I develop unmapping as a methodological perspective in Chapter 2. Richard Phillips (1997) has developed unmapping as a conceptual tool for engaging in certain literary texts which work to tease out and reveal the discursive work of the cartographic tool. While Phillips uses unmapping to examine literary texts, in this Chapter I show how this conceptual tool can be developed as a methodological perspective for engaging in the cartographic work of monuments. I then describe the methods I used to unmap these monuments.

In Chapter 3 I unmap Confederation Square: Ottawa's central phantasm-*agora*. Confederation Square has been the home of the National War Memorial since 1939. This site contributes to the monument's ability to work at local and national registers. However, before the National War Memorial (NWM) was unveiled, this site had many other actual and proposed uses, uses that have become impossibilities as the site has become powerfully branded as a memorial square.

In Chapter 4 I argue that the NWM operates as a *national* and *urban* site for experiencing the unresolved individual and collective traumas of World War I. I unmap the NWM by analyzing a series of moments in the monument's life including the ritual lying of wreaths and poppies, exceptional moments of defacement, the interring of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (2000), the addition of the Valiants Memorial (2006), and the 2008 'Vigil' project of illumination. I argue that while the monument's commemorative intent has expanded in some instances, overall, these series of animating moments continue to suture the NWM to its original intent, commemorating the 68,000 Canadian soldiers who died in World War I.

In Chapter 5, I unmap one of the oldest, groomed, ceremonial sites in Ottawa: Nepean Point. For seventy years, Nepean Point was the home of a monument to an unnamed Aboriginal Scout who knelt at the base of a grandiose monument to the French explorer Samuel de Champlain. In 1999, as a result of an Aboriginal protest, the Scout was moved from the foot of the Champlain monument to its own location in a nearby park. In the seventy years the Scout monument was at Nepean Point, it did not sit silently but was constantly mobilized both literally and discursively as a central figure of Aboriginality in the capital.

When the Aboriginal Scout was relocated to Major's Hill Park in 1999, photographer Jeff Thomas, seized upon this moment and produced a photographic exhibition, "Indians on Tour" imagining where the Scout would have gone when he left Champlain. In Chapter 6, I similarly engage in an unmapping of Aboriginality in Ottawa. As a descendent of white settlers, I mobilize Champlain's upside-down astrolabe as the tool of colonial mastery that, once inverted, allows me to access both the hidden Aboriginal Ottawa and critique the commodification of Aboriginality in Ottawa's ceremonial spaces.

A monument to the War of 1812 heroine Laura Secord becomes animated in Chapter 7 and acts as the readers' guide as she engages in some Ottawa flanerier. Secord walks Ottawa and visits many representations of women in Ottawa's built environment. Secord's flanerier highlights how monuments to women contribute to what Gillian Rose has termed 'paradoxical space'—occupied space that is simultaneously marginal and central. Secord's travels highlight the possibly gendered experiences of flanerier as unmapping practice. While I understand that the flaneur has been historically understood as the embodiment of a particular, male, modern, urban stroller of 19th century Paris (see Tester 1994), I understand the flaneur, the flaneuse and the idea of flanerier as a useful means for thinking about the street-level place-making activities of both monuments and the ethnographer that studies them.

A structure of concrete anthropomorphized columns, producing the 'House of Canada' the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights (CTHR) symbolically synthesizes bodies and buildings and attempts to challenge how human bodies interact with built space. Down the street, a small ornamental park is home to "Enclave: The Women's Monument", a monument that was built as a site to mourn the violent murders of many local women at the hands of men. In Chapter 8, I unmap these two monuments in concert, their relationships to the ceremonial Elgin street, and how they are both simultaneously series of abstract bodies and sites of dwelling.

In Chapter 9, I continue to unmap Enclave and the CTHR together. In this Chapter, through participant observation, I analyze how these two monuments have been taken up as key nodes in several protest marches and vigils that take place along Elgin Street. I suggest that the protesters, especially those in the interest of securing safe streets for women, sex workers, trans-people, are engaging in a form of defiant flanerier. I also suggest that through their movements, the protestors unmap and un-tether the monuments that they visit, animating and bringing with

them the affective charge of the monuments through the streets, highlighting the monuments' affective mobility.

In these seven unmappings I emphasize the dynamic, lived qualities of monuments. They have spirit, a geist that transcends time. They are produced through being seen and seeing, and they are mobile.



Figure 2— Prominent Ottawa Monuments. Credit: Stephanie Davidson, 2012.

Chapter 1: Monuments as Stone Bodies

Bodies are particular things. They are both objects and, when imbued with life-giving ‘geist’ they are subjects. Bodies produce particular social spaces and are the vehicles for generating and performing memories. Human bodies are flesh and spirit. Likewise, monuments have both material and virtual properties⁴. I argue that monuments are things that act in particular ways and have particular holds on people because of their ontology as ‘stone bodies.’ Monuments could also be understood as ontologically related to puppets, robots or monsters. They are created through human labour, yet they seem to be imbued with, and then take on, lives of their own. According to the Christian story of creation, the first man, Adam, was a lifeless, clay statue, until animated by God with the breath of life (Warner 1996, p. 219). We could also consider the Greek myth of the sculptor Pygmalion. In Ovid’s poem *Metamorphoses X*, Pygmalion became uninterested in women and thus turned his attention and affections to a sculpture of a woman he had created. Pygmalion made offerings to the goddess Venus and wished that his sculpture become a real woman. Venus sent Cupid who kissed the sculpture making her come to life and granting Pygmalion’s wish⁵.

Monuments (statues) have been decapitated, clothed, toppled, climbed, given flowers and flags. They have been accused of sexual harassment on more than one occasion⁶ and in one case a monument to Che Guevara in Argentina was shot (“Che Guevara tribute destroyed,” 2007). A broad love of objects is not just relegated to ancient Greek myths. There is a subculture of individuals who are *objectum sexual*—they have intense romantic and sexual relationships with objects, including monumental public sites like the Eiffel Tower or the Berlin Wall (“I Married the Eiffel Tower,” 2008). In this context, monuments are not only loved, but are understood to love back. How is it that monuments produce these specific types of affective engagements? In this Chapter, I consider how monuments can be understood to operate in their urban environments like ‘stone bodies’. To suggest that monuments are bodies seems, on the one hand, very obvious, since monuments often take the form of bodies. But on the other hand, bodies and

⁴ Nuala Johnson (2002) suggests that monuments are always simultaneously material objects and discursive: “the sites are not merely the material backdrop from which a story is told, but the spaces themselves constitute the meaning by becoming both a physical location and a sight-line of interpretation” (293).

⁵ Stories of statues coming to life proliferate in myth, including the story of Pinocchio and Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (see Warner 1996, p. 229).

⁶ The allegorical female figure that seats at the base of the monument to John A Macdonald in Ottawa was accused of distracting the male MPs with her feminine wiles in 1912 (see Chapter 9).

the materials in which monuments are created (often stone, granite, etc) seem to be in tension; the former are dynamic, messy, breathing, pulsing, while the latter are apparently stable and inert. While monuments often take the form of (look like) bodies, they are often considered to act like stone. They are already understood, in a way to be ‘stone bodies’. My argument that monuments are stone bodies is meant both to articulate this already present understanding of monuments and to engage with the tension between bodies and stone. It is a tension that is also already complicated by the not entirely inert properties of stone. As one lighting designer noted, lighting monuments is a more animate process than lighting buildings, because of the high quantity of the flickering, alive mica in granite—a common monument-building material (M. Conboy, personal communications, December 18th, 2008). This tension, as I will argue, parallels dichotomous understandings of inert and active memorial practices (the monument and the counter-monument, the archive and the repertoire, the lieu and the milieu de memoire). Monuments as stone bodies is already understood, but not articulated, it is a common, uncanny understanding of the workings of these figures that populate our urban spaces.

Understanding monuments as stone bodies responds to their key responsibilities of generating social and personal sets of memories and producing places and responding to their interstitial ontology between objects and subjects; these are their life forces. The embodied subjects that engage monuments and the monuments themselves both contribute to social spaces that are raced/ classed/ gendered in complicated and dynamic ways. I challenge common arguments that monuments operate as sites that absolve memory by suggesting that all monuments, by virtue of their original place-making and memory-generating intents are complicated bodies for remembering; they are messy and tangled. Monuments and human agents collaborate to produce places and generate memories.

I further this argument by suggesting that monuments invoke various contradictory and conciliatory stories, times and places, through acting as mediums for social haunting. I argue that these bodies are particularly affective because of the spirits they may embody (or may have embodied in the past). Brock’s Monument in Niagara Falls, Ontario was unveiled Oct. 13, 1824 (Shipley 1987, p. 29). The unveiling of this grand Tuscan column to the Upper Canadian General Isaac Brock included a seven mile long procession. The physical remains of Isaac Brock and his Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonnell were interred in the base of the monument. From the moment of its unveiling, the monument to Brock has been complicated. Future leader of the

Rebellions of 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie, who opposed Brock, had surreptitiously snuck an anti-government paper “The Colonial Advocate” in the corner stone of the Brock monument (ibid, p. 29). Built into the monument at its inception is a complicated set of memories of Brock. As ghostly beings, monuments enable the circulation of many sets of memories and desires and the potential to upset dominant narratives of social spaces. In Part I of this Chapter I pursue an understanding of monuments as stone bodies. In Part II, I suggest how monuments are ghostly.

Part I: Monuments as stone bodies

In this section I begin by suggesting that understanding monuments as stone bodies complicates popular understandings of monuments as objects of forgetting. I suggest that previous understandings of monuments privilege their materiality of stone or other substance over their virtual, affective charge as bodies. Next, I explore the many ways in which monuments have dynamic lives. Finally, I offer four ways in which monuments as bodies is a useful conceptual framework. Embedded within this chapter are three case studies which offer illustrations of monuments-as-stone bodies.

Monuments and Counter-monuments

Beginning in the early twentieth century monuments became philosophically unpopular. Andreas Huyssen (2003) sums up all of the ways in which monuments continue to be critiqued: The monumental is aesthetically suspect because it is tied to nineteenth-century bad taste, to kitsch, and to mass culture. It is politically suspect because it is seen as representative of nineteenth-century nationalisms and of twentieth century totalitarians. It is socially suspect because it is the privileged mode of expression of mass movements and mass politics. It is ethically suspect because in its preference for bigness it indulges in the larger-than-human, in the attempt to overwhelm the individual spectator. It is psychologically suspect because it is tied to narcissistic delusions of grandeur and to imaginary wholeness (pp.38-39). Absent in Huyssen’s accounting for the unpopularity of the monument is an overwhelming understanding of monuments as failed memory-works; it was argued that rather than inciting memory, monuments allow for collective forgetting. They are also unpopular, because of their invisibility, their inertia. When commenting on monuments, it seems scholars are required to cite

this particular insight by Austrian novelist Robert Musil (1986): “The most important [quality of monuments] is somewhat contradictory: what strikes one most about monuments is that one doesn’t notice them. There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments” (p. 320).

Monuments are objects to forgetting because they are quickly overlooked and they are static because of their earnest and singular attempt to arrest time (Levinson 1998, p. 7). Because of their ontology as things that suture a site to a particular time, they are understood as conservative and inflexible, characteristics that, rather than just being banal posit the ‘monument’ as potentially politically dangerous.

When monuments become part of a naturalized environment, it is suggested, they are emptied of their capacity to convey lived or embodied memory and instead present memory as spectacle. James Young (1993) argues that “once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember” (p.5). Speaking of Holocaust monuments in Poland, Young writes, “In assuming the idealized forms and meanings assigned to this era by the state, these memorials tend to concretize particular historical interpretations; in time, such memory grows as natural to the eye as the landscape in which it stands” (p.114). In a Canadian context, Stephen Osborne (2004) argues that monuments eventually become naturalized in their environments and act as a means of forgetting. He writes: Monuments which are intended to make us remember tend to make us forget – nowhere more so than in Stanley Park, where dozens of them sit tucked away and lost among 400 hectares of forests and pathways, lawns and beaches, playgrounds and tennis courts and lawn-bowling pitches, where they persist in the landscape as in a dream (p.47).

For Young and for Osborne, the seeming banality of monuments in their urban environments obscures their more dangerous role in abetting collective forgetting. They aren’t just there doing nothing—their ‘doing nothing’ is actually allowing people to not remember. It is this critique of monuments that I am most interested in complicating. I agree with Young and Osborne to an extent that while monuments seem to be standing around ‘doing nothing’ they are actually quite active. However, while Young sees monuments as actively absolving people of their need to remember, I understand monuments as being actively engaged with, producing multiple sets of memories all the time.

Another common criticism of monuments is that they produce one-dimensional sentiments⁷. Young (1993) suggests that monuments are dangerous because of the illusions of ‘common memory’ that they produce: “in the absence of shared beliefs or common interests, art in public spaces may force an otherwise fragmented populace to frame diverse values and ideals in common spaces. By creating common space for memory, monuments propagate the illusion of common memory” (p.6). Monuments are often understood to act as simple ideological tools of the state in the interest of nation-building projects. Therefore, one of the most common frames for analyzing the potency of monument-building is to understand monuments as relics of nation-building, or more specifically to critique the role of monuments in contributing to nationalist discourses (cf: Anderson 1983; Johnston and Ripmeester 2009; Levinson 1998; Shipley 1987; Vance 1997).

Johnston and Ripmeester (2009) argue that there have been two principle strands of research on the relationship between monuments and nationhood: “The first focuses on the institutional structures of commemoration and explores the debates regarding what gets remembered, where, and when” (p. 406). This first strand of research often engages in semiotic analyses of monuments and landscapes. In the Canadian context, where Canadian victories during World War One have been overwhelmingly interpreted as Canada’s ‘coming of age’ as a nation, World War One monuments are imbued with particularly poignant nationalist sentiment (see Shipley 1987). I argue that monuments are engaged with by multiple groups of people over time have the ability to generate multiple sets of memories. Therefore, I critique the first strand of monument studies which see monuments simply as ideological tools of nation building. The understandings of monuments as fascist limits monuments’ potential and their utility to their conceptions and births, their design and their ‘intent’ rather than understanding how they are taken-up over time⁸. Of course, the capacity of monuments to be sites of contestation is not always (or even often) realized.

⁷ . Huyssen (1993) argues, “As a variation on Adorno who was rightfully wary of the effects of aestheticizing the unspeakable suffering of the victims, it has been claimed that to build a monument to the Holocaust was itself a barbaric proposition. No monument after Auschwitz. And some have even gone so far as to say, understandably after the fascist excesses with monuments and monumentalization, that fascist tendencies are inherent in every monument” (p. 258).

⁸ There are many other productive schemas for understanding monuments. This framework corresponds with semiotic and other textual readings of monuments within symbolic and physical landscapes. Reading monuments as texts assumes a position whereby the urban can be understood as a cohesive, static whole. Understanding monuments-as-texts is useful for analyzing the contribution of monuments to dominant narratives of nationhood (cf:

Johnston and Ripmeester (2009) define the second strand of researching memory and nationhood as “influenced by cultural studies,” an interest which “sees deeper social significance in such memory work” (p. 406). They cite studies that “explored cultural agendas among the descendants of United Empire Loyalists, the Great War generation, the business class of Montreal, and tourism promoters in British Columbia” (p. 406) This second strand, one might argue, has been influenced by the increasing popularity of cultural and social memory as an object for study.

Henri Lefebvre (1974) offers a different reading of monuments in his analysis of “monumental space.” For Lefebvre, “The most beautiful monuments are imposing in their durability” (p. 221), he continues to suggest that this is because they have seemed to “escaped time” (p. 221). He argues that monumental space marks the intersection of conceived, perceived and lived space, “The monument thus effected a ‘consensus,’ and this in the strongest sense of the term, rendering it practical and concrete” (p. 220). As a form of total space, monumental space is both all-encompassing and simultaneously open. An understanding of this type of space requires considering how the space is conceived, perceived, and lived, an impossible task if one is limited to a semiotic analysis. Semiotic analysis is insufficient for studying monuments because this type of analysis ignores “whatever cannot be classified or codified according to categories devised subsequent to production—which is, here as always, the most precious and the most essential, the diamond at the bottom of the melting-pot” (p. 220).

Positioned as objects/sites that challenge all of the critiques of monuments are what James Young (1993) has called “counter-monuments.” For Young, counter-monuments engage multiple times and are highly visible. The crux of the distinction between monuments and counter-monuments and between understanding monuments as aids to forgetting or sites of remembrance is the distinction between passive and active memorial practices. After introducing Young’s counter-monuments, I examine this distinction through reading Pierre Nora’s (1989) dichotomy of “*lieu de memoire*” and “*milieu de memoire*” and Diana Taylor’s (2007) distinction between the archive and the repertoire. Finally, I suggest that recent analyses of spontaneous or ephemeral memorials blur these distinctions between memorial practices. A reading of these different conceptualizations of memory and monuments allows me to complicate the rather rigid

Anderson 1983, Johnston and Ripmeester 2009, Levinson 1998, Shipley 1987, Vance 1997), as the monumental landscape can be read as an ideological reflection of nationalist discourses.

critiques of monuments and suggest that all monuments have the potential to be animated, engaged in multiple times and engaged for multiple purposes. In this way, I argue that Young's distinction between dead and silent monuments and active, dynamic counter-monuments is a false dichotomy.

Young creates a dichotomy between monuments that have a strong potential to be forgotten elements of the urban environment, and the counter-monument, which he suggests "accomplishes what all monuments must: it reflects back to the people—and thus codifies—their own memorial projections and preoccupations" (Young 1993, p. 36). While Robert Musil suggests that there is something about monuments that repels attention, Young specifies what aspect of monuments is so repellant: "This 'something' is the essential stiffness monuments share with all other images: as a likeness necessarily vitrifies its otherwise dynamic referent, a monument turns pliant memory to stone" (p. 13). Andreas Huyssen (2003) suggests that when Musil made his disparaging remarks about monuments he was considering "figurative sculpture on a pedestal. That older practice, however, has been replaced by the preferred construction of memory sites in the expanded field that combine sculpture, landscaping, architecture, and design and their incorporation into an urban fabric" (p. 109). For these critics, the limitations of monuments lie precisely in their material forms. Counter-monuments are distinct from monuments by virtue of their design; incorporated in counter-monuments are explicit opportunities for visitor engagement. Young's classic example of the counter-monument is the "Monument Against Fascism" by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev Gerz in Hamburg, Germany. This 'counter-monument' is a large empty 12 m high pillar that was unveiled in 1986, the artists invited visitors to write their messages to, about and against fascism on the pillar, as the pillar filled with text it was being lowered into the ground, eventually the entire pillar would be buried, with a plaque stating that once there had been a pillar there (Young 1993, p. 30). For Young, monuments are passive while counter-monuments are active.

Young parallels this distinction between passive monuments and active counter-monuments to Pierre Nora's distinction between "*lieu de memoire*" and "*milieu de memoire*." For Nora (1989), the '*lieu de memoire*' or 'realms of memory' are the artifacts, institutions, and cultural products in which social memory is constituted. 'Real memory' in contrast, is possible in the context of "*milieu de memoire*"—environments of memory, contexts in which memory is lived through everyday ritual remembrance. In the condition of advanced modernity with its

acceleration of time, Nora argues that society has produced *lieu de memoire* in the current absence of *milieu de memoire*. *Lieu de memoire* are a particular form of memory practice; they are “created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal over-determination” (p.19). Nora does not specifically align the *lieu de memoire* with passive memory and the *milieu de memoire* with active memory however; in his discussion of memorial practices the material culture which makes up the *lieu de memoire* are thought to actively perform memory in lieu of active human memorial practices and rituals. In Nora’s taxonomy, monuments are silent, static objects that remember for societies.

Drawing from performance studies and her ethnographic work on memory practices in Mexico, Diana Taylor (2007) offers a complex reading of memorial practices through her analysis of the ‘archive’ and the ‘repertoire’. She suggests that the archive has been valorized as a site of knowledge production because of a modern love of the written word (p.16). Her project is to tease out how the collected texts and artifacts that make up archives work *with* rather than in stark opposition to repertoires, which she defines as a collection of gestures and embodied performances. Her distinction between archive and repertoire initially seems synonymous with Nora’s distinction between the *lieu* and *milieu de memoire*. However, Taylor differentiates herself from Nora:

The difference between my thinking and his, however, is that for him the *milieu de memoire* constitute the primordial, unmediated, and spontaneous sites of ‘true memory’ and the *lieu de memoire*—the archival memory—are their antithesis, modern, fictional, and highly mediated... The relationship between the archive and the repertoire, as I see it, is certainly not sequential... Nor is it true versus false, mediated versus unmediated, primordial versus modern (p. 22). Specifically, Taylor’s understanding of the repertoire emphasizes the body as a site of memory transmission. Taylor does not see the archive and the repertoire as antagonistic, despite the former having a history of being more highly valued. Taylor’s blurring of memorial practices is akin to how I conceive of monuments as both possible sites of archival iterations and selective meanings, and as sites of spontaneous, ephemeral performances⁹. For Taylor, and for my own conceptions of memory-works, one act or articulation can be both ‘*lieu*’ and ‘*milieu*’ de *memoire*, written through the body *and* as text.

⁹ Taylor argues that what is seemingly ephemeral are often the traditions that can be the most consistent and enduring.

A final analogous taxonomy of monuments has emerged with the increased interest in temporary, ephemeral or spontaneous monuments such as roadside shrines, and the monuments that burst into existence at sites of trauma (cf: Haskins and DeRose 2003; Franck and Paxson 2007). Haskins and DeRose (2003) and Franck and Paxson (2007) both suggest that ephemeral or spontaneous monuments offer experiences and emerge from desires that are distinct from those produced or reflected in traditional monuments. They suggest that the relationship between ephemeral or spontaneous monuments and permanent monuments is porous rather than strictly dichotomous. Thinking about makeshift memorials offers a useful way to think about the relationship between monuments and the archive and repertoire.

Ekaterina Haskins and Justin DeRose (2003), whose analysis focuses on memorials following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City, describe ephemeral monuments or makeshift memorials as monuments that consist of crosses adorned with objects, combat boots, flowers, teddy bears etc. Other ephemeral monuments include the NAMES Project Aids Quilt and practices of posterizing. Haskins and DeRose explain that “These makeshift memorials communicate a point wherein personal memory slides into the public sphere and shapes a wider cultural memory of the events” (p.382). These memorials originate from ‘the people,’ often anonymous creators. They are collaborative memorials, with others adding to them, or holding vigil at them, and they are generally made of destructible material like scraps of wood, fabrics, etc. Finally, makeshift memorials have the capacity to arrest viewers: “Intervening into the rhythm of the metropolis, the vernacular utterance of street memorials jolted lunch-hour pedestrians and commuters into realizing the significance of public spaces” (p. 383). Karen Franck and Lynn Paxson, in their study of “spontaneous memorials” at Columbine High School (1995), Ground Zero in New York City (2010), Oklahoma City (1995) and the site of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in Tel Aviv (1995) define spontaneous memorials as those displays of grief and remembering that emerge in the immediacy of the traumatic event and in the absence of official sanction (p. 133). These memorials often take the form of crosses, or displays produced on fences or nearby walls. These memorials quickly become sites of pilgrimage and vigils (p.137). We could understand spontaneous or makeshift memorials as operating in ways similar to the counter-monument. They not only demand engagement, they only exist through, or as an expression of visitor engagement.

In contrast, ‘permanent’ monuments are officially (or state) sanctioned, represent the artistic vision of a single artist or designer, and are built of non-destructible materials. Both Haskins and DeRose and Franck and Paxson demonstrate how the dichotomy of makeshift/permanent monuments is often blurred. They both cite the permanent Vietnam War Veterans’ Memorial in Vietnam as acting in ways quite similar to the makeshift monuments, particularly by encouraging the placement of offerings: “It is remarkable how much this official memorial evokes the same kinds of movements and gestures that are common at spontaneous memorials” (Franck and Paxson 2007, p. 149). Similarly, Franck and Paxson argue that spontaneous memorials erupt in ‘empty spaces’, however, one spontaneous memorial that they cite was a 9/11 memorial that developed around a monument to George Washington: “the base of the statue of George Washington at Union Square was covered with the word “love” along with “no way” and “give peace a chance” (136). While they suggest that certain surfaces allow for memorials, fences allow for the hanging of signs, etc, even pothole covers allow for the placement of candles, it seems that permanent monuments also inspire spontaneous memorial practices. Both of these instances blur the distinction between vernacular and official memorial practices.

Haskins and DeRose also cite examples where the offerings left at makeshift memorials, rather than being left to rot, were photographed or archived. One museum exhibit produced by Boston University, “Six Months: A Memorial” included photographs of makeshift memorials (p.385). The archiving of things left at monuments has also occurred at the Vietnam War Veteran’s Memorial and at the makeshift memorial at the site of the Oklahoma City bombing (Franck and Paxson 2007, p.149). Franck and Paxson also cite numerous incidents where the vernacular memorials were preserved and then deemed official. In Tel Aviv, there is a graffiti wall memorial to assassinated Yitzah Rabin: “On one section of the wall of City Hall, graffiti and messages from the spontaneous memorialization activities have been preserved, under glass, and another section is set aside for ongoing graffiti writing” (p.147). While ‘official’ memorials can be involved in everyday gestures of memory, similarly, vernacular memorial practices also become part of official archives.

On the one hand, spontaneous and makeshift memorials seem to embody characteristics of the counter-monument: they require public interaction and they allow for (in fact demand) multiple interpretations. These memorials articulate a form of memory-as-repertoire; memories are produced through multiple, embodied gestures of leaving offerings, lighting candles, writing

on walls. However, the movement from makeshift memorial to official museum space, and an understanding of the Vietnam War Veterans' Memorial as akin to makeshift memorials, demonstrates how the categories of makeshift and permanent (or rather counter-monument and monument) are incredibly porous.

For some scholars, monuments concretize time. In their silence, monuments remember so that people can forget (feeling comforted that something is doing the memory-work for them). Monuments offer singular, clear representations of state-sanctioned memory; as such, they are fascist. They are objects of modern society's burgeoning 'lieu de memoire.' They are: "moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded" (Nora 1989, p.12). These are the common critiques and dismissals of monument building practices. In contrast, I suggest that the power to generate memory does not only exist in the avante-garde counter-monuments privileged by Young. These critiques neglect all that monuments do. Similarly, while spontaneous and permanent monuments are distinct, they are not in opposition to traditional monuments. Spontaneous monuments become archived and permanent monuments are the sites of ephemeral engagements.

Monuments neither exist fully within the lieu nor milieu of memoire, are neither fully archival nor objects of the repertoire, they are both, just as they are both stone and bodies. What the artists and many critics of monuments assume that these counter-monuments are working against is not just a didactic design of traditional monuments, but also a didactic reception. By emphasizing the dynamic, lived realities of all monuments I am working against the assumption that didactic representations allow for singular readings¹⁰. As I detail, monuments in their design, emplacement, tactility, and individual histories inspire complex readings and engagements.

Monuments with Lives

Central to my argument for studying monuments as 'stone bodies' is an understanding that monuments have dynamic, complicated social lives. Studying not just the built form or creation of monuments, but the social lives of monuments has become increasingly popular in

¹⁰ This reading is similar to Arjun Appadurai's (1986) discussion of the biographies of things. Appadurai, in a re-reading of Marx suggests that many things are, in certain moments, commodified. He understands the commodity as a moment in the life of a thing, or as a process. Things enter into various systems of circulation like commerce, gift-giving and theft.

monument studies. Brian Osborne (1998) studied the re-inscriptions of meaning on the George Etienne Cartier monument in Montreal, suggesting that this monument has become a site of negotiation for various French and English interests and commemorative traditions from the monument's 1919 unveiling to its contemporary use as a site for the festive Tam Tams drumming spectacle. Similarly, Johnston and Ripmeester (2009) analyzed a monument in St. Catherine's Ontario to the North-West Rebellions biographically and in effect charted changing collective readings of the Riel Rebellions. Likewise, Sanford Levinson (1998) details the histories of several American monuments where the inscriptions were modified to commemorate both sides of particular historical contests. In one instance, a monument in New Orleans was re-dedicated in 1974 with the plaque "the sentiments expressed are contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present-day New Orleans" (p.48)¹¹. Yvonne Whelan (2002/2003) has detailed the lives and deaths (destruction) of colonial monuments in Ireland. While some Royal monuments were sold to foreign interests, a monument to Queen Victoria that disappeared from the streets of Dublin in 1948 reappeared in Sydney, Australia in 1988 (p.67). All of these histories challenge the oft-cited notion that monuments sit silently, slowly tarnishing and becoming covered in moss.

Various moments demonstrate that monuments have lives. These moments produce different affects, relationships between networks of actors, relationships with place, and public remembrance. A possible list of biographic moments for monuments may include:

- 1) Unveiling/ birth moments
- 2) Acts of ceremony/ritual (Remembrance Day, Vimy Ridge Memorial Day, Take Back the Night, December 6th vigil, individual battle memorials, "March for Life" annual vigil, etc).
- 3) Acts of defacement/vandalism/being clothed by guerilla knitters¹²
- 4) Acts of conservation and preservation
- 5) Acts of neglect (bronze monuments turning green)
- 6) Additions (in particular, the addition of edifying plaques)
- 7) Relocation¹³

¹¹ The monument was built in 1891 to commemorate an 1874 battle in which the "White League" successfully and violently overthrew the Louisiana government that comprised of Republican whites and newly enfranchised African Americans (Levinson 1998, p. 45). The monument that was erected was to commemorate the eleven White League members who had died in the conflict that killed thirty-two (ibid).

¹² In Saskatoon, Saskatchewan there is a monument to a locally loved radio DJ Denny Carr. He is posed running by the North Saskatchewan River, dressed in summer running clothes. During the long months of winter, the statue is frequently "dressed" by locals, given hats or scarves (Spinster 2011, [Web log post]). .

- 8) Practices of love and of being loved
- 9) Being given gifts
- 10) Removal/death (afterlife)/sacrifice

Each moment challenges the notion that monuments are easily forgotten, invisible, and frozen in time. At each moment, the monument becomes present to another moment in history. Ottawa's monument to the explorer Samuel de Champlain is not just a monument to 1615 that was built in 1915, not just a monument that bears witness, but also a monument that was an actor in political-historic moments of 1965 and 2004, for example¹⁴. Some monuments (like people and other objects) have more active lives than others; some are highly mobile, being relocated as the currency of their commemorative intent rises and falls. Others sit where they were unveiled, slowly turn green, are weathered, and eventually, when their neglect has become not reparable, they are removed. Take, for example, the interesting life of a war memorial in the Ottawa neighbourhood of Westboro. Originally erected in 1922, the monument was unceremoniously removed in 1952, discovered in a city storage yard in the 1960s and re-erected in 1963. After years of vandalism (the monument is even scarred with bullet holes), in the 1980s the Westboro War Memorial Association decided to build a new monument. In 1985, the 1922 monument's afterlife was secured when it was buried with a time capsule listing Westboro's war casualties, underneath the new monument (Hale 2008, p. 1 & p. 13). Other monuments may be sacrificed early, if their material is deemed more valuable than their commemorative intent, removed from their homes and melted down for other uses.¹⁵ Like other objects and people with biographies, monuments can similarly be understood to have conceptions (the processes where they are imagined, funds are raised, competitions are held for their design), to be born through unveiling ceremonies, to have or be denied lives full of love and attention, mobility or stasis, and finally, to die. The death of monuments is sometimes barely noted, and at other times tragic and deeply mourned.

¹³ In many cases of post-social upheaval monuments of the overthrown regime were collected into "monument parks" (see Levinson 1998, Nadkarni 2003).

¹⁴ This history is taken up in Chapter 5.

¹⁵ Robert Shipley (1987) explains that many tanks that were distributed to small Canadian towns after World War 1 as monuments were subsequently melted down for material during World War Two (p.162)

Stone Bodies

Treating monuments as objects with lives, does not alone produce monuments as ‘stone bodies.’ As the anthropological literature suggests, many *things* have lives¹⁶. I am arguing that monuments are not only things, but a particular type of thing that is analogous to bodies. While largely avoiding the language of embodiment for pragmatic reasons, I would like to note that I am thinking about bodies roughly through the embodiment discourse. Tim Creswell (1999) has succinctly defined embodiment as “the process whereby the individual body is connected to larger networks of meaning at a variety of scales” (p.176). The social bodies that I wish to discuss are, in this vein, not mere physical matter, but physical matter that is produced and read through complex social frames of meaning.

I understand monuments as stone bodies following four key rationales. First, there are a number of ways in which monuments are analogous to and have relationships with actual human bodies. Second, by situating monuments (like bodies) between the object/subject binary, monuments produce and encourage particular tactile encounters. Third, monuments, like bodies, are active sites for generating memory. Fourth, monuments and bodies are both means through which space is produced as racialized and gendered¹⁷.

Rationale 1: Monuments and Bodies

There are several almost literal ways in which monuments are bodies. First, many monuments are literally cast from bodies. Monuments that take the figurative form of the individuals they are meant to represent may seem an antiquated representational mode. However, in the context of my field site of Ottawa, figurative sculpture continues to be enthusiastically

¹⁶ For Bruno Latour (2005), and practitioners of ANT, the agency of things is only visible when processes are in motion, “For ANT, as we now understand, the definition of the term is different: it doesn’t designate a domain of reality or some particular item, but rather is the name of a movement, a displacement, a transformation, a translation, an enrollment” (65). In his study of the social lives of things, Bruno Latour (2005) offers “A list of situations where an object’s activity is made easily visible” (79). For things to be social, they have to, first of all, leave traces, speak and make themselves “accountable”. These moments of accounting require specific moments to make things talk (79) “to produce scripts of what they are making others—humans and non-humans—do.” Situations where objects speak include: at the moment of innovation (traces include plans, sketches, regulations) (80), temporal distance, where objects are “rendered ignorant and clumsy” (80), accidents and breakdowns which transform objects from intermediaries to mediators (81), and finally objects can be made vocal through the use of archival records (81).

¹⁷ I recognize here that I am neglecting the ways in which bodies and monuments both produce space as classed and heterosexed.

employed. In fact, in the last decade, of the 21 monuments erected, 11 have taken the form of, or incorporated figurative statues. Monuments also articulate and stand-in for lost and violently killed bodies. In Canada, the most popular commemorative form after the First World War was the cenotaph. Cenotaph means “empty tomb” (Shipley 1989, p. 141). In its ontology a cenotaph makes present absent bodies. Monuments also may encase the remains of actual bodies. The “unknown soldier” at numerous war memorials places the remains of an actual body to stand in for lost bodies. Other design features such as naming lost lives work to make present lost bodies. The list of names on Maya Lin’s Vietnam Veterans memorial stands in for lost bodies as do the 168 bronze empty chairs that make-up the “Field of Empty Chairs” as a part of the Oklahoma City National Memorial (Sturken 1997, p. 110). In Ottawa, “Enclave: the Women’s Monument”, the Boer War Memorial, the Firefighters’ Memorial, and the Korean War Memorial all list the names of people who have been killed.

Rationale Two: Monuments’ Flesh

According to Huyssen (1993) it is in part a monument’s materiality that prevents the monument from becoming a spectacle. He states, I would indeed suggest that it is the material reality of the object in the museum, of the monument in a reclaimed public space in pedestrian zones, in restored urban centers, or in preexisting memorial spaces that attracts a public dissatisfied with simulation and channel-flicking (p. 255).

For Huyssen, the monument’s flesh, its tangible, concrete form in an urban setting, allows the monument to work differently from other types of memorials, specifically in contrast to the proliferation of electronic media that dominate in our current era. Human, animal and inorganic bodies are all simultaneously material flesh and something more—a something some call a soul or a consciousness. Understanding monuments-as-stone bodies insists that we attend to both of these aspects of a monument’s being, their materiality and their ability to create specific affects, their virtual properties.

One of the critiques Huyssen (2003) has for monuments is that in their immense size, they overwhelm individual viewers (p. 38). Monuments are experienced through the senses, visually and kinesthetically. A visitor may cower, or feel inspired, compelled to touch the monument, or disgusted by it, wanting to avert their eyes. The materiality of monuments offers

possibilities for symbolic, pragmatic and tactile engagement. Symbolically the type and colour of building materials resonate in particular ways. In their analysis of monuments to memorialize violence against women in Canada, the Cultural Memory Group (2006) identifies monuments built in Vancouver (Marker of Change), Ottawa (The Women's Monument) and on Toronto's Philosopher's Walk that are all built from pink or peach-colored granite. This choice of stone speaks both to the gender implied in the monuments, and potentially a form of racializing those memorialized as white¹⁸. There is also something pragmatic about the material forms monuments take. In London, Ontario a monument to memorialize violence against women was secured with a seven foot concrete base to ensure it wouldn't be uprooted and relocated in the future (Cultural Memory Group 2006, p. 103). In this example, the monument's material form is a response to already present threats for its removal; its form is a both symbolic and material statement on the monument's commitment to its site.

These materials are arranged most often to represent people or things larger-than-life. What does this flesh do? What can it do? Jane Bennett (2010) offers the useful concept of 'thing-power' to describe the actions of things. Bennett suggests that 'thing-power' is analogous to Spinoza's conatus, Henry David Thoreau's 'the Wild' and Hent de Vries' 'the absolute' (p. 2). All of these concepts are descriptive of non-human forces, powers beyond human comprehension. Bennett distinguishes 'thing-power' from these concepts by arguing that, while 'the absolute' represents the limits of human capacities to understand, thing-power describes the capacities of things to act. Thing-power seeks to attend to the material capacities of things. Bennett explains 'thing-power' in relation to 'the absolute':

I will shift from the language of epistemology to that of ontology, from a focus on an elusive recalcitrance hovering between immanence and transcendence (the absolute) to an active, earthy, not-quite-human capaciousness (vibrant matter). I will try to give voice to a vitality intrinsic to materiality, in the process absolving matter from its long history of attachment to automatism or mechanism (p. 3).

¹⁸ The monument in Montreal to the Montreal Massacre, *Nef Pour Quatorze Reines* is a creation of granite and steel symbolically representing both gravestones and engineering, the field of the women murdered (Cultural Memory Group 2006, p. 164). Finally, Sturken (1997) argues that Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington broke with practices of monument-building by using black granite as opposed to the traditionally popular white granite. Discourses surrounding her choice of black granite quickly became a discourse of race. At one point General George Price ended the debate with this declaration: "Black is not the color of shame. I am tired of hearing it called such by you. Color meant nothing on the battlefields of Korea and Vietnam" (cited in Sturken 1997, p. 52).

Understanding monuments as ‘vibrant matter’ supports an understanding of them as bodies; through their materiality they act on people in both designed and unintentional ways.

We can also understand the affective charge of monuments, what their flesh does beyond its physical properties, through the language of the virtual. Rob Shields (2003) offers a succinct genealogy of the term virtual. He begins by referencing Marcel Proust who suggests that the virtual is “real without being actual, ideal without being concrete” (in Shields 2003, p. 3). The virtual is distinct from the possible and the probable. For Proust, dreams and memories exist in the realm of the virtual (ibid, p. 25). Shields, in his reading of Proust, Bergson and Deleuze, offers a tetrology of the virtual and the concrete. While the abstract and the probable exist within the realm of the possible, the virtual and concrete exist within the realm of the real. For these scholars of the virtual, there is movement between these four modes of being. For the interests of this research, I am interested in the movement from the virtual to the concrete and the concrete to the virtual. The former is what Deleuze calls “actualization” while the latter Guattari has called “virtualization” (ibid, pgs. 30-31). The movement between these two ontological states is enabled through rituals (among other moments at monuments). Shields argues that “virtual worlds become important when they diverge from the actual, or when the actual is ignored in favour of the virtual” (p. 4). Monuments can be understood in their materiality as the actualization of virtualities of nationalism, belonging, and conquest. Meanwhile, through their form and environment, they enable the generation of various virtualities to emerge and circulate within a broader context (the street, the city, the nation).

In their fleshiness, monuments offer a literal, public opportunity to ‘touch the past,’ borrowing a phrase from Roger Simon (2005). Monuments are experienced through live bodies. Monuments and especially counter-monuments inspire and call for the engagement of viewers’ bodies through producing etchings, laying wreaths, climbing etc. In this way monuments are constituted by other bodies as the monument is a product of various phenomenological, physical and embodied engagements. By thinking about monuments-as-stone-bodies, I wish to encourage thinking about how monuments and human bodies together collaborate to produce memory & place.

Engagements with monuments are not only engagements with their materiality, the cool comfort of granite or the convenient resting place of a monument’s ledge. Rather, a monument’s flesh is the synthesis of its material (or concrete) and virtual properties. In their substance— their

flesh of steel, granite, plastics, they intimidate, inspire, produce resting places, hiding spots, play structures and opportunities to touch the past. By thinking about or through the virtual, we are allowed to consider how figures like unicorns, ghosts and angels are all central to the affective charge or work of monuments. Similarly, Bennett's concept of thing-power allows us to think about how materiality (assemblages of things) allows for certain virtual affects.

Rationale 3: Monuments, Bodies and Memory

Locating cultural and individual memory as produced and circulated through bodies is a common understanding of memory (Lambek 1996, Nora 1989, Gross 2000, Landsberg 2004). David Gross (2000) explains that in a certain epoch the bodies of criminals were used as aide-memoire through the application of cuttings and piercings (p. 79). Injuring the criminals' bodies reminded both the criminal and observers of the individual's transgression, thus embodying Nietzsche's statement that "only that which never ceases to hurt stays in the memory" (in Gross 2000, p. 79). Michael Lambek (1996) understands memory as the "phenomenological ground of identity" (xvi), shaky, full of gaps, constantly in process, and located in the body (xii). Both Diana Taylor (2007) and Pierre Nora (1989) in their articulations of 'the repertoire' and 'milieu de memoire' respectively, see these memory practices as located through articulations, gestures and performances of individual and groups of human bodies. Because memory is produced through the body, memory is shaped through particularly gendered, racialized, differently able, sexualized, classed bodies.

Likewise, much scholarship has also focused on how objects work to convey and embody memory through their tactility (Liss 2000, Hirsch 2001, Landsberg 1997, Marcoux 2001, Parkin 1999, Taussig 1993). In particular, memory objects are central to the generation of memories of historical cultural traumas or events. Alison Landsberg (1997) argues that museum artifacts have a key role in the production of memories: "even though you are not invited to touch these objects, their very materiality, I would argue, their seductive tangibility, draws you into a lived relationship with them" (p. 78). The museum artifacts are understood as sites of transference for memories because of their "lived individuality" (p. 80), their aura of 'having been there.' Andrea Liss (2000) calls these memory-objects, or non-human actors, "object survivors" and similarly argues that they embody a burden of memory through their materiality,

how they are marked as worn, used, having had a life. Object survivors operate as vehicles for memory production through what they are not; they are materially present in lieu of traumatic, unspeakable absences (p. 125). Memory objects, unlike monuments are noted for their mobility and compact size (Marcoux 2001; Parkin 1999). Marcoux (2001) suggests that memory objects act as both surrogates for places, times, or people lost and as ‘cumbersome companions’ (p. 77). Monuments-as-things share characteristics with object survivors in that they offer their materiality as the connective tissue between people and other places and times. Monuments differ from these other memory objects in their size (a lesser degree of portability) and how they often gain their significance from the places to which they are secured. If memory is located in the body, and memories are located in monuments as a particular form of memory object, an analogous relationship between monuments and bodies becomes clear.

Rationale 4: Monuments, Bodies and Social Spaces

Social spaces are produced as *social* through the movements and placements of human and other bodies. Many scholars have demonstrated that race, gender, and class relations are reinforced and reflected through the physical organization of social space (Razack 2002; Teelucksingh 2005; Weismann 1992; Jacobs 1996; Nash 1993) in particular through the circulation of racialized, gendered, sexed bodies (Razack 2002, Pratt 1998, Jacobs 1996). Sherene Razack (2002) approaches social spaces by first arguing that space is a social product; bodies are produced in spaces and spaces produce bodies (p.17). For Sherene Razack (2002) colonialist narratives produce racialized bodies that inhabit spaces differently. While white bodies are produced as mobile, non-White bodies are fixed. The mobility of white bodies allows them to travel into non-White spaces to confirm their own dominance (p. 14). Geraldine Pratt (1998) iterates a similar thesis about racialization, bodies, mobility and space in her analysis of the negotiation of spatial boundaries by immigrant and non-immigrant women. Pratt’s research involves women who live in middle class neighbourhoods but work at working class jobs and negotiate these two spaces. She concludes that moving across spaces of different classes can have transformative effects, i.e. working middle class women supporting housing development for different income groups (p. 34). Many scholars argue that differentially racialized bodies are either sutured to or liberated from various social spaces (see Blomley 2004; Buffam 2010).

Social spaces also produce and are produced through the mobilities of gendered bodies (Pratt 1998; Rose 1993; Wolff 1994).

Monuments contribute to these particular social spaces in their presence and through the engagements they inspire and detract. Monuments in their design, representational responsibilities and in how they are animated by visitors similarly produce constantly negotiated racialized, gendered, sexed, classed social spaces.

Conclusion

Monuments are things-with-lives. I suggest that their lives are lived in a particularly embodied form. Monuments often quite literally represent figuratively or abstractly human bodies. However they also consist of a particular form of fleshiness, a tactility that inspires love and a variety of affective engagements. Monuments and bodies are both sites for the production of public and private memories and social spaces. To suggest that monuments are stone bodies is not to negate other conceptualizations of how monuments work, but rather to offer a particular framework for understanding their affective properties. Monuments, both through their placement and built into their actual structures can speak to a radical multiplicity of memories, personal and collective, dominant and alternative. Monuments also inspire or conjure ghostly presences through their dynamic lives. Most importantly, ghosts demand that these memories be considered in the present. I give substance to a thesis of monuments as ghostly in the next section of this Chapter.

Part II: Monuments as Ghostly

In The Pas, Manitoba, a monument to Helen Betty Osborne, an Aboriginal woman who was murdered in 1971, was unveiled in 2000 (Cultural Memory Group 2006, p. 86). While the monument to Osborne explicitly speaks to remembering violence against women, its location at Guy Hill Park opens up the monument to other collective and individual memories. Guy Hill Park was the site of Guy Hill Residential School; the school no longer exists and no plaque marks its memory (ibid, p. 88). The monument to Helen Betty Osborne exposes the site of Guy Hill Park to multiple layers of memory: the violence of Osborne's gendered and racialized murder in 1971, the history of the residential school system, in particular Guy Hill School, and the more intimate memories of Helen Betty Osborne as a young woman who wanted to become a

teacher, and as the inscription reads, “lived life fully and was the embodiment of love and generous spirit” (in CMG 2006, p. 86). Implicitly, through the memorial services and the necessity of the monument, it memorializes Osborne’s violent, gendered and racialized death, while the monument’s location and its inscription naming Osborne as a student of Guy Hill Park School open up this place to another level of memory. The placement of this monument on this site conjures unresolved ghosts of colonial violence and misogyny.

While I have already argued that monuments can be understood as ‘stone bodies,’ in this section I argue that these bodies are particularly affective because of the spirits they may embody (or may have embodied in the past). After some consideration, the suggestion that monuments are haunted, spirited places and objects becomes compelling. Monuments are, quite often, only a small step removed in form and function from the most common of haunted places/objects—gravestones. A cenotaph is a site of absence of life being marked by the absence of this absence. I suggest that understanding monuments as ghostly bodies has radical implications for how monuments are understood as place-making and memory-generating entities.

I begin, after defining ‘the ghostly,’ by arguing that understanding monuments as ghostly emphasizes the potential for monuments to generate multiple sets of memories. I explore how places can be palimpsests of meanings and memories to which monuments contribute. I then suggest understanding monuments-as-ghostly allows us to understand how ghosts figure in the negotiation of cultural and personal traumas.

Defining the Ghostly

Avery Gordon (1997) begins her sociological inquiries with the premise that “life is complicated” (p. 3). This premise informs her work as she seeks to tease out the complexities of social life by attending to the ghostly. She defines the ghostly as the matter that haunts the gaps between what’s seen and what’s known, the gaps between the experienced and the empirical, positivism and subjectivism (p. 17). Engaging with ghosts in social science means conceptualizing otherwise both time and memory. Gordon states:

It is sometimes about writing ghost stories, stories that not only repair representational mistakes, but also strive to understand the conditions under which a memory was produced in the first place, toward a counter-memory, for the future (p. 22).

Attending to ghosts then, teases out the conditions of production of memory works, offering up oppositional readings of monuments that are predominantly cast as offering dominant narratives.

For Gordon, ghosts are transformative, affective and uncanny:

The way of the ghost is haunting, and haunting is a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening. Being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition (p. 8).

Kevin Hetherington (2001) concurs, suggesting that “the ghost’s power resides principally in its ability to fold and unsettle this linear sense of represented time... To haunt is to remain where one does not belong” (p. 25). Hauntings are uncomfortable, but not entirely unfamiliar; ghosts alert us to memories, histories, presences that we had not entirely forgotten.

For Gordon, ghosts are transformative because they interrupt linear understandings of time and place; ghosts pull people out of normative understandings of the past and towards other modes of understanding, other understandings of power and violence. In this sense, the ghostly can be understood in relation to Roger Simon’s (2005) notion of “remembering otherwise”. Simon is concerned with remembrance practices which have a “transitive function; that is, they may be conceived as putting forward expressive actions that ‘pass over’ and take effect on another person or persons” (p. 4). These remembrance practices offer up unexpected results, incomplete stories, and “an unanticipated claim that may wound or better, instantiate a loss that haunts those to whom these claims are addressed” (4). The idea of the ghostly emphasizes the ability of the radically other to affect in fundamental ways, one’s relationship to time and place, offering up a “touch of the past” (Simon 2005).

Ghosts disavow narratives and suggest instead complicated understandings of social relations. Answering the question, ‘what is the case of the ghost’? Gordon (1997) offers this:

It is often a case of inarticulate experiences, of symptoms and screen memories, of spiraling affects, of more than one story at a time, of the traffic in domains of experience that are anything but transparent and referential. It is a case of modernity’s violence and wounds, and a case of the haunting reminder of the complex social relations in which we live (p. 25).

The ghostly ask to be lived with and taken in. For Gordon and Simon, attending to the ghostly and remembering otherwise are modes of being with others, or modes of inhabitation. Ian

Roderick (1998) tells us that habitable spaces are those in which the space is incorporated in the body; “to inhabit therefore entails embodying the built material environment, making it ours” (p. 4). Social ghosts in social spaces are transformative because they are demanding a very intimate and affectively charged relationship to otherness.

To understand monuments as ghostly is to understand that monuments can embody or enable different sets of memories, an idea many have discussed as counter-memory. Michael Landzelius (2002) encourages “spatialized disinheritance” as tactics that work to maintain the past in its complexity. Rather than what he calls “heritage logocentrism” and equally fraught and potentially normative multiculturalist memorial practices, Landzelius proposes that “objects of the past, on all spatial scales, should be mobilized as disinheritance assemblages for critical and subversive purposes in order to make such a reconfigured past implode into the present in ways that unsettle fundamental social imaginary significations” (p. 196). Landzelius is arguing that memory works like monuments should be celebrated as objects that complicate social memory and history, rather than offer singular, manageable narratives.

Social hauntings also suggest multiple ways of belonging to a city. For Karen Till (2003), ghosts are sutured to places through the active making of memory places by interested people. Places of memory include monuments, walking tours, museums, etc. Till explains:

Places of memory are created by individuals and social groups to give a shape to felt absences, fears, and desires that haunt contemporary society. Traditionally national places of memory were created and understood as glorifying the pasts of ‘a people’. But such places are also made today to forget: they contain and house disturbing absences and ruptures, tales of violence. Places of memory both remember pasts and encrypt unnamed, yet powerfully felt, absences—absences that might be considered modernity’s ghosts of the nation (p. 9)

Till continues to suggest that producing places of memory, even if that production is actually through neglect or paving over certain sites, “give[s] evoked ghosts a spatial form through landscape” (p. 9). Places remember what others are compelled to forget. This argument of the ghostly in places is distinct from Nora’s discussion of ‘lieu de memoire’ as sites of memory. For Nora, sites harbor, remember in lieu of human acts of remembering. I understand the relationship between memory, places and ghosts as a relationship where places both remember and through feelings of the uncanny, compel people to remember.

Ghosts & Trauma

We can understand the relationship between ghosts and place by considering cultural traumas. One of the key characteristics of both the ghostly and the traumatic is that they are unrepresentable. In Vancouver's Thornton Park, the "Marker of Change", a monument to the Montreal Massacre signals towards multiple sets of memories. When working on the monument, Caffryn Kelley learned more about the history of the site: "Thornton Park... was once a salt marsh where gooey mud flats supported an intricate web of life. Now it is a flat, square patch of green, made to stand for nature where there was once all that chaotic life and stink" (cited in Rosenberg 2000, p. 86). Sharon Rosenberg comments on the monument's location: "What cannot be reckoned with in this conception is the absent presence of the buried landscape, 'testimony to a violent culture,' that is, ironically, 'forgotten' in the very attempt to remember another violent act from thousands of miles away" (p. 87). She continues, "On these terms, the granite tombs may mark the landscape of Thornton Park as a site of loss and mourning, encompassing, but not restricted to, the women massacred in Montreal" (p. 87). The monument, speaking explicitly to a trauma that happened thousands of kilometers away, opens up an "absent presence," the haunting presence of another paved-over past, which is the colonizing domination of nature that facilitated the presence of Vancouver as a city.

The social ghost makes present or felt what can't be put into words: the traumatic. While the social ghost confuses linear time by reemerging from various pasts, trauma similarly is understood to be felt through traumatic repetition, the ceaseless return of the original injury. Traumas may not be visible but are powerfully, incessantly, and corporally felt. Trauma is understood as not the blow of inflicted pain, but rather the lack of integration of the blow into human consciousness (Caruth 1995, p. 153). Ghosts appear, are conjured and disruptive, analogous to traumatic repetition.

To understand the relationship between the ghostly, the traumatic and monuments we can turn here to Marita Sturken's (1997) productive metaphor of the monument as a screen. What a monument may conceal ideologically is perhaps felt affectively. This metaphor builds on an understanding of Freud's "screen memories" which are the banal memories that are used to shield against earlier traumatic memories. Sturken expands Freud's screen memories to apply them to cultural memories (p. 8). Cultural screen memories are the memories that are constantly circulated at the expense of others. In a second use of the metaphor, Sturken argues that

monuments work as screens by both offering a space for projecting collective and individual memories and desires, and as an ideological structure which conceals. Sturken's metaphor for monuments is useful here for understanding how monuments inhibit and allow certain memories as sites of projection and concealment. Huyssen (2003) suggests that the current interest in understanding trauma is "due to the fact that trauma as a psychic phenomenon is located on the threshold between remembering and forgetting, seeing and not seeing, transparency and occlusion, experience and its absence in repletion" (p. 8). Monuments can be understood to occupy this interstitial space—allowing certain memories to be concretely visible, inscribed, while occluding other sets of memories felt as wounds or cultural omissions.

Monuments are difficult beings precisely because they invite a type of repetition, both in their design and the type of ritual engagements they encourage. On occasion, monuments' relationship with the traumatic is made explicit through their design. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington has been described as a deep, gashing wound in the earth (Sturken 2007). Andreas Huyssen (2003) describes a similarly traumatic monument in Argentina, the "Monument to Victims of State Terror":

Separated from the coastal road and from a set of university buildings by the straight line of a tree-lined pathway of slabs of colored concrete, the monument cuts deep into the elevated grassy surface of the park that faces the river in the half round. It is like a wound or a scar that runs the full diameter of the half circle in the zigzag" (p. 103).

Another monument (or non-monument) that embodies this idea of monument-as-wound is Berlin's *Topography of Terror*. The *Topography of Terror* is the site that one time housed a series of buildings that were the headquarters of the Nazi Gestapo (Secret State Police); it was the site from which the orders were directed that dictated the Nazi genocide of World War Two (Till 2003, p. 64). Since the end of the Second World War the site has been a deserted field of rubble. While there has been constant debate over what to do at this site, as of 2010, the site was marked by a simple wall with a museum-like exhibit and signs indicating that construction was in progress¹⁹.

¹⁹ A similar, 'empty' non-monument is Ottawa's Lebreton Flats, explored in Chapter 6.

Spirited Places

If one considers the relative strength or weakness of relationships between monuments and the places they occupy (produce) then it becomes clear that the ghostly properties of monuments and the spirited (understood as virtual) qualities of their homes are reciprocal. To understand place as operating like a palimpsest is a position that suggests that multiple times can be simultaneously etched into a material place²⁰. Monuments contribute to and mark the many layers of meaning associated with particular places. By layers of meaning, I do not mean sedimentary-like layers, but palimpsest-like layers, the blurring of multiple times.

Michael Bell (1997) makes an argument for ghostly places by arguing for a link between a reverence for the spirits of individual subjectivities, to a ‘geist’ imbued in material things and places. He cites Marcel Mauss who argues, “Souls are mixed with things; things are mixed with souls” (cited in Bell 1997, p. 819). Bell argues that this understanding of things as spirited can be applied to places:

A crucial aspect of how we experience the person is our sense that the person has an animating spirit, a ghost, within. We also experience objects and places socially; we experience them as we do people. Through ghosts, we re-encounter the aura of social life in the aura of place (p. 821).

Therefore, ghosts are what animate and give places their specificity and their hold on people. For Bell,

the ghosts of place should not be reduced to mere memories, collective or individual. To do so would be to overlook the spirited and live quality of their presence, and their stubborn rootedness in particular places (p. 816).

Ghosts of places are situated at the crux of two ontologically shifting phenomenon: place and memory. They act as the virtualizations of constantly shifting, conjured and feared understandings of place and belonging. For Bell, the ghosts of place are what transform spaces

²⁰ Michel Foucault’s concept of the heterotopia is a useful model for understanding place as palimpsest. For Foucault (1984), contemporary space is characterized by “emplacement” which is “defined by the relations of proximity between points or elements” (176). Heterotopias are spaces in which multiple relational meanings are possible. Heterotopias can also be “heterochronias”: referring to multiple times (Foucault 1984/1989: 182). Foucault (1984/ 1989) states that “the heterotopia begins to function fully when men (sic) are in a kind of absolute break from traditional time” (182). As such, he continues, cemeteries act as perfect heterochronic heterotopias—referring both to other times and other places. The experience of place in a contemporary context can contrarily be perceived as an engagement with spectacles or a Foucauldian understanding of places as palimpsests.

into places, animating places with the memory of complicated social networks. Bell argues that while ghosts can be experienced individually, they signal towards collective understandings of place, stating, "Thus, each individual ghost I sense here I place, even if in a largely tacit way, in a dense social network of ghosts, all constituting and partaking of a larger collective spirit" (p. 825). This is an argument echoed by Gordon who understands the ghost as a social figure that works to confuse understandings of a distinction between subjectivity and objectivity.

There is a distinction between monuments to ghostly places or in memory of a place and monuments that, by their very placement make a place spirited. In the case of the latter, by virtue of hosting a monument, the history of the place is transformed. It is not my intent to cleave monuments from their places, to determine where the potency lies, but rather to accept the mutually reinforcing strength or weakness of these relationships. Certainly some monuments are more bound to their locations than others. Some monuments move with seemingly little consequence across cities and to different countries. Others are relocated from Main Street, to a park, to a storage unit, to a museum interior and back to Main Street with every site inspiring varied memorial practices (see Levinson 1998). In both Moscow and Budapest, communist monuments were rounded up and reconstituted in museal-like parks; the Park of Arts and Statue Park respectively (Forest and Johnson 2002, p. 540; Nadkarni 2003). Zimbabwe also created a "statue park" of sorts after its 1979 independence. Not wanting to violently topple the grandiose monuments to Cecil Rhodes and Lord Salisbury, but similarly not wanting these figures to continue to lord over their everyday lives, the Zimbabweans relocated all of the figures to the grounds of the country's national archives and museums, a move that securely fixed the figures to the nation's past (Levinson 1998, p. 69).

Conclusion

By positing monuments-as-bodies I hope to complicate the dichotomous understanding of monuments as either existing within a culture's *lieu de memoire*, archival, dead and silent, or as counter-monuments, active and visible. Many anthropologists and monument scholars have detailed how things in general and monuments in particular have lives as non-human social actors, either through their material or discursive circulation, or through intentional or accidental acts. In this dissertation I extend this anthropomorphizing by suggesting that these monuments' lives take place as and through 'stone bodies.' At one level, monuments are often cast from and

take the representational form of human bodies. Human bodies and monuments share two key characteristics, both are central to the production of social spaces, and both are the conduits for the generation of personal and collective memories. The monuments as stone bodies framework allows for an understanding of monuments as mutable over time. Monuments can be understood as disturbing many ontological categories. They are neither situated entirely in the past, nor are they wholly present. Finally, the arresting materiality of monuments, infused with constellations of tangled memories and desires, situated in public spaces, produce a particular monumental fleshiness that is both object and subject. It is my argument that monuments get their affective charge, their ability to move, haunt, and offend, in large part in how they are engaged, produced, and understood as bodies.

My suggestion that we should or could understand monuments-as-stone-bodies is not to negate what have been other useful ways of thinking about monuments. The conceptualizations of monuments as texts, or as screens, or in contrast to counter-monuments all provide useful points of departure and foundations for this theoretical innovation. I also do not intend for this framework to be universally applicable; rather, I am humbly offering this framework as a means of accessing the affective work monuments do in their urban environments. Thinking about monuments as fleshy things allows us to think about the possibilities and politics of what monuments are capable of. Thinking about monuments-as-bodies not just re-positions monuments, but also alerts our attention to the assemblages which produce memories and place: the materiality of the monument, the site of the monument, the visitors to the monument, the collected debris, the ideological and discursive readings of the monument, the un-thought and the felt. In this dissertation, I suggest that the life-forces that animate monuments are hauntings, various memories, from various times, pulling the past into the present and the future, hauntings that shock, chill, and comfort.

Chapter 2: Unmapping as a Methodological Practice

On November 1, 1888, in the presence of the Governor General Lord Stanley of Preston, a monument to two Ottawa “sharpshooters,” Privates Osgood and Rogers who were killed in the battle of Cut Knife Hill during the Riel Rebellions, was unveiled in Major’s Hill Park. The monument was the second to be erected in the capital city, joining George Etienne Cartier who was located with pride of place on Parliament Hill. The records of the unveiling noted, “The monument stands just inside the Park gates on a commanding site, looking towards Rideau Street. It is typical of a Guardsman, in an attitude of mournful repose, standing with hands clasped upon the butt of his rifle” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, Box 7, File 1 “Ceremony of unveiling” 1889, p. 4). Four years later, while Canadians were still mourning and debating their recent engagement as allies in Britain’s war against the Dutch Boers in South Africa, another monument was unveiled nearby to the Sharpshooters’ monument. On the evening of Wednesday, August 6th, 1902, thousands of people filled Elgin Street to witness the unveiling of the Boer War Memorial, a monument funded by the fundraising efforts of 30, 000 school children (Bond 1963, p. 15).

In 1912, during the building of the Chateau Laurier, the Sharpshooters’ monument was forced to move and it was relocated to Elgin Street, beside the Boer War monument (National Library Archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 1, File 5. Letter from December 6, 1966. File 710.2.1, vol. 6. NCC- Central Registry). In 1966, during the building of the National Arts Centre (NAC), both of these monuments were again forced to relocate. NAC founder Hamilton Southam proposed that both monuments could be relocated to the empty plinths that were part of the Plaza Bridge spanning the canal at the juncture of Elgin and Wellington Streets (National Library Archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 1, File 5. Letter from December 6, 1966. File 710.2.1, vol. 6. NCC- Central Registry). This would be the first of many proposals to place statues on these plinths. The suggestion was turned down and both monuments were relocated to Confederation Square Park. In 2005, the North-West Rebellion Monument was again relocated to the grounds of City Hall (Reid personal communications, February 1, 2011).

By charting the travels taken by these two monuments, we witness changes in the city’s built environment and changing attitudes towards various sets of memories, historical events and

commemorative needs. In a certain epoch both the living memories of Ottawa's contribution to the Riel Rebellion in Western Canada and the Boer War were strongly felt, dictating that these memorials occupy central locations in the capital. As new commemorations were erected (in particular the 1939 National War Memorial), and understandings of these previous battles became increasingly complicated with the weight of historic distance, the monuments found new homes. However, their travels have not been straightforward paths into urban, optic obscurity. The final, 2005 relocation of the Sharpshooters' monument was the result of demands by the Governor General's Foot Guards (see Chapter 6). They insisted that the monument be placed in front of the Drill Hall because this was the site where the volunteers trained and the site at which they gathered before their departure for the Canadian West.

As part of their social lives, monuments are often moved. Sometimes unpopular monuments are moved into storage or relegated to a park of unloved monuments (like in Budapest and Moscow) (see Levinson 1998; Nakhami 2003, Forest and Johnson 2002). Monuments move in response to other urban changes or because they have been elevated or demoted in stature. Frequently, however monuments have symbolic ties to their locations and are understood as inflexible.

This Chapter begins with two premises: 1) that monuments are urban beings with dynamic social lives, and 2) that monuments contribute to mapping history and social belonging in cities. Beginning with these premises this Chapter is motivated by the following questions: how is it possible to map monuments in a city without reproducing objectifying representations of space? What kind of methodology would allow for an analysis of the various relationships between people, monuments (in their material and virtual complexities) and their environments? To answer these questions I have adopted from Richard Phillips (1997) and Sherene Razack (2002) the notion of unmapping and pursued this idea as a methodological orientation. Whereas maps suggest promises of objective, fixed representations of space, unmappings are self-consciously partial, mobile and adopt multiple ground-level perspectives.

First, I explore the relationship between mapping practices and monument building. I then argue that Richard Phillips' (1997) analytic concept of 'unmapping' can be developed into a methodology. I argue that unmapping is the ideal methodological approach for engaging in an ethnographic study of urban objects that, as my previous Chapter explains, are both lively and ghostly. Finally, I outline the methods of data collection and representation that I have employed

in this ethnographic unmapping of Ottawa monuments: participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, archival research and narrative ethnography. I demonstrate how these methods can be employed in the service of attending to the dynamic and mobile lives of monuments.

Section I: Imperialism, Mapping and Unmapping

Many argue that traditional cartographic practices produce discursive texts that continually suggest objective, totalizing perspectives of space; in particular, as a form of spatial colonization (McClintock 1995, Jacobs 1996, Nash 1993; McKittrick 2007). Rather than transparent representations of a land's geography, maps are discursive productions of place that are mediated by particular understandings of race and gender, among other social identifiers. Richard Phillips (1997) argues that mapping practices have, since the European mapping and simultaneous colonial domination of the world from the 16th to the 20th century, contributed to heroic, male, White ideologies of domination. These ideologies work through understanding maps as "scientific, objective and mechanical" (p. 14). These maps are also artificial and made predominantly by men, presented as author-less texts, granted the ability to: "circumscribe geography, by enclosing, defining, coding, orienting, structuring and controlling space. It also lies in their propensity to ignore, suppress and negate alternative geographical imaginations (Huggan 1994)" (p. 14).

Richard Phillips (1997) begins his text on mapping, Empire and adventure stories by describing "The North-West Passage," a painting by Everett Millais, 1874. In this painting, a bearded man sits at a desk looking longingly into the distance. A woman is sitting at his feet reading a book, on his desk is a map, and behind him is an open window through which one can see the sea and a sailboat. For Phillips, this painting represents both the masculinist, imperial desires imbedded in mapping practices, and the ambiguous openness of mapping as cultural texts. He states,

The open window and sketchy map in Millais' painting are points of departure, which may lead to re-inscription of dominant ideology, but may lead somewhere entirely different. The prospect of unknown geography, with open windows and sketchy maps, introduces a dynamic to the system (p. 5).

Understanding mapping practices as ideological while simultaneously open to engagement informs Phillips' development of unmapping as a conceptual tool. Phillips defines unmapping in this way:

...to unmap literally is to de-naturalize geography, hence to undermine world views that rest upon it. Metaphorically, unmapping means denaturalizing more abstract constructs, such as race and gender, which are mapped in imaginative geography. Unmapping is a critical project, a form of resistance to received or mapped world views (p. 143).

Here, Phillips argues that maps are hegemonic tools which secure particular notions of race and gender to place.

Many postcolonial scholars understand mapping practices as simultaneously ideological, and open to engagement or discursive struggles (Jacobs 1996; Anderson 1983; McClintock 1995, Said 1994). For Jacobs (1996), mapping is a colonial preoccupation; colonial powers were mapping powers, surveying and naming being two principle modes of acquiring and holding power in new places. She writes,

While colonialism attempted to carve 'clear outlines' onto the 'haze' of space, this has been an incomplete project. The diasporic movements, the insurgent claims for rights over land, the pervasiveness of imperial nostalgias, all point to the spatial 'haze' of the present' (p. 22).

The colonial project was involved in continually staking out and reinforcing these mutable, fuzzy outlines; the colonial practice of mapping was always slippery. Phillips (1997) understands the 'fuzzy outlines' of mapping practices, the open windows and sketchy maps, as offering up possibilities for engagement and undoing. In adventure stories, as in other mapping practices, it is the ambiguity of the maps which provide opportunities for transformations. Therefore, within mapping practices there are inherent ambiguities and possibilities for subversion. Unmappings are the active cultural works which engage, exploit and highlight the openness of maps.

Sherene Razack (2002) employs Richard Phillips' idea of unmapping as a conceptual tool to interrogate how space is produced as simultaneously raced and gendered. For Razack, to unmap is to "undermine the idea of white settler innocence" (p. 5). While colonial mapping practices produced imaginaries of white entitlement to certain lands, unmapping questions these entitlements. Further, to unmap is to ask: "how are people kept in their place? ... how does space become race?" (p. 5). In Razack's edited collection the authors ask these questions through

interrogating how the law produces white and non-white spaces in Canada. These studies interrogate how the academy is maintained as a white space, how an urban 'slum' in Halifax is constituted as a racialized space, the contests fought over building a mosque in Toronto, and the production of racialized carceral spaces during the Japanese Internment²¹.

Section II: Monuments, Mapping and Unmapping

What is the relationship between mapping and monuments? Thinking about this relationship one could ask: what do maps and monuments both do? Both produce relationships to place and both outline certain contours of belonging. In this section I explore the relationship between mapping and monuments to come to understand how both have been accused of producing problematically rigid, ideological understandings of social spaces.

Thinking about monuments as figures that map requires an expanded notion of what can be considered a cartographic tool. Richard Phillips (1997) understands mapping as not limited to traditional cartography, but rather, as practices which serve to produce understandings of social spaces; Phillips studies adventure stories. He states, "maps *may* be spatial, visual, graphic representations, but the information they represent *must* be spatial" (14). For Phillips (1997), adventure stories map colonial exploits.

James Young (1993) describes a path of remembrance designed in Warsaw to connect various monuments to the Holocaust, in particular the Warsaw ghetto uprising (p. 203). Other cities have paths of remembrance specifically constructed to imbue certain forms of public memory—such as Boston's "Freedom Trail" (p. 8). Monuments in the context of their surroundings produce maps full of various meanings, ironies, inconsistencies and politically rich

²¹ Another example of 'unmapping' as a conceptual tool can be found in Katherine McKittrick's (2007) descriptions of 'fugitive geographies;' Black geographical understandings of the Underground Railroad. Mapping the Underground Railroad is a practice in mapping otherwise, engaging in multiple mobilities and memories. McKittrick argues that everyone is obsessively interested in mapping and knowing the Underground Railroad because it is understood as unknowable, unmappable, based on clandestine routes, oral histories, mythologies, etc. "the Underground Railroad was considered to be unwritten and unmapped" (p. 100). Mapping the Underground Railroad is understood as finding locations of liberation, freedom. Mapping is understood as finding liberation, securing and making a concise narrative of a historicized past. McKittrick's aim is to "point to the ways in which these practices can sometimes mask the painful trade of humans through fixing them in the past and attaching them to freedom" (p. 102). "Does documenting the Underground Railroad, then, render violence a past act and liberation achieved? Or are there other ways of thinking about spatializing the historical present?" (p. 102). In this way, McKittrick, engaged in 'fugitive geographies' seeks for ways to unmap the Underground Railroad, to address directly the inconclusive memories and geographies of diasporic movements.

sentiments. In Vancouver's Crab Park a monument to memorialize violence against women is strategically placed facing the Vancouver police station producing what the monument's designer Don Larson referred to as a "permanent newspaper article... something they couldn't erase" (cited in Burk 2007, p. 59). In Riverview, New Brunswick, a monument to memorialize violence against women is situated in a park between a WW II army tank and an obelisk to war veterans. The Cultural Memory Group (2006) suggests that "this memorial seems an eruption of women's desire for peace among masculinist homages to what is seen as courage displayed in war" (p. 175).

This project is shaped by an understanding of the building of monuments as a similar pseudo-cartographic practice. The development of a city's monuments follows similar trajectories to the forms of colonial mapping practices previously outlined. Monuments identify places of significance; they map history on to geography; they contribute to nationalist and colonialist maps. Monuments in a city produce specific representations of memory and place. Monuments map both across time and across space. Monuments map places of inclusion and exclusion; they mark places of somber reflection and places of boisterous celebration. They map emotions and affects—love, belonging, grief, on to places. They also, in their collectivity, can offer routes for mapping histories onto places.

While monuments map, I would also argue that like the colonial maps analyzed by Phillips, Said, Jacobs and others, monument maps are also open to critical interrogation, as in, the maps monuments create similarly embody various anxieties and inconsistencies. As cartographic practices, monuments therefore are also amenable to critical unmapping.

For Phillips, unmapping was the work of artists, novelists, cartographers, etc. How specifically did Phillips understand the activities involved in unmapping? First, central to Phillips' unmapping is a contestation of the terms upon which traditional mapping is founded. However, he also argues that for this unmapping to be successful it must work within the genre of the map. Again, discussing adventure stories, he states that, "Other writers fail to unmap popular geographies because they, too, stray too far from the traditional narrative forms of adventure, and from lively and accessible storytelling more generally" (p. 145).

I understand unmapping as evident in the critical, engaged work of artists and provocateurs. There are numerous urban artistic projects that could be defined as "unmappings." In Vancouver, Femke van Delft's *Guerilla Mapping Project* involved the installation of a series

of sets of mannequin legs cast in concrete and a city map with particular sites marked in red. The legs were photographed in places van Delft called “sites of complicity” (in Granzow and Dean 2007, p. 111). This *Guerilla Mapping Project* can thus be understood as an unmapping project, as the concrete legs both conformed to and highlighted relationships between female sex workers and the spaces in which they work. In Toronto, Tim Groves developed the *Missing Plaque Project*, a series of posters that he plastered on to Toronto locations to amend what he saw as the absence of historic plaques. Groves’ intent was to highlight both that Toronto has a vibrant history that is relevant to more than just the inhabitants of British heritage, and to highlight that Toronto’s history is not free of conflict. The posters alerted urban dwellers to the history of homophobic bathhouse raids (The Bathhouse Raids 1981), the treatment of homeless people, the anti-Semitic Christie Pits riot in 1933, various labour strikes and unmarked Aboriginal histories (Groves, n.d.). Another artistic unmapping project took place in Winnipeg after the murder of fourteen women in a Montreal engineering school by one gunman in 1989—an event known as the “Montreal Massacre.” Artist Lin Gibson dedicated the next years of her artistic practice to thinking about how to mourn, commemorate and agitate. In her project, titled “Forever,” Gibson produced fourteen bronze plaques that named each of the women murdered in the Montreal Massacre and the inscription “Murdered by Misogyny, Dec. 6 1989, Montreal.” (Cultural Memory Group 2006, p. 78; Yeo 1991, p. 9). The plaques were installed near Winnipeg institutions that supported the project and were in general committed to improving the quality of life in Winnipeg (Yeo 1991, p. 9).

Gibson’s “Forever” and Groves’ “Missing Plaques Project” both adopted the mapping strategy of installing historic plaques as a means of undoing the dominant meanings state-sanctioned historic plaques often inscribe by addressing histories of violence against women and Aboriginal peoples. They both explicitly engage with the genre of historic plaques to strategically present their un-doings in an intelligible format. For Gibson’s project, “Appropriate placement of each plaque was agreed upon between the artist and the host organization. The City Hall plaque for example, was placed in a ‘plaque gallery’ honouring prominent civic personalities. The inclusion of a murdered woman in a formal, patriarchal setting established the

importance and dignity of the artist's subject" (ibid, p. 9)²². In all of these works, artists created interventions that they strategically placed throughout their cities, interventions that poignantly spoke to relationships between power, identity and space. These works, which engage in common genres of mapping such as postering, public art, and public memorial, conformed stylistically to mapping traditions while challenging relationships between places and their inhabitants; they unmapped their urban environments.

Both monuments and engagements with monuments can be understood as taking up the practice of unmapping. Similar to these artists' projects, I suggest that unmapping monuments makes visible the invisible layered meanings and practices that produce monuments as multiply-storied objects/places. Like Razack (2002), I am interested in 'unmapping' as a means of understanding how urban spaces are produced in Canada as a means of endorsing its history as a white-settler society. However, I am also interested in how these spaces have been produced (and are challenged) through the repression of other narratives. Social spaces in a white-settler society are haunted by other spatial narratives which disrupt white-settler authority and require constant vigilance. Unmapping monuments is a means of taking account of their ghostly and traumatic properties, or using Sturken's (1997) metaphor, unmapping monuments attends to how they operate as screens which both reveal and conceal ideological meanings and private and public memories.

Unmapping is also a means of taking account of what Brian Osborne (2001) refers to as cultural landscaping: engaging with the cultural landscape in small but significant ways that challenge its original meanings and current uses of public space. Osborne understands as cultural landscaping the practices of the queer communities in Winnipeg that produced a monument to Louis Riel as a queer place (Osborne 2002). The monument of a naked Riel with an anguished facial expression, had been, since its 1971 unveiling the site of multiple acts of vandalism, and "It was suggested that the vandalism reflected attempts by the gay community to claim this site and that the Riel statue be renamed *The Spirit of Gay Liberation*" (p. 317). Both the vandals, and the queer community which used the monument as a site to cruise, unmapped the relationship between Riel and his site, suggesting that there were many contested relationships between Riel and his environment. While unmapping is an artistic practice and a conceptual language to refer

²² In Wayne Dunkley's (n.d.) project *Share My World*, Dunkley posted a series of the same photo of himself, a young black man, on street posts in Montreal and Toronto. After certain amount of time had elapsed, Dunkley returned to his posters to record what types of graffiti responses his posters had inspired.

to genealogical studies of social spaces, unmapping can also be a methodological perspective. It is this idea to which I now turn.

Section III: Unmapping as a Methodology

Unlike Phillips, I understand unmapping operating in two arenas: as a cultural practice *and* as a methodological orientation. By employing unmapping as a methodological perspective I am attuned to the cultural works which unmap. However, I also do the work of unmapping by ethnographically teasing out how various mapping practices re-inscribe certain power relations. Understanding unmapping as a methodological perspective means engaging in mapping practices that are in motion and operate on the ground (as opposed to bird's eye view mapping practices). They conform to mapping practices in some form (in this way I suggest that these unmappings conform to the 'walking tour' as a genre). When it comes to unmapping monuments, unmappings treat monuments as dynamic beings rather than as static entities.

For Phillips, unmapping has the following characteristics:

- 1) It works within the genre of the map to offer a persuasive text (p. 145)
- 2) It is not limited to subverting the narrative, but works to contest the grounds (linguistic and cultural) upon which the dominant narratives are framed (p. 144)
- 3) It is distinct from re-mapping, a process which reasserts forms of objectifying (albeit potentially alternative) control over space (p. 165).
- 4) Can operate concurrently with forms of mapping (p. 151). (He gives the example of Golding's *Lord of the Flies* as both contesting and reasserting colonial, masculine mapping properties). This point also reasserts the first point, that unmappings necessarily embody aspects of the mapping genre.

I will attend to each of these characteristics in turn, suggesting what each characteristic looks like specifically in the context of this ethnographic study.

In a project that works to ethnographically unmap monuments in Ottawa, these unmappings illuminate the concrete realities of the location of stone bodies in Ottawa, while at each site, opening up, through the history of production and the dynamic lives of the monuments, the potential for contradiction inherent in their beings.

Some of these unmappings are intended to conform to the genre of the walking tour, with the understanding that unmapping necessarily "works within the genre of the map to offer a

persuasive text” (Phillips 1977, p. 145). I understand the walking tour as operating in both a parallel and performative relationship to the tourist map. Del Casino and Hanna (2003) write that the tourist map “presents a particular way of socially organizing places of consumption for tourists and non-tourists alike (Urry 1995)” (p. x). Tourist maps work like menus, outlining possibilities, excluding others, adding astrixes to the essential bits of information. Tourist maps often rely on iconic images, accessible only with a certain level of cultural literacy. Through these tropes, tourist maps work much more as guides than maps, with astrixes denoting the ‘house specials’ which are, most likely the corporate sponsors of the tourist map. Like menus that sometimes often charming histories of the restaurant, tourist maps also offer up the broader social, historical, cultural and environmental contexts of the place to be visited (ibid, p. xi). The walking tour as a genre could be understood as a performative enacting of the tourist map; often tourists use tourist maps to engage in a self-directed ‘walking tour.’ Simultaneously, walking tours could be understood as engaging in a form of unmapping, as they take place as on-the-ground, mobile, incessantly dynamic experiences of a sequence of places. However, departing from the genre of the walking tour, the itineraries seek to, with the detective flaneur/ flaneuse as our guides, seek out what is felt, but not seen. These unmappings explore the social ghosts that haunt these monumental and urban spaces.

The second characteristic of unmapping outlined by Phillips is that unmappings simultaneously challenge the ideological foundations of that genre. By conforming to the mapping genre, they are intelligible and accessible, making their subversive content more meaningful. When it comes to unmapping monuments, unmappings treat monuments as dynamic beings, rather than static entities. Monuments are both literally (as we saw with the two monuments at the beginning of this Chapter) and discursively mobile. Chapters 8 and 9 on Enclave and the CTHR exemplify how monuments can be affectively mobile, as protesters and mourners animate the monuments and allow their sentiments, or the affects imbued in their built form, to travel with them to other parts of the city. In an unmapping of monuments, I begin by troubling the dominant understandings of monuments as static, ideological, and easily forgotten. How is cartographic knowledge being produced? By conforming to the genre of the mapping text, how this knowledge is represented is kept consistent, allowing these questions to be understood. In an ethnographic context, unmappings take the form of intelligible sociological and geographical methods of data collection, analysis and representation.

Emerging periodically throughout this unmapping is the figure of the flaneur/euse. In concert with my previous argument that monuments are active bodies/beings in the urban environment, I understand both monuments and the ethnographer as a potential flaneur/euse. In an unmapping ethnographic practice, both monuments and the ethnographer are mobile, curious, wandering the urban streets. Predominantly a literary figure, the flaneur has been described as a detective, a dandy, a sandwichman. The flaneur/euse constantly produces social spaces in her/his day-to-day activities.

Third, Phillips argues that remapping and unmapping are analytically distinct concepts. Phillips (1997) explains the distinction between unmapping and remapping in relation to his study of adventure stories:

The transformative capacity of the adventure story is rooted in its ambivalent mixture of conservatism and radicalism, its ability to map and remap— naturalizing and fixing geographies and identities in realistic space— but also to unmap—subverting and destabilizing received constructions of geography and identity (p. 165).

For Phillips here remapping is akin to mapping, it is mapping, again. Remapping has been much more commonly employed as an analytic concept than unmapping (Mahtani 2001; Nash 1993; Magelssen 2002; Oikawa 2002). For these scholars re-mapping has more political potential than simply re-inscribing dominant cartographic understandings.

Catherine Nash's (1993) project involved analyzing mapping and remapping practices in art in postcolonial Ireland. She was interested in the relationship between women's bodies and mapping practices. Nash (1993) studied the work of feminist Irish artist Kathy Prendergast. Prendergast's drawings are mappings of female bodies, employing both cartographic styles and the styles of anatomical drawings: "in the drawings, operations of control, manipulation and alteration are in process on and within the passive land/body" (p. 41). While Nash is analyzing Prendergast's drawings as exemplary remappings, her use of traditional cartographic styles—referencing both superficial markers like the yellowed paper and reiterating scientific and masculinist forms of knowledge conform to Phillips' first characteristic of unmapping projects. It is intelligible and powerful because it works within the various genres of mapping that it is attempting to undo.

Explaining her choice of the term remapping, Nash explains that remapping works as a form of redemption, but also as a form of uncovering (similar to unmapping): "Both the act of

naming and mapping assert the power of representation. Attempts to rename and remap claim this power to recover an authentic identity and relationship to place” (p. 40). The feminist and postcolonial artists Nash studies are also invested in not reinscribing essentialist understandings of women and the land, so the remappings also “do not replace one authoritative representation with another but with multiple names and multiple maps” (p. 54). Remapping can simultaneously repeat old maps with redemptive ambitions and produce many new maps. Remapping is not only conservative, as Phillips suggests, but also a post-structural proliferation of many maps, meanings, relationships, as Nash suggests. While remapping offers new representations of space, unmapping engages with the dominant mapping practices as a means of highlighting the dominant ideological bases through which maps have been produced. There is a slippage between these concepts. The most succinct distinction is that remaps challenge mapping practices through the production of new (or return to old) maps, whereas unmaps attempt to undo the dominant maps themselves.

Phillips’ fourth characteristic is that unmaps can and do operate concurrently with maps. This not only takes the form of adopting traditional cartographic styles, like in the art of Prendergast, but also in producing parallel maps and unmaps. For Phillips, stories like *Lord of the Flies* produce a map of dominant meanings, for example, aggressive boyhood, while simultaneously challenging certain pervasive ideologies of conquest. In this unmapping ethnography, I began by mapping all of the monuments in Ottawa (see Appendix 1 and Conclusion). From this map, I began to consider what dominant ideologies of space and belonging were being produced through the city’s monumental landscape. This map is that data from which I began my analytic and creative labour of unmapping.

Section IV: Sources

Other scholars studying monuments have engaged methods such as surveying, on-site interviewing and interviews with key participants (Johnston and Ripmeeter 2009, p. 407). Studying the changing landscape of Soviet monuments in post-Soviet Russia, Forest and Johnson (2002) accessed as their data: archival documents, newspaper articles, museum exhibits, field observations and interviews, as well as survey data from surveys conducted with Russian-speaking visitors to the monuments (p. 525). Roberts’ (1998) study of the Peacekeepers’

Monument and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights in Ottawa also collected data from archival sources, interviews with key participants and an on-site survey. In this study, I am inspired by this diversity of methods used to study monuments. I have chosen to use a selection of methods that speak to my focus on the mobility of monuments.

This unmapping of monuments has taken an ethnographic form. I follow Norman Denzin's (1997) definition of ethnography: "that form of inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and those written about" (p. xi). I am also inspired by this definition of ethnography by Sarah Pink (2007), "I shall define ethnography as a methodology; as an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing culture and society that informs and is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles. Rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge" (p. 22). My ethnographic practices were not practices of extracting knowledge from the research site, but rather I came to know about monuments in Ottawa through a dynamic process of living with, thinking and writing about my research questions. Within these ethnographic practices, I have employed three methods of data collection: participant observation, formal and informal interviewing and archival research. As a method of analysis and representation part of this dissertation takes the form of a narrative ethnography. Each of these four methods allows for and speaks to the four characteristics of unmapping outlined in the previous section. These four methods I will detail in turn.

Participant Observation

Monuments have both everyday lives and exceptional moments. To engage in an ethnographic study of the lives of monuments, I employed the method of participant observation. Kathleen DeWalt and Billie DeWalt (2011) define participant observation as "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (p. 1). To get at these, I attended and participated in different vigils, ceremonies and rallies that took place at the various monuments. I also walked the city, taking various paths between the monuments, Ottawa's Confederation Boulevard, the protest routes, etc, to begin to ascertain the potential physical relationships between and among the monuments. Through becoming intimately familiar with Ottawa's monument culture as a pedestrian I could understand

the roles of various monuments in the urban landscape and how they spoke to or ignored each other. At the specific events at the monuments I took field notes that contributed to my analysis of monuments' everyday and exceptional lives. I took specific notes of who attended the monuments, what the vigils or services consisted of, how the monuments were specifically discussed, looked at, etc. I also paid specific attention to things left at the monuments. In these notes, I recorded to my own reactions, visceral and analytic responses to the monuments. I noted their visual and material composition. During this participant observation I engaged in light small talk with others but didn't engage in actual interviews. I am self-consciously aware that my engagement with these monuments is shaped by my background knowledge as a researcher, former tour-guide, and one-time citizen of Ottawa.

Archival Research

This analysis attends to the texts that circulate around the monuments and signal towards their lives. Texts, as archival records of the discussions that took place to design and produce the monuments and their and lives, illuminate and shape the discursive production of these bodies of remembrance. Scholars interested in tracking the lives of monuments predominantly rely on archival records. In their analysis of a monument in St. Catherine's Ontario to the North-Western Rebellions, Johnston and Ripmeester (2009) accessed data from "contemporary newspaper accounts and letters to the editor, official municipal records, tourism brochures and videos, amateur histories, photographs and commercial television programs, as well as an interview and field visits to relevant sites located in the city" (p. 405). Similarly, my archival sources included historic videos, promotional materials, tourist brochures, newspaper and other media clippings, documentation of minutes from the House of Commons, policies of the National Capital Commission, and communications between invested parties—designers, funders, politicians, promotional materials, etc.

Diana Taylor suggests that there are several myths concerning the archive. These myths include the idea that the archive is comprised of unmediated material, and that the archive is immune to change or political manipulation (p. 19). What is included in the archival record, how it is archived, are all subject to different ideological and other wills. I have approached my archival research with these critiques in mind, understanding the archive as a site of knowledge production, not as a site for knowledge extraction. Ann Laura Stoler (2002) suggests that within

the social sciences there has been an ‘archival turn;’ now the archive is understood to be a process rather than a site for the extraction of information, i.e. archives are “epistemological experiments” (p. 87). I am cognizant that the archival sources I am relying on are only partial traces of the monuments’ lives.

The archives that I accessed for this dissertation research were the National Archives of Canada and the City of Ottawa archives. I also accessed published material at the “Ottawa Room” of the Ottawa Public Library and the library of the National Capital Commission. I also had access to the personal archive of c.j. fleury, the designer of Enclave: The Women’s Monument. Fleury noted that her archival material—an accordion file of press clippings, design sketches, various public relations briefs and correspondence regarding the building of the monument should rightfully have a place in an official archive, however that had not yet happened. My archival research also involved generating my own archive of materials that were witnesses to the lives of the monuments. I acknowledge that my archival research is partial and can only signal to other ways of remembering. In this way, archival research speaks to unmapping as a methodology that also situates the ethnographer as self-consciously recognizing the limitations of an on-the-ground, of the moment perspective.

Informal Interviews

I interviewed members of the public who were either intentionally or incidentally visiting the monuments in my study through short, informal interviews. These interviews all took place during events being held at the monument, for example during the Vigil in November 2008 at the National War Memorial, or at various protest and rally activities at the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. In the case of the Vigil, this method produced some useful data and insights into the efficacy and life of the monument. However, early on I decided that the responses gathered did not warrant the sense of intrusiveness into potentially emotional events. This became particularly acute when I attempted to conduct intercept interviews at Enclave: The Women’s Monument after a vigil to remember the December 6th ‘Montreal Massacre.’ The atmosphere was understandably grave, and undertaking these short interviews did not seem appropriate or worthwhile. I decided to focus my ethnographic attention to undertaking participant observation. However, I did use the data from informal interviews at the Vigil 1914-1918 at the National War Memorial. At the NWM during Vigil I simply asked, “what does this monument mean to you?”

Beginning with that question, I asked follow-up questions about their relationship to the NWM, experiences with the monument, and assessment of the Vigil project. These interviews allowed me to access (albeit partially) the everyday, on-the-ground engagements with the monuments, a valuable contribution to my unmapping practice.

Interviews with Key Informants

A considerable source of data came from the insights of key informants. I considered as key informants individuals who were involved in the conceptualization, design, or upkeep of monuments, or had other significant interactions with any of the monuments in my study. I interviewed the designers of Enclave: The Women's Monument and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights: c.j. fleury and Melvin Charney, present and past employees of the National Capital Commission: Janet McGowan and Gerald Lajeunesse, committee organizers involved in initiating monument projects and monument activities: George Wilkes and Valerie Collicott. I also interviewed former Dominion Sculptor Eleanor Milne, photographer Jeffrey Thomas and lighting designer Martin Conboy. Each of these key informants offered specialized insight, knowledge and experiences with various moments in the monuments' lives. From this set of interviews I learned how monuments were born from ideas—George Wilkes was one of the founders of the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. I also learned how monuments are animated in both everyday and exception moments. I interviewed Martin Conboy, the NCC's lighting designer who lights the National War Memorial and several Ottawa monuments on an everyday basis and was one of the artists that did the *Vigil 1914-1918*. I also interviewed Jeffrey Thomas, whose photography specifically engage with the Scout monument. These interviews collectively spoke to the culture of Ottawa monuments.

Narrative Ethnography

When developing unmapping as a methodological practice the issue emerged: how is it possible to represent unmappings which are by definition in motion, street-level, unfixable? Unmapping as I've explained, is a street-level mapping practice, as such it involves walking the streets, philosophical like a flaneur, methodological like a grounded-theorist. Walking as a method of inquiry was central to my participant observation with monuments and their environments. Whereas most mapping practices began, at some point with walking or other

forms of mobility, for unmapping the walking *is* the practice. Walking is both the method and the data. As a method of representation, I have chosen in a few instances to write ethnographic fiction, a strategy that is part of what Laurel Richardson (2003) calls “creative analytic practices”²³. In two Chapters I produce the historic and monumental figures of Laura Secord and Champlain’s astrolabe, as the inspired guides for the unmappings. Richardson argues that creative analytic practices, ethnographic strategies like writing dramas, fictions, poetry or other experimental strategies, attempt to affect readers both intellectually and emotionally (p. 937). In these Chapters, employing an antiquated sextant and animating the historic figure of Laura Secord, allow me to demonstrate the unmappings as walks rather than as texts. The fictive guides are also my attempt to open up the walks for the readers. Richardson suggests that CAP strategies should have the effect of inviting interpretive responses in ways less possible in traditional ethnographic strategies (p. 937). Through these ethnographic fictions I hope to allow for an engaging unmapping of gender, race and the Ottawa built environment.

Conclusion

While maps are necessarily partial they are presented as objective representations of space. In contrast, unmaps are self-consciously partial and engaged in the messy tangling of social spaces’ weaving of power and identity. Mapping involves turning the unknown, unknowable into objectified narratives. Jane Jacobs (1996) explains, “the cartographic exercise within the colonization process depended upon a technique (and a hope) of representing a stable and knowable reality in what were unknown lands inhabited by unknown people” (p. 19). In contrast, an ‘unmap’ is a disruption of narrative, signaling to a map’s necessary partiality, gaps, the impossibilities of knowing—the ghostly. Unmappings take street-level perspectives on the city, taking forms that subvert the stability of traditional maps. Rather than snapshots in time, unmappings embrace mobility. Unmappings are ideal for studying how I categorize the messy, mobile, affectively charged lives of monuments.

²³ For more on ethnographic fiction see: Banks A and Banks S.P (Eds). (1998) *Fiction and social research: By ice or fire*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Part I: Unmapping Nation

Chapter 3: Phantasm Agora: Confederation Square



Figure 3—Confederation Square. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Confederation Square as an agora, the home of the NWM and the proposed home of several other monuments is a space over-determined with ghosts, aborted meanings and a series of competing commemorative desires and unrest²⁴. The social ghosts are not only met, or conjured in the square's statue—the National War Memorial, rather the land upon which the

²⁴ There are a series of similarly 'over-determined' sites in Ottawa; sites that become hot spots for both local (town) and capital city (crown) interests. The Ottawa neighbourhood Lebreton Flats, razed in the 1960s (see Jenkins 2008) and the proposed razing of Metcalfe Street in 1998 are two examples.

monument sits harbours its own ghosts. In this Chapter, I have mined the archival records of the site to unmap Confederation Square. The history that I present here challenges the notion that Confederation Square is a place on to which a clear public memory of World War One (WW1) has been smoothly mapped, the apparent ‘obviousness’ of Confederation Square as a memorial site. To remember WW1 as Canadians, we are disallowed from other activities at the site such as protesting work conditions, mourning a murdered statesman, or engaging in leisure activities like skateboarding. The ghosts of Confederation Square alert us to the possibilities for remembering otherwise as Canadians, as locals, and as urban dwellers with diverse interests and perspectives. Specifically, I argue that in producing Confederation Square as a site for a very specific type of war memorializing, other ghosts of place are created—the memory of local histories, other narratives of nation-building (celebrating Confederation) and possibilities for remembering otherwise WW1. The development of Confederation Square has produced a dominant spatial narrative. At Confederation Square, Canadians and visitors are instructed that central to being a Canadian is to mourn as a Canadian. While Confederation Square has been produced as the site for this pedagogy, the National War Memorial is the material conduit. How to mourn as a Canadian is the subject of Chapter 4.

Confederation Square²⁵ is a sliver of urban land at the North end of Elgin Street; it is at the crux of Upper Town and Parliament Hill and Lower Town and the Byward Market. The square is also at the juncture of Ottawa the town – with the city infrastructure of City Hall, law offices, etc to its south on Elgin Street and the bustle of downtown and Byward Market to its east, and Ottawa the crown—with Parliament Hill directly to its north-west. Brian Osborne (2004) claims that long before the establishment of Ottawa as Canada’s capital, the juncture of the future Confederation Square was “the most important node in Ottawa” (p. 622).

Throughout its history, ghostly presences have been simultaneously written into and out of Confederation Square, producing the space as a “phantasm-agora;” a haunted, multiply-occupied space. Kevin Hetherington, following Derrida offers the etymology of phantasmagoria as phantasm agora— ghostly meeting place. For Hetherington (2001) cities present: “not only a represented past—a heritage and a monumental history but also a figural past, more ghostly and less certain, blurring the boundary between presence and absence” (p. 29). Hetherington outlines

²⁵ I am using ‘Confederation Square’ the site’s present name throughout this Chapter. However, I will explain how various names for the Square have been proposed and used.

that the town square in Athens had two functions. Originally, it was a place from which the public could speak and listen (p. 27). When the first town square was destroyed by war, the second town square was built on an old cemetery. The second function of the square was as a site from which to mourn, remember and speak of the dead. For Hetherington, this Athens town square produced a precedent for how agoras work: “That ruined agora has haunted European culture ever since” (p. 30). As a central public space, the town square is always marked by the social ghosts of the site, the city, and the objects which inhabit the space. Hetherington continues to suggest that the agora haunts through its inhabitants—often monuments: “We first meet the phantasm of the agora in our present cities in the statue. A statue can stand as a metaphor for the ghost in every object” (p. 30).

At Confederation Square, the placement of the National War Memorial (NWM) in 1939 facilitated the erasure of certain pasts. The absence of certain key urban infrastructure: a post office, the Russell House Hotel, intimates a storied square of land, while the newly landscaped space, nicknamed “Confusion Square” instead of its formally named “Connaught Place” a bustle of downtown traffic, seemed to exorcise any ghostly aura out of the region, including the site’s history as a site of labour unrest. Simultaneously, through producing the site as place with a singular meaning—to commemorate Canada’s war losses through the placement of the National War Memorial, the city-building powers of the National Capital Commission and the Government of Canada produced Confederation Square as a site to conjure specific, nation-building ghosts. I tease out the history of the site to demonstrate how its present singular meaning as a place to mourn and commemorate war losses is the result of decades of state planning. Aborted meanings for the square are felt in haunting reminders like the Square’s name, the oppressive lack of a civil square in Ottawa and infrequent homages to the Square’s former inhabitants. The effects of this palimpsest-like history are felt symptomatically through the other activities that take place at Confederation Square that are understood as subversive (like skateboarding, discussed in Chapter 4).

A Site of Unrest and Urban Affairs

Before it became the landscaped site of the NWM, Confederation Square was the site of ordinary affects (see Stewart 2007), pulsing with the everydayness of life in a 19th century North

American city. The triangle of urban land was witness to and actor in various encounters, personal and public memories, local and national politics. In sum, the square was not a site with a specific pedagogic agenda. In this section, I detail some of the many ways in which the site was either an actor or witness to various personal and local memories.

Confederation Square was borne out of the meeting of two bridges: Sappers Bridge and Dufferin Bridge. Designed and built by Colonel John By's engineers and sappers, the bridges crossed the Rideau Canal and linked Upper Town to Lower Town. Sappers Bridge, a single stone arch over the locks of the canal was built in 1827 (Brault 1981, p. 17). When Sappers Bridge became dilapidated a second parallel bridge—Dufferin Bridge, named after the Governor General, was built in 1872 (Brault 1981, p. 17). Sapper's Bridge was the site of one of Ottawa's few riots. On September 17, 1849 a group of Bytowners (it was not yet named Ottawa) were gathered at the Bytown Market to coordinate the festivities that would welcome Canada's Governor General Lord Elgin to the city. The party planning did not go well. Riots had recently erupted in Montreal, the national capital at the time, and its Parliament buildings had been burned in response to the "Rebellion Losses Bill" which offered compensation to losses felt on both sides after the Rebellions of 1837. Conservatives were strongly opposed to the Bill. While the Bytowners were planning the party for Lord Elgin, Upper Town conservatives stormed the meetings and a riot ensued, with both sides throwing stones; one man was killed. The day would become known as "Stony Monday." The following day, the two factions met again on Sappers Bridge in a stand-off. However, on this day, the army had been called in, and facing the rioters with bayonets, they diffused possible ongoing rioting ("Byward Market," 2010). The second day of the infamous riots took place on the future site of Confederation Square. At the juncture between Upper Town and Lower Town, Confederation Square was at this moment "marked by social division rather than ideological cohesion" (Osborne 2004, p. 622). This brief yet significant moment in Ottawa history poignantly marks how the site sits precisely at the crux of two communities divided by language, religion, politics and social class.

In 1912, the prestigious Chateau Laurier hotel was built and the Sappers and Dufferin Bridges crossing the Rideau Canal were replaced by one new bridge—Plaza bridge. The building of the new bridge allowed for the development of the plaza as a purposeful urban site for social gathering. "Connaught Place," the space at the west end of the Plaza Bridge became a busy site of urban celebrations. It was named for the Governor General of the time, the Duke of

Connaught, by urban planner Noulan Cauchon in 1921 (Gyton 1999, p. 28). The square hosted a circus parade of elephants in 1906, and was the site where troops gathered before leaving for Europe in WW1 (Minton 1974, p.38). The new plaza also became central to the route of the annual labour day parade, and was the site where thousands of Ottawans celebrated Armistice Day in 1918 (“Bytown Museum” 2010).

Meanwhile, just west of Plaza Bridge and Connaught Square the sliver of land at the intersections of Elgin and Wellington streets was increasingly the heart of Confederation-era Ottawa. This small triangle of urban land was home to the Russell House Hotel and Theater (built in 1861 and 1897 respectively) (Walker 1973, n.p), a post office, and fifteen shops on the ground floor of the hotel (Jackson 1973, n.p).

The Russell House Hotel was a busy place where politicians lodged, writers found stories, celebrities (including Oscar Wilde) visited, and the elite, including Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier’s well-known mistress Emilie Lavergne held exclusive soirees (Brado 1991, p. 76, Gwyn 1984, p. 180). Famous Canadian feminist Nellie McClung once gave a lecture in the Russell Theater (“Nellie McClung to Lecture at Russell” 1919, p.16). As Ottawa’s “unofficial House of Commons” (Walker 1973, n.p), the hotel was the home of Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier for ten years and to Conservative Prime Minister Sir Mackenzie Bowell for seventeen years (Brault 1991, p. 23; Minton 1973, p. 31). Its proximity to Parliament Hill made it an ideal site for back-room deals; in fact it was so popular that in the 1870s and 1880s the hotel bar had to expand three times (Minton 1973, p. 31). The hotel also had a reputation for being raucous and uncouth. Because of its location at the corner of a traffic triangle, the Russell Hotel was an ideal space for clandestine activities, given its many entrances and exits that led to different streets (Gyton 1999, p. 28).

The Russell House Hotel was the incubator for public Ottawa secrets. This history has not been entirely forgotten; sporadic post-mortems for the hotel and theater are published, like in the 1973 special issue in the *Ottawa Journal*. Eric Minton eloquently begins his post-mortem: “In the wide open spaces of Confederation Square, or in the glitter of the National Arts Centre, no traces remain of the old hotel and theatre. But 45 years ago they were the centre of the Ottawa

scene” (p. 31). At this time, a small park in front of the Hotel was known as Plaza Park (1973, p. 31)²⁶

Confederation Square became the site of labour unrest in the summer of 1919. In 1919 Canadians experienced labour unrest across the country, most famously in Winnipeg where most of the city workers were on strike. On Canada Day, 1919 the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Company went on strike. The headquarters for the Ottawa Electric Railway were only a few blocks down Sparks Street (between O’Connor and Bank Streets) (“Ottawa Workers Heritage Tour” 2009, p. 14). The strike lasted only a few weeks, but during this time, Confederation Square was filled by agitated workers. The strike culminated in a near disaster on July 10, 1919 when a street car became renegade due to driver inexperience. After stalling at Confederation Square, it began to run backwards crashing into three cars and injuring one pedestrian (Clavette: n.d). Historian Ken Clavette (n.d) explains that,

Crowds of 1000-4000 supporters would gather at different locations...A number of Ottawa War Veterans would march and sing in a large parade with the workers, of whom ninety percent had served, or had close relatives, serve in the Great War (n.p).

This is not the first time that veterans shared sympathies with labour activists. Jonathan Vance (1997) argues that during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, veterans marched on both sides of the conflict (p. 23).

Confederation Square, because of its central location and proximity to main office buildings on Sparks Street had a short life as a site for labour agitating. Unlike Parliament Hill, which is drenched in national meanings, Confederation Square, through its placement at the juncture between two specific Ottawa demographics, had the potential to be an active civic place for gathering, to protest or to celebrate, as the previous two examples demonstrate. These potentials were extinguished with the production of the Square as a memorial site. Circulated lore suggests that Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King’s insistence on placing the NWM at Confederation Square was in part influenced by his desire to extinguish the site’s potential as a place for gathering together people in protest. The site was also a place that

²⁶ Stylistically, architecturally and technologically the Russell House was cutting edge (until the 1912 arrival of the Chateau Laurier). It is probably only worth a footnote to mention that the Russell House was the first hotel in Ottawa to have a freight elevator (Jackson 1973) and steam heating (Walker 1973). This is only significant in so far as it emphasizes how the hotel was an avante garde institution in the city. Russell House was also the place where the Stanley Cup was born. On March 18, 1892, Lord Stanley of Preston, the Governor General and a hockey enthusiast announced that he planned to sponsor the hockey trophy during hockey celebrations that were going on at the Hotel (Sztein 2011).

welcomed and was populated by diverse groups of people and their diverse interests and attachments to the site.

In the early 1920s, under Prime Minister King, and with the inspiration of many urban planners, the federal government began to regard this triangle of urban land as an ideal site for a national war memorial. It was urban planner Noulan Couchon's idea to place the National War Memorial at the square, an idea that he proposed in his 1921 urban plan for the city (Gyton 1999, p. 28). In 1923, the Government of Canada appropriated the land and in 1927, the year the Federal District Commission (forerunner to the National Capital Commission) bought the lands of the square. Development of Confederation Square was a central element of the 1927 plan of the Federal District Commission (National Gallery Archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 4, File 10. Ottawa Evening Journal July 1, 1925. "Premier Tells Why Connaught Place Was Chosen" (n.p.); Brault 1981, p. 21). In 1927, when the federal government appropriated the land that was to be Confederation Square, the Federal District Commission's (FDC) budget was supplemented by King's introduction of a specific bill in the House of Commons to allot three million dollars to the FDC for this land-appropriating purpose (Gyton 1999, p. 28). After having been closed for two years, the Russell House caught on fire on April 16, 1928, a fire that was rather convenient for the FDC.

By the 1930s, the FDC had developed Confederation Square as a deliberate site of capital prominence. Brado (1991) describes this transformation:

As one writer suggested, the heart of the city was transformed into the heart of the capital. And while the area is lively with visitors during the summer, it is windswept, cold, desolate— and almost wholly abandoned to cars—during the winter. There is much work to be done to make Confederation Square and Elgin Street visually and emotionally satisfying and meaningful-- to make the area into a true civic heart (p. 77).

From the mid-19th century until the 1920s, the region that would become Confederation Square was a complicated public space. It was the site of civic amenities like the post office and the city hall. It was also the site of conflict and protest such as the Stony Monday riots and labour strikes. It was also a hot spot of social activity—the Russell House hotel and theater. Brian Osborne (2004) articulates its resonance:

Despite its proximity to over a century of nation-building and capital planning, it long reflected the functional, vernacular, and prosaic role of a city centre rather than the symbolic focus of a capital-city (p. 620).

The transformation of the Square into a site of a singular meaning of national celebration was not immediately forthcoming. Contestations over meaning continued as many monuments were proposed and rejected from being placed in this newly ceremonial space. While it was determined that its location gave Confederation Square a site destined for prominent meanings. Which meanings would be prioritized was still up for discussion. While there were many other proposed sites for the National War Memorial, there were just as many other proposed monuments to be placed at Confederation Square.

A Square of Monumental Significance

Confederation Square was the proposed site for a number of monuments prior to the 1939 placement of the National War Memorial. At various times before and during its landscaping, Confederation Square was considered for monuments to Thomas D’Arcy McGee, a monument to “Confederation,” a monument to King Edward VII and a monument to Colonel John By. Later, in the 1960s, the site was also considered for monuments to the Boer War, the Sharpshooters’ Monument and a Ukrainian war memorial. These deliberations all signal towards the highly contested sets of meanings and interests being projected onto this site. They also represent different agendas, desires, memories that have been buried in the service of producing a specific narrative about mourning WW1 as central to pedagogies of Canadian patriotism.

Thomas D’Arcy McGee was an Irishman, a journalist, an orator and a politician representing a Montreal riding. One of only two victims of political assassination in Canadian history, McGee was shot on Sparks Street after coming home from debates in the House of Commons on the evening of April 7, 1868. Patrick Whelan was tried and convicted of McGee’s murder. Some believed that Whelan was an Irish Fenian who viewed McGee’s anti-Fenian stance as traitorous (“McGee, Thomas D’Arcy” 2000, n.p). While Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier was generally uninterested in supporting government initiatives to fund and build monuments, he was passionate about the appropriate placement of the monument to

commemorate Thomas D'Arcy McGee.²⁷ Laurier felt strongly that a monument to McGee should be placed at the site where he was shot on nearby Sparks Street. When that suggestion proved impossible, he proposed a site at the not-yet-built Confederation Square. In a 1909 speech given by Laurier in Montreal, he expressed his vision:

One of the improvements which I want to see at an early date is to have the two bridges over the canal converted into one great Plaza, and on that Plaza I want to see the statue of that brilliant Irishman, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. ...If we place his statue on that Plaza it will be the first thing which will strike the eye of the visitor—Ottawa's tribute to a man who gave his life for his convictions. (National Library Archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 4, File 9. MG 26, J1, vol. 121)

This initial proposal by Laurier was met with approval. However, in a document from the time, MP Charles Murphy describes how various anti-Irish, anti-Catholic institutions had rallied to oppose the central location of McGee's memorial. Murphy first suggests that Anti-Irish, Anti-Catholic groups had persuaded the Governor General Lord Grey and the Mayor of Ottawa, Charles Hopewell that McGee had been a member of the Irish terrorist association the Fenians, when in fact the exact opposite was true; McGee had been assassinated by a Fenian. Murphy suggests that proposals for a monument to Confederation and a monument to King Edward VII were explicit attempts to steal the site from the proposed McGee monument. Describing the Anti-Catholic, Anti-Irish conspiracy, he explains:

Their next move was to get various well-intentioned debating, historical and Women's societies to pass Resolutions urging the Government to name the Plaza "Confederation Square", and to erect thereon an historical group commemorating the confederation of the Provinces. As this plan did not seem to be popular a loyal agitation was started to have a memorial to King Edward VII erected on the Plaza (National Library Archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 4, File 9. MG 26, J1, vol. 121).

²⁷ Laurier was the Prime Minister when the Boer War memorial was placed in 1902, a monument which the federal government under Laurier did not explicitly support and was therefore paid for through the fundraising efforts of Ottawa school children (Bond 1963: 15). Considering the contentiousness of Canada's participation in the Boer War, especially for French-Canadians and for rural Canadians, this government ambiguity towards the Boer War memorial is predictable. As a MP, after the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, Laurier suggested that funds for a monument to Macdonald should come from the people, rather than the government (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 4, File 5 Notes from "Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. Second Session—Seventh Parliament. 55-56 Victoria, 1892. Vol. XXXV. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1892).

For Murphy, the campaign to place McGee's monument on Parliament Hill rather than at Confederation Square was the final step of an Anti-Irish plot, "But it was too transparent to deceive those who knew the motive behind it. Hoping to make greater headway by enlisting the assistance of some Members of Parliament the plotters unfolded their scheme to a few of their Orange friends in the House of Commons" (ibid, p.1). Here we see the beginning contestations over meaning at Confederation Square. In 1909, focusing civic attention on an Irish-born Canadian politician upset ideas about Canada's imperial, British and French origins.

In 1910 when King Edward VII died Ottawa politicians quickly began discussing how the people of Canada could commemorate the British sovereign. In an August 10, 1910 letter to William Lyon McKenzie King, Laurier again reiterated his conviction that the square be reserved for the tribute to McGee:

I refer to the erection of an equestrian statue of the late King, on the piazza in front of the Post office. I am not sure that this idea, though it would have a fine effect, would be as good as having a statue of McGee erected on that spot. You must remember that McGee was shot at only a few paces down Sparks Street...It is not possible to erect a statue at the exact spot where he was shot, but I thought that the nearest open place would be the most desirable one for his monument. I am afraid that in this, however, I am pretty much alone, and that the people of Ottawa will all rally to your own idea, which, indeed, has already taken some ground (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 7, File 6. Letter from Wilfrid Laurier to William Lyon McKenzie King, August 10, 1910. MC26, J1, vol. 14 p. 13427-28)

At this point Laurier was alone with his plans for the McGee monument. Despite Laurier's fervent wishes, and in discussion with McGee's ancestors and other concerned parties, Public Works and Government Services Canada found an alternative location for the McGee monument at the back of Parliament Hill. The McGee monument was unveiled there, without ceremony, facing the rear of the Parliamentary library in 1922 (Guernsey 1986, p. 149). What would Thomas D'Arcy McGee's presence in the heart of Ottawa have meant in 1909 and in the present? What does this knowledge allow us to feel about Confederation Square? Thomas D'Arcy McGee is also a figure to be both mourned and celebrated.²⁸

²⁸ D'Arcy McGee's name is uttered often in the vicinity of Confederation Square; a pub that bears his name is situated right on the corner of Wellington and Elgin Streets, facing Confederation Square.

While there is no more evidence that there was an anti-Irish plot to marginalize the McGee monument as Murphy suggested, there were early plans for the monument to ‘Confederation’ to which Murphy had referred. In 1910, the Ottawa Branch of the Women’s Canadian Historical Society sent a memorandum to William Lyon McKenzie King to inform him that they had passed a resolution that

as the plaza, which is to be built...the 2 bridges will form the true centre of Ottawa, the Capital of the Dominion of Canada, The Women’s Canadian Historical Society do earnestly advocate the erection thereon of a symbolical memorial to that great historical event “The Confederation of the Provinces—The Victory of Peace” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 4, File 9 “D’Arcy McGee”).

A newspaper clipping similarly suggested that Wilfrid Laurier and William Lyon McKenzie King both supported the monument to Confederation. It suggested that “The different provinces will be asked to contribute to the symbolical figure of Confederation by their coats of arms or other representations, the design to be submitted for worldwide competition” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 7, File 6. MG 26, J1, vol. 2 File 18 “Canada- History” p. C820 clipping n.d. “Premier Favours Having Memorial”). No other plans for a competition or design can be found. However, around this time Connaught Place was renamed Confederation Square, to coincide with the erection of a monument to Confederation (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 2, File 15. Murphy, Charles “The Location of the McGee Statue at Ottawa”). While the square bears the name Confederation, the practices of thinking about the political history of Canada are reserved for Parliament Hill, site of the Centennial Flame, and monuments to over a dozen Canadian political figures. What remains from the impulse to speak to Confederation at this site is the very clear employment of the National War Memorial as a vehicle through which to understand citizenship and the nation.

The other briefly-mentioned contender for placement at Confederation Square was a proposed monument to the imperial ruler King Edward VII. King Edward VII, “The Peace King” was the sovereign of Canada during the post-Confederation era of population growth and nation-building. If it can be said that Queen Victoria reigned for Canada’s infancy, King Edward VII reigned for the nation’s inquisitive, exciting, toddling phase. When he died on May 6th, 1910 he was much loved by much of Canada’s population still largely descended from Commonwealth

origins. In 1912, an international competition was opened by Public Works Canada to elicit designs for a monument to King Edward VII. In 1913, the contract was given to Toronto sculptor Walter Allward (he would become famous in the 1920s for his design of the Canadian Vimy Ridge Memorial in France). His design consisted of a long, raised, horizontal wall. In the design a reclining male nude rests on top of the wall. On the left side stand two ambiguous and allegorical figures for Truth and Justice. At the other end of the wall, stands a figure of the King in robes, his one arm outstretched. The wall is etched with “Edward VII.”²⁹ Before the monument was cast or even designed, there was a lively debate about its placement.

In a 1912 letter from the Deputy Minister of the Privy Council to Sir Edmund Walker, the deputy minister suggests that the monument “could be placed in the centre of the new Plaza, which is being constructed in the centre of the City of Ottawa, in front of the Ottawa City Post Office.... This will be the heart of the City and its most prominent square; and the intention has always been to erect in the centre of the new Plaza an imposing monument” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 2, File 15. Letter from Hunter to Edmund Walker, p. 1). The deputy minister suggests that “The Mayor of Ottawa is very much in favour of a statue of His late Majesty King Edward being placed there. There is no doubt, for a square of that kind, that a large equestrian statue would be very imposing” (ibid, p.2). In this letter, the deputy minister suggests that the Plaza could host multiple monuments: “There would be any number of excellent locations on the Plaza for statues of prominent statesmen outside of whatever large and imposing monument may be erected in the centre” (ibid, p.2).

The placing of King Edward’s monument reemerged in House of Commons debates on July 28, 1917. The monument commissioned in 1913 was not yet completed. In these discussions the suggestions to place the King’s statue in various locations on Parliament Hill emerged. Proposed sites included a spot on the east side of Parliament Hill, overlooking Confederation Square (the current site of a monument to Wilfrid Laurier), and directly in front of Centre block. Mr. Marcil remarked: “This is a monument to one of the greatest sovereigns that England has ever had, and I think it should not be relegated to one of the smaller buildings” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, Box 2, File 15 “Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, Seventh Session p. 3896). It was strongly suggested that

²⁹ Image from Terry Guernsey fonds: Box 2, file 15. Data from a memo from the Clerk of the Privy Council, May 30th, 1922

the King's statue be given a site of prominence equal to that of Queen Victoria. All of the discussions on where to place the monument to King Edward were ultimately in vain as the monument was never completed.

What would have been the ramifications of placing a Walter Allward monument to King Edward VII (the Peace King) in Confederation Square? Symbolically and affectively a monument to the King in Ottawa's central square would have iterated a type of Canadian public citizenship intimately tied to Canada's colonial history. However, two of the allegorical figures designed as aspects of the monument, figures representing truth and justice, were cast in 1923-1924 (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey fonds, Box 2, File 15. Letter from Terry Guernsey to Steve Fargo, n.d). They were put in storage while waiting for the completion of the rest of the monument. In 1970, these figures were taken out of storage and placed in front of the Supreme Court (ibid, p. 1). The presence of Truth and Justice are the remnants of other plans for the capital. Truth and Justice act as the sort of ideological crystallization of plans to commemorate the "Peace King". The figures signal to the contested history of Ottawa's built environment, and to an aspect of an un-built Ottawa that would have even more firmly established Canada as a British colony and white-settler nation. This differs from the ultimate placement of the NWM, which, as we see in the following Chapter strongly articulates ideas of WW1 as the birth of Canada as an independent nation while simultaneously allowing for the circulation of types of imperial nostalgia.

The centenary of the founding of Ottawa (as Bytown) in 1826 was celebrated in the summer of 1926³⁰. The front page of the August 17th, 1926 *Ottawa Journal* marked the anniversary by promoting the future erection of a monument to city founder Colonel John By. The cover features a drawing of Confederation Square, including the Union Station, Chateau Laurier and the Plaza Bridge crossing the Rideau Canal. West of the Canal, in the current home of the National Arts Centre there is a grand equestrian statue of Colonel By. The text describes this as "A view of the proposed By Park, connecting Connaught Square with (illegible) Square on the west bank of the Rideau Canal." In the proposed monument to Colonel John By, the engineer is riding a horse, pulling the reins with one hand and pointing forward with the other hand. On the monument's pedestal it is inscribed "A fitting and appropriate memorial in grateful recognition of the activities of Colonel John By as founder of the City of Ottawa in its logical

³⁰ The August civic holiday continues to be celebrated in Ottawa as "Colonel By Day."

location in the proposed Colonel By Park, facing the Rideau Canal and the seven locks to the Ottawa.” The proposed monument was never completed however on August 17th 1926 the granite block pedestal was unveiled to mark the beginnings of the monument. The pedestal was engraved with the following text, “1826-1926. In Honor of John By, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Engineers. In 1826 he founded By-town, Destined to Become the City of Ottawa. Capital of the Dominion of Canada. This memorial was unveiled in Centenary Year” (“Tribute to the Founder of City...” 1926, p.1). Had this vision been realized, Confederation Square would have been recast as a site of not only national but also local significance.

Prior to 1912, the square was unnamed but from the 1860s to 1912 it was a busy site of city life. From 1912, with the building of the Chateau Laurier, the new Plaza Bridge and a small paved square in front of the bridge, Connaught Square was born. In the early 1900s, the square was the site of Labour Day parades and labour strikes. At this time from the 1909 onwards the proposal of many monuments initiated what would be a long term contest over what meanings the square should have. These battles seemed to have been promptly settled in the 1920s when the federal government, under Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King, expropriated the land of Confederation Square for the development of a plaza dedicated to the new National War Memorial. However, the placement of the National War Memorial did not proceed without controversy. The contention was not over whether the National War Memorial deserved a site of such optic prominence, but rather whether Confederation Square offered a site adequate for promoting somber reflection and remembrance. The story of multiple attempts to house other memorials at the site highlights how memory is constituted through proximity, space, and historical accident.

The Placement of the National War Memorial

The placement of the National War Memorial at Confederation Square, a site that was in the middle of a busy traffic circle, was also a subject of concern. However, in this section I argue that what the critics of the placement of the NWM could not foresee is that the NWM had the potential to work on and affectively change the nature of the site, while likewise the site would affect how people would engage with the NWM.

At some point in the mid 20th century, the Square acquired the nickname of “Confusion Square” as a response to the way traffic was routed around this triangle of pavement at the intersection of two busy streets. As late as the 1990s, the site was crowded with tourist buses parked to the one side at Elgin and Sparks streets and short-term parking, effectively situating the monument as the lynchpin in a messy parking lot. Foreseeing these problems, the monument’s placement at Confederation Square in 1939 was not an obvious, uncontested issue. In a debate regarding the placement of the monument to D’Arcy McGee, the MPs Mr. Henderson, Mr. Pugsley, Mr. Sproule and Mr. Lemieux contemplated the precedence for placing monuments in the middle of streets. They referred to a statue to Shakespeare in the middle of a street in Paris, the statue of Lincoln in the middle of the street in New York and a monument to Daniel O’Connell which is in the middle of a street in Dublin. In this interaction, Mr. Sproule had the last word with this snide joke regarding monuments in busy urban spaces, “I am afraid that if the honourable minister carries out his intention he may find himself somewhat in the position of the tourist, who when driving around the Lakes of Killarney, asked the cabman what was the height of a particular monument, and the cabman replied: ‘I think it is the height of damn nonsense to put it there, because I run against it every time I drive around it’” (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds. Box 2, File 15. Murphy, Charles “The Location of the McGee Statue at Ottawa”, p.3). After the NWM was placed in Confederation Square, the opinion that busy urban areas were inappropriate for war memorials would resurface. In this 1955 *Ottawa Citizen* editorial the memorial’s home is critiqued:

It is a pity that our National War Memorial is stuck out in the centre of the city's traffic. As a place to hold a great ceremony it is about as bad as one might devise. No room there for the people to gather in any number, no atmosphere there to offer sympathy to emotion. Had the memorial been placed on the Hill we would have indeed a site for ceremony. There is talk of moving the memorial and it may indeed be moved, but whether or not it moves to the Hill we can use the Hill far more than we do and make of it a kind of field of honor in woe and weal (“Why not use to advantage Parliament Hill's fine lawns,” 1955).

The suggestion that the memorial be moved was neither vigorous nor enduring however, the sense that the monument is in a congested rather than peaceful, contemplative spot has been persistent.

There were many arguments between Prime Minister King and the chief urban planner he had hired Jacques Greber over where to place the National War Memorial (NWM). Other sites, including Parliament Hill, Major's Hill Park, Gatineau Park (Greber 1938), and a site in the experimental farms that was to be renamed "Flander's Fields" (Vance 2007, p. 207) were considered. Ultimately Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King's preference for Confederation Square prevailed. Jacques Greber did not agree with the placement of the National War Memorial at Confederation Square. In a 1938 report, Greber suggests instead placing a fountain in the centre of Confederation Square and offers three key reasons explaining why the NWM should be placed somewhere else:

A War Memorial is really a shrine, and needs a quiet approach for delegations, speeches and memorial functions. If it is surrounded by the noise of vehicular traffic, even if the site of the plot is sufficient for being treated as a garden, the place is never dignified enough for the purpose of the monument" (p. 5).

Second, having assessed the winning design for the war memorial, Greber concluded that the design "cannot be harmonized with a background of buildings as well as a fountain or a column could be. It really represents a symbolic idea instead of having a purely architectural design" (p. 5). The NWM would require protection from city traffic. Finally, Greber suggested that the design and scale of the proposed monument would feel heavy in contrast to its surroundings, an affect that would be mitigated in a landscape of trees and lawns (p. 5). Greber's key problem with situating the National War Memorial was both general: that an urban site could not produce the affective setting for commemoration, and specific, that this urban site could not accommodate the form and style of the memorial. Greber suggested instead that the NWM be placed in the centre of Major Hill Park. This was a site that he argued was both central to the city and offered a site for quiet contemplation and remembrance services (p. 7). For Greber it was not that a war memorial did not warrant such a central spot, it was rather that the spot was too urban and busy to let the monument do its work. A monument and its site work collaboratively in order to achieve desired effects. Greber could not imagine that the NWM could work *on* the site to transform the site to its desires.

In response to a previously published letter that argued that Parliament Hill was a more suitable location for the National War Memorial, Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King explained his own many reasons for advocating for the monument's site in Confederation

Square. First, King reminds readers that Parliament Hill already hosts a large, imposing World War 1 memorial in the form of the Peace Tower. King's second reason for choosing Confederation Square was that this central urban location was following in the tradition of other capital cities, stating, "of practically all the capitals of the world, none of which have sought to confine their great national monuments to the immediate proximity of their Halls of Parliament, but have sought, rather, to give them a place in the main thoroughfares" ("Premier Tells Why Connaught Place Was Chosen" 1925). He cites the cenotaph and Nelson memorials in London, UK. King's final argument for Confederation Square was that the site was largely visible and was a "splendid site". At the end of the day, King's desires were satisfied.

The monument's urban home can be credited with allowing the monument to operate in particular, rather arresting ways. Rather than having only intentional visitors, people who seek out a memorial site in a quiet park, the NWM quite literally stops traffic. Haskins and DeRose (2003), in their discussion of spontaneous 9-11 street memorials suggest that the memorials they studied achieve their potency specifically "because they interfere with the day-to-day flow of pedestrian traffic in the city and re-politicize the city's half-forgotten squares and parks" (p. 381). Pedestrians, tourists, and people working and living downtown are all forced to address and contemplate, if only briefly, war and its aftermaths. Piotr Szpunar (2010) describes Confederation Square's urban location as giving the site "spaciousness." Szpunar uses Yi-Fu Tuan's concept of spaciousness to suggest that Confederation Square has a certain porosity; because it is so urban, many activities can take place there. This, Szpunar explains may be part of the reason why the monument is misinterpreted by some wayward visitors (like the young men who 'unintentionally' urinated on the monument in 2006) (p. 390). Ultimately, Szpunar argues that the porosity of the site is positive, stating, "it suggests a greater trust in citizens and a possibility of collective memory without strict governmental or structural control" (p. 390). However, I continue to contend that despite this urban porosity, the site's key ontology as a memorial place is strictly enforced through both state and civil society activities. Confederation Square as simultaneously amidst vehicular traffic and a memorial site ignited debate in 2000 with the placement of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

The arguments surrounding the placement of the National War Memorial were not that the monument did not warrant such an esteemed, central site, but rather that the site would not

allow for the type of somber reflection national war grief required. However, with the placement of the NWM all other previous monument proposals for the site were quickly forgotten as Confederation Square assumed its role as a war memorial site. Vestiges of its other histories and possible futures can be felt in its name—Confederation Square—the result of the Women’s Historical Society’s attempts to commemorate Confederation in the square with a specific monument, and in infrequent newspaper tributes to the site’s former inhabitants—the Russell House Hotel and Theater, specifically. King’s placing the National War Memorial in Confederation Square would also allow the monument to operate in specific ways. In particular, the NWM’s central urban location allowed national grief to be central to the iconography and life of the city.

From Confederation Square to Memorial Square

In the early life of Confederation Square, various visionaries proposed placing multiple monuments at the Square simultaneously to produce a sort of monument court. Even after the placement of the NWM, it was not always entirely clear that the monument would be the sole occupier of the site. In the contemporary era of the Square’s life, Confederation Square has grown into its status as a site to mourn war losses. Which losses are to be mourned and how to mourn these losses continues to be debated.

In the 1960s the Sharpshooters’ Monument and the Boer War Memorial had to be moved because they were both located on the future grounds of the National Arts Centre (as detailed in Chapter 2). In a 1964 letter the City of Ottawa Director of Planning and Works, F.E. Ayers suggested to the General Manager of the National Capital Commission Mr. E. W. Thrift that both of the aforementioned monuments, as well as the Lilliefontein gun and the as-yet not fully made monument to Colonel By all be situated at Confederation Square (City of Ottawa archives. File: City of Ottawa monuments. Letter from F.E. Ayers to E.W. Thrift 1964, July 31). Had this proposal proceeded, the National War Memorial would have been one of several war memorials in a de-facto memorial square. This proposal would have led to a condensation of war memory in the city. As it is, Ottawa has become an entire urban topography of war memory³¹.

³¹ See Conclusion Chapter for discussion about a future project on the development of the understanding the entire city of Ottawa as a war memorial.

In 1964, there was also a proposal for a “Ukrainian Canadian Veterans’ Association Monument.” In a letter to Mayor Charlotte Whitton, F.E. Ayers suggests that this monument is of more than local interest and should therefore be on crown rather than city land. The proposed monument, “is intended to commemorate not only Pylyp Konoval, V.C., who died in Ottawa and was buried here, but also the Unknown Ukrainian Soldier who fought and died in many wars and in many parts of the world.” From the City’s point of view, city-land was inappropriate for “special interest group memorials” (City of Ottawa archives, File: HF 0103: City Monuments Letter from F.E. Ayers to Charlotte Whitton, October 9, 1964). This unmet proposal confirmed a now strong understanding of the square as a site for remembering war, while simultaneously challenging understanding of what Canadians should commemorate. The rejection of this proposal is better understood in the light of various campaigns to lay wreaths for other nations’ war losses at the NWM which are detailed in Chapter 4.

Two proposals for additions to the site that were approved were the placement of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in 2000 and the addition of a monument to fourteen Canadian war ‘heroes’ called the Valiants Memorial in 2006, both of which are discussed in Chapter 4. Considering these additions, members of the Valiants Foundation—the citizens’ group responsible for the Valiants Memorial, proposed in 2000 that Confederation Square be renamed ‘Memorial Square’. The group’s leader Hamilton Southam suggested, “The square is dominated by the War Memorial and has been made almost sacred ground by the entombment of the Unknown Soldier there, and we think the square should be consecrated to the memory of Canada at war” (as cited in Cryderman, 2000, p. D.1). Another committee member not only promoted Memorial Square but argued against Confederation Square, stating, “*Confederation Square* draws away from the idea of a memorial to our military heritage because ‘Confederation’ is political... We would rename the whole area as a tribute to the fallen.” (as cited in Cryderman, 2000, p. D.1). Renaming the square Memorial Square would acknowledge the spot’s more recent (1939- present) identity as a site of memorial activities, an identity made pronounced by the 2000 interment of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the 2006 placement of the Valiants Memorial. This name change would confirm that war commemoration had succeeded in displacing all of the other potential social meanings of the square’s history and potential present

and future that I have outlined in this unmapping³². Meanwhile, the site's long-standing nickname as "Confusion Square"—named to refer to the traffic congestion in the area, could also refer to the long-standing confusion of commemorative and other meanings.

This proposed name change would have finalized a total re-landscaping of meaning of the site from public space of dissention and conflict to a somber site of conscribed and scripted memorial practices. The proposed name change has not happened. While most predominantly a memorial site, its name—Confederation Square, and the many activities that take place at this site allow for broader meanings of nation to be expressed.

Conclusion

In an analysis of the dynamic lives of Ottawa's monuments, why is it important to dwell in such lengths on the history of the NWM's home? This Chapter has attempted to unmap how the site became predominantly a memorial square. Through this unmapping I argue that this has not been a seamless process where one set of ideals has displaced another. As I explain in Chapter 2, I understand unmapping as an on the ground, teasing out of how a place is produced over time. Confederation Square was produced largely in the image of Prime Minister King's desires. The source of these desires is not explored here. Some argue that King was very interested in war memorials to atone for his own lack of participation in WW1 (see Vance 1997). We can also see his plans for Confederation Square as an example of King's persistent Europhilia—he imagined Elgin Street to be Ottawa's own Champs Elysees. Despite the site's clear memorial purpose today, Confederation Square is haunted by its many pasts and other memorial desires. In order to remember WW1, it seems we are required to forget local labour history, and local political and social conflicts. To remember WW1, we are also disallowed from other activities at the site—skateboarding, gathering in joy or celebration, any sort of consumer activities are all prohibited.

This unmapping of Confederation Square concludes with possibilities for imagining otherwise this central Ottawa site. How could the capital city operate differently, if, instead of a war memorial square to mark the apex of the capital's ceremonial route there was a monument to "Confederation"—a celebration of the union of provinces (not to imply that Confederation is not

³² This name change would have coincided with the awarding by the Canadian Landscape Architects Association's top honour of a National Honour Award. In 2000, Confederation Square underwent considerable renovations and rejuvenation by the National Capital Commission (Bailey 2000, p. F.3).

uncomplicated)? What if Greber's plan had succeeded and this principle square was marked by a fountain? Would this have allowed, rather than actively disallowed the gathering of labourers on strike, picnickers, skateboarders and sidewalk chalk artists?

Chapter 4: The Life of the National War Memorial: Ritual, Offerings and Defacement

On August 14, 1945 Canadians celebrated V-J Day: Victory in Japan Day. Newspaper coverage showed a photograph of the National War Memorial as the focal point of the Ottawa celebrations. In the photograph, kids are sitting on the shoulders of the bronze, monumental soldiers making silly faces at the camera. Decades later, in 2008, crowds of mourners came to the National War Memorial to see the names of their ancestors illuminate the monument for 30 seconds as a part of “The Vigil Project”. In this moment, flowers were left for war casualties who could not have been personally remembered from 90 years ago. What happened in the intervening 60 years between climbing on the monument in joy, to treating the space as a somber place of uncontested reverence? In this Chapter, I argue that the National War Memorial (NWM) operates as an object and site of ghostly properties that, while partially inherent in the monument’s birth, have expanded over time.

In his study of World War One commemorations in Canada, Jonathan Vance (1997) suggests that in the aftermath of World War 1 a “myth of the war” emerged. This myth included the production and circulation of such tropes as the soldier as analogous to a religious saviour, imagining the citizen-soldier as embodying rustic boyhood having strong attachments to his mother, a relationship analogous to a young Canada’s relationship with the Mother Empire. For Vance, the purposes and effects of ‘the myth of World War 1’ in Canada have been to avoid collective reconciliations with the trauma of the war. In light of Vance’s understanding of the myth of World War 1, the growing presence of a certain register of the ghostly at the NWM articulate continued moments of failed reconciliations with WW1 in Canada. In this Chapter, we will see how social ghosts, actualizing both the virtualities of patriotism and articulations of personal and collective traumas are all produced at and through the NWM.

I explore how ghost-like presences have been conjured and exorcised through a series of moments in the NWM’s life. From its birth at an already-storied site of Confederation Square to the 2008 Vigil project, the NWM has continually has been written on, through, and made to act. These moments do not propel the monument in a singular direction of commemorative meaning, but rather continue to produce the monument as a site of contestation. However in each moment

the ‘myth’ of the war with accompanying articulations of imperial nostalgia is also continually re-inscribed.

Central to this Chapter is the idea that there are two competing registers of ghostliness. There are ghostly presences that are welcomed, conjured and revered that suture the monument to its original commemorative intent, honouring the 68,000 Canadian WW1 veterans. There are also ghostly presences that erupt and disrupt understandings of the past, Avery Gordon’s version of ghostly haunting. These are the ghosts that are exorcised, dismissed, illuminated and acknowledged only from the margins of society. Gordon (1996) suggests that the ghostly operates as a social figure, making known unacknowledged, unresolved pasts through uncanny ghostly eruptions. Similarly, hauntings are understood by Kevin Hetherington (2001), following Derrida as the “failed disposal of the past” (p. 25).

I attend to what these ghosts both conjured and exorcised say about memory and public citizenship and how these two ideas are racialized and gendered. How do the affective attachments to the National War Memorial reaffirm a white heroic masculine subject as the exemplar of Canadian citizenship? At the National War Memorial, rituals secure not only the commemorative meanings of the monument, but also particular relationships between Canada and the British Empire. I argue that the NWM is a site where a particular form of imperial nostalgia is constantly articulated. This imperial nostalgia is articulated in many ways, to list a few: the obligatory and central presence of the Governor General (the Queen’s representative) or members of the Royal family at Remembrance Day and Vimy Ridge Memorial Day services, the singing of “God Save the Queen”, the occasional flying of the Red Ensign (a previous Canadian flag that included the British Union Jack), and the insistence that only Canadians or members of the Commonwealth be mourned at the NWM with the laying of wreaths. If the NWM is a site of producing particular meanings of what it means to be Canadian, these meanings often include the message that being Canadian continues to mean allegiance and affection for the British Empire. I call this nostalgia and not just articulations of specific continuing ties with the imperial heartland because, following Eric Hobsbawm (1983) I understand many of the practices that take place at the NWM to be “invented traditions”: a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (p. 1). These traditions are both political and nostalgic, in that they aim to produce specific values

tied with Canada's origins as a white-settler colonial nation, rather than affirm Canada's present possibilities as a multicultural nation created through the intersection of multiple diasporic mobilities and the displacement of indigenous people. And, I would argue that rather than charming, antiquated and benign, the semi-compulsory affection for Canada's imperial past and present produces a site in Ottawa's urban heart that disallows engagement with racial and political difference.

To understand why this type of imperial nostalgia is so prevalent at the NWM, it is significant to look at both the rise of royal ritual in Britain and the history of popular royalism in Canada. David Cannadine's (1983) historical analysis of the rise of Royal ritual in Britain from 1820- 1977, astutely argues that the pomp and grandeur of Royal ritual (coronations, weddings, etc), rose in direct proportion to the actual declining influence of the Royal family. In the Victorian era, rituals were rather haphazard, ending often in "farce or fiasco" (p. 117), in the contemporary era, since the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, "the ritual of monarchy was of importance in legitimating the novelty of formal empire and in giving an impression of stability at a time of international bewilderment, so in the post-war world it has provided a comfortable palliative to the loss of world-power status" (p. 157). Royal ritual itself, the ceremonies on which Canadian rituals are usually based, is inherently nostalgic. While produced to present an ancient tradition of royal splendour, Cannadine suggests that these productions were inspired by actual anxiety about the future of imperial might, "Whether these royal ceremonials, in part reflecting a novel consciousness of formal imperial possession, were an expression of national self-confidence or of doubt is not altogether clear. It remains a widely held view that Victoria's jubilees and Edward's coronation mark the high noon of empire, confidence and splendour" (p. 125).

Jane Jacobs (1996, p. 20) argues that the mimicking of imperial ritual, architecture, etc has been a cornerstone of the imperial project within white-settler societies. The translation of royal ritual in the Commonwealth nations has taken on local characteristics. In Canada, popular royalism reflected in the iteration of royal rituals serves many functions; one of the principle functions has been to distinguish Canada from the United States (this was the belief of Prime Ministers Louis St. Laurent and Lester B. Pearson (Buckner 2005, p. 68). Buckner (2006) argues that the study of popular royalism has been neglected in Canadian history, because historians have focused instead of assumptions about Canada's teleological evolution away from British

ties (p. 18). In his study of two Royal Tours in Canada (Edward VII in 1860 and King George V in 1901), Buckner argues that understandings of popular royalism that suggest the manipulation of the public from an imperial power are misguided. In fact, colonial governments (like Wilfrid Laurier's) pressured the Royals to come as a way of pleasing the public. Buckner states that while some aspects of the tours were direct imports from Europe—the construction of celebratory arches, for example, the Royal tours were also moments for the emergence of distinctly Canadian traditions. The arches were proudly made from local materials, and the public began the practice of wearing maple leaves. The Royal tours were not a reflection of simple imperial affection, but an articulation of Canadian values as specifically and virtuously imperial, “What the British immigrants and their descendants, who formed the majority of the population of Canada in both 1860 and 1901, sought to create was not merely a neo-Britain but a better Britain” (p. 32)

What do these insights help us understand about contemporary practices of imperial nostalgia? First, we can understand repetitive use of certain symbols, insignia, songs, as asserting not just an imperial presence, but an anxiety about the slipping away of Canada's imperial origins—the precariousness of Canada's whiteness. Second, we should understand how the imperial nostalgia is specifically Canadian. By invoking imperial symbols, ideals, etc as Canadian, Canadians are interpolated into a specific relationship with the logic of imperialism. Third, we should understand (and I will demonstrate) that imperial nostalgia is an affective relationship. Buckner argues that the success of the Royal tours in 1860 and 1901 could not have been so popular as the mere result of state manipulation; people were drawn to the Royals affectively. In a similar vein, the employment of imperial and Canadian-imperial “invented traditions” compel affective responses of love, belonging, patriotism, or alternatively alienation and disgust.

Introducing the National War Memorial

At its birth, the National War Memorial was already harnessed with significantly national commemorative responsibilities, produced as an object embodying multiple mobilities as it represents the material and discursive wedding of the imperial heart and the colonially marginal. After World War I, the Canadian federal government fielded a bombardment of demand across the country to support the building of various local war memorials. In response, Member of

Parliament Major-General Sir Sam Hughes suggested that the government fund the production of identical war memorials of various sizes to distribute across the country to cities and towns, dependent on their level of loss (Shipley 1987, p. 62). His suggestion was rejected by Major-General S.C. Mewburn, the Minister of the Militia who decided that each city and town should have their own unique monument. Mewburn also decided that communities would value their monuments more if they solicited their own funds. As a result, the government offered no financial support for the building of community war memorials (*ibid*, p. 62). In the post-WW 1 period, community groups, school groups and individuals in countless towns and cities procured their own funds and produced a vast army of soldier statues representing a variety of aesthetic and monumentalizing intents (Osborne 2001; Vance 1997; Shipley 1987).

As a result of the federal government's policy, at the time of its eventual unveiling in 1939, the National War Memorial represented one of only a few war memorials funded and placed by the federal government. The other few include the works of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, The Vimy Ridge Memorial in France, a mourning soldier statue at St. Julien in Belgium, and the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill (Shipley 1987, p. 63). The NWM was endowed with the considerable commemorative responsibility of honouring the 68, 000 Canadian war dead as the only federally funded war memorial in Canada.

In 1925, the Federal government opened up a competition within the Commonwealth and Allied nations to design the National War Memorial. Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King's fingerprints were and continue to be all over the design, placement and creation of the National War Memorial. In the early 1920s, ideas circulated about what form the monument should take.

Of the 127 entries, Vernon March of Kent, England's design titled "The Great Response of Canada" won the design competition (Gardam 1982, p. 5). The memorial measures 21 meters tall and features twenty-two bronze figures charging through a granite archway topped with two angel figures. Charging through the arch are twenty two figures representing the different segments of the Canadian Armed Forces involved in the First World War including: infantrymen, sailors, an air mechanic, a pilot, and, at the rear of the charge, two female nurses. Vernon March stated that his design intent was "to perpetuate in this bronze group the people of Canada who went Overseas to the Great War, and to represent them, as we of today saw them, as

a record for future generations" (as cited in Gardam 1982, p. 5). The focus on the "citizen-soldier" as opposed to valorizing certain individual heroes was a common trope in WWI commemorations. Vance (1997) explains that previous to the 18th century, soldiers were regarded as men of "unsavoury character" (p. 115). However, the rise of war journalism led to the celebration of "the citizen-soldier" (p. 115). This celebration included the idea of the service roll (p.116) and the uniform burial of soldiers (p. 61). The citizen-soldier was both to be treated equally and valorized.

The bronze figures were produced in England by Vernon March and his siblings. When March died in 1930 his siblings finished the project (ibid, p. 8). William Lyon McKenzie King visited their workspace in England and offered his opinion and requests. In particular he requested that they should alter the arch to inspire a stronger feeling of "loftiness" and "grace."³³ Before the monument was installed in Ottawa the figures were displayed in London's Hyde Park for six months in 1933. The figures were then in storage until 1937 (Gardam 1982, p. 7). Meanwhile, the arch and pedestal were constructed on site from Ontario and Quebec granite between December 1937 and October 1938 (ibid, p. 8). The pedestal is constructed out of granite from Dumas Quarry at Riviere-a-Pierre that was selected because it had little iron in it, making it less amenable to staining (ibid, p. 9). It sits on a base of reinforced concrete on steel columns sunk into bedrock for extra support. In total, the monument consists of 503 tones of granite and 32 tones of bronze (ibid, p. 21).

Already in its design and materiality, the National War Memorial embodies a certain set of imperial and state-sanctioned desires. From the onset it is a product of global and domestic mobilities, from the imperial heart to the margin, from a workshop to a park in London, to its final home in Ottawa. It is the result of the visions of Prime Minister King, the visions of Vernon March and the visions and craftsmanship of the March family. Materially, it is a composite of foreign (imperial) and local (Quebec and Ontario) materials. The National War Memorial is an assemblage of steel, 'heroism' granite, bronze, ghosts, pragmatics, car fumes. It was born as a material and virtual assemblage. Jane Bennett (2010) following Deleuze and Guattari offers this

³³ Letter from Sydney March to William Lyon McKenzie King: March 17, 1936 "When you come to England this summer, I have a few things to show you... I want to show you the altered design for the Arch, which is now in keeping with the feeling of loftiness and grace that you mentioned to me as being most desirable. There is also the remainder of the figures for your inspection. " [National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds: MG 26, J1, Vol 221] p. 190312-13—190 318]

definition of an assemblage: “Assemblages are ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts. Assemblages are living, throbbing confederations that are able to function despite the persistent presence of energies that confound them from within” (pp. 23-24). For Bennett, assemblages allow for the emergence of stronger ‘thing-power’; as the various bodies that come together are affected by each other. As we will see throughout this Chapter, the various material bodies of the monument’s raw material are continually affected by other offerings—both ephemeral interactions by human bodies, and material offerings of flowers, wreaths, urine, etc. These material assemblages only accrue their meaning from how they interact with the other virtual components of the monument—the ‘spirit’ of heroism, grief, and collective and private memories³⁴.

The NWM could be understood as an affectively-charged assemblage of material and symbolic qualities. Symbolically, the allegorical figures and symbols of laurel wreath and torch were designed to immediately inspire and resonate with Canadian visitors who understood their meanings. The twenty two figurative portrait sculptures individually and collectively would/could speak both to the immensity of the Canadian contribution to the war and specifically resonate with visitors who knew people who wore those uniforms. Materially, the monument—made of iron-resistant granite, shiny, impressive, reflective bronze, would also contribute to helping the monument fulfill its mandate of capturing a “certain loftiness and grace”. I would suggest that at its birth the NWM is already more than its composite symbolic and material parts. It is also an object of mobilities from the imperial heart to the colonial margins, the specific desires of a particularly invested Prime Minister, the collective labour of a family of sculptors. The synthesis of this assemblage would only be realized over time

The Ritual Actualization of Mourning & Citizenship

The National War Memorial was unveiled by King George VI on Sunday, May 21st 1939. It was a highlight in King George VI and Queen Elizabeth I’s royal tour of Canada (Gardam 1982, p. 11). A booklet outlining the order of ceremonies of the unveiling ceremonies outlined a

³⁴ At its 1939 unveiling, the National War Memorial immediately overshadowed in prominence a small collection of other war memorials in Ottawa: The Boer War Monument (1902) (now in Confederation Square Park), the Sharpshooters’ Monument (1888) at City Hall. While the monument seemed to eclipse some previous war memorials in the capital, it became symbolically reflected in a variety of specific monuments compelled in the decades since its unveiling (see Chapter 8 on the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights).

program of typical royal pomp involving the sounding of trumpets, a singing of “God Save the King”, and, for the first time as the national anthem- O Canada³⁵. With the presence of the British Royals, and the inauguration of O Canada, the birth of the monument was immediately wed to other key elements of Canadian nationhood. The unveiling ceremonies also set the standard for how to officially engage with the National War Memorial.

The National War Memorial was born into a life of ritual. According to Paul Connerton (1989), rituals work as an ‘act of transfer’ for social memory. For Connerton, rites “do not simply imply continuity with the past but explicitly claim such continuity” (p. 45). Rituals such as wreath-laying suture the monument performatively and repetitively with a certain mode of remembrance. Rituals are the actualization of memory (virtual) into material practice, so that it can be engaged somatically as something concrete rather than as an abstract story or epic myth. The constant official rituals that are staged at the National War Memorial are moments in which the monument’s virtual qualities are realized. Shields (2003) suggests that rituals are moments that create liminal, in-between zones. He argues that “[L]iminal zones are virtual environments or spaces” (p. 12). “Like liminal zones and events, virtual spaces are ‘liminoid’ in that they are participated in on a temporary basis, and distinguished from some notion of commonplace ‘everyday life’ (ibid, p. 13). Liminal zones and the rituals that create them have had a history of creating transformative moments. For Shields, liminality has been stripped of transformative power especially in tourist settings (ibid, p. 13). I would argue that in the life of the National War Memorial, rituals such as the monument’s unveiling and annual Remembrance Day rituals serve as constant actualizations of the NWM’s virtual properties. These rituals produce a community of remembrance, saturated in specific understandings of Canadian patriotism and public citizenship: the affective ties to the imaginary community that is the Canadian nation, are both produced and renewed through engagement in these liminal, transformative rituals.

The Offering of Wreaths & Poppies

³⁵ "For the first time in the Dominion's history "O Canada" will be played and sung as a national anthem with state approval at the unveiling of the National War Memorial, the program of massed bands rehearsing at Connaught Square revealed Monday night. Although "O Canada" was played as a national anthem with King Edward VIII's approval at Vimy Ridge in 1936, it will be the first occasion on which this has been done in Canada" (King George to Unveil National Memorial Sunday Morning 1939, Tuesday May 16, p. 13).

In their uniformity, solemnity and propriety wreaths and poppies are reverent offerings to the conjured ghosts of the National War Memorial. However, when officials deny specific groups to lay wreaths at the Memorial, and when unofficial offerings are made, other social ghosts are conjured. In particular, I argue that the ritual laying of wreaths and poppies allows for the production of the NWM as a site that produces specific understandings of public Canadian citizenship that are both gendered and racialized. Likewise, the laying of wreaths and poppies has the ability to upset these dominant animations of the monument.

The most celebrated and significant annual day in the life of the National War Memorial is Remembrance Day. Every November 11th, thousands of Ottawa citizens and visitors to the capital gather at the square, brave the cold, and collectively take part in a half-hour long ceremony of pomp, prayer, wreath-laying, that concludes with witnessing a parade of uniformed soldiers and veterans. In Canada, Remembrance Day began as Armistice Day in 1919 and became an official holiday in 1921 with the passing of the Armistice Day bill (Vance 1997, p. 211). The services associated with Armistice Day became an official routine in 1928 when the Armistice Ceremonial Committee of Canada (ACCC) was formed with the explicit purpose of designing a national remembrance service. At this time, Armistice Day was on Thanksgiving Day, a conflation that was protested by the Legion. The date of Thanksgiving was changed and Remembrance Day was born with a passing of legislation in June, 1931 (ibid, p. 213). The national Remembrance Day service has followed a standard program for many years.

On Remembrance Day, 2008, with thousands of other citizens and visitors to the capital, I visited the National War Memorial for the annual Remembrance Day service. After the service, I surveyed the monument. Three sides of the base were covered in wreaths three or four wreaths deep. The RCAF Prisoners of War Association had laid a wreath, as had the Sir Arthur Pearson Association of the War Blinded, the RCMP Veterans Association, The League of Merchant Mariners Veterans of Canada, etc. The wreaths were all standard-issue, green plastic with a white diagonal ribbon stating the name of the sponsoring organization. While the Mothers of Canada had placed a wreath in a prominent position in the front of the monument, beside the Government of Canada and the Youth of Canada, the Fathers of Canada had also placed a wreath. It was placed on one side of the monument, in the company of the wreath of the Engineers' Wives Association. At the back of the monument, there were only three wreaths, a standard wreath from the Ottawa Children's Choir, a personalized wreath dedicated to one fallen

soldier and a large white poppy wreath. The white poppy wreath was not standard issue. It was larger than the others, made of white and green felt, homemade. The diagonal banner read “Peace.” The Peace wreath and the laying of the wreath by the Silver Cross mother represent two moments of discursive contestation and confirmation evident in the act of wreath-laying at the National War Memorial on this Remembrance Day. These two wreaths speak quite poignantly to who is encouraged to remember or belong at the monument, and what kinds of memory are permissible. I will address the Peace wreath and the Mothers of Canada wreath in turn.



Figure 4—Back of NWM, Remembrance Day 2008. Front of NWM, Remembrance Day 2008.
Credit: T. Davidson

The white poppy as a totem of peace dates back to 1933 when it was first designed and produced by the Women’s Co-operative Guild in the United Kingdom (“White Poppies”, n.d.) In Canada, white poppies reemerged as a popular memorial object in 2006 when some stores began selling the white poppy around Remembrance Day. In Edmonton, members of the Royal Canadian Legion threatened to sue the stores selling the white poppies for copyright infringement. One veteran, Robert Torrie argued that “The use of the poppy in any other colour other than in blood red is a disservice and dishonour to all our fallen dead, the past and our latest veterans” (as quoted in “White poppy emblems anger...” 2006, para. 5). While they cited copyright infringement, the other less legal but latent reason for their dissent was an

understanding that the white poppy was an affront to the traditional red poppy and remembrance of their sacrifices. In the context of Remembrance Day, 2008, what is a large wreath of white felt poppies doing at the back of the National War Memorial? In its singular presence, the wreath disrupts the normative, highly structured, ritual and celebrated forms of remembrance represented by all of the sanctioned wreaths to suggest that the monument can be a site for other forms of remembrance. However, its placement, unauthorized, at the back of the monument continues to suggest that peace somehow challenges the integrity of this monument. The wreath also acts as a conjuring of sorts. White poppies emerged as a symbol of peace in the inter-war years when memorial practices were also not homogenous. In fact in the decades (from the late 1920s to mid 1930s) immediately following the war, a pacifist movement threatened to delegitimize the uncomplicated celebration of Canadian war victory (Vance 1997, pp. 29-30). In the early 1930s, during a debate over how to recognize Remembrance Day, these same pacifist groups suggested the abolition of the day all together, arguing that the day “perpetuated militarism” (ibid, p. 214).

Unlike the white poppy wreath, the Mothers of Canada wreath is both an expected and prominent aspect of the Remembrance Day ritual. In the list of the placement of wreaths, the Silver Cross Mother lays her wreath second, only after the Governor General. She lays her wreath before the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Senate, the Minister of Veterans Affairs, etc. What is interesting about the privileged position of the Mothers of Canada wreath? First, its placement within the Remembrance Day ritual seems entirely uninteresting. The wreath does not shock or provoke, rather it soothes and reassures. War mothers have always had front row seating at memorial services (Vance 1997, p. 149). Vance explains that soldiers’ mothers have always played a central role in the creation of the “myth of the war” that emerged after the First World War. Two motifs consistently associated with the WW1 soldier were his youth, and his attachment to his mother. These motifs were performed in war poetry and art; the soldier is often figured writing to his mother (ibid, pp. 147-148). Vance suggests that the potency of the mother figure was also because she is

the personification of traditional, even immutable, values, her strength and constancy lending a sense of continuity to events. As the progenitor of the next generation of Canadians, the mother affirms the logical progression of history. She is at once the symbol of the past and the creator of the future (ibid, 150).

The Silver Cross Mother is herself a memorial; she remembers and mourns the past, but also suggests possible future through her demonstrated fertility.

The laying of the Mothers' wreath also produces the monument as a specifically gendered site. While one could easily suggest that war memorials reinforce the exultation of a specific form of heroic masculinity it also cannot be ignored that these same sites produce a specific form of domestic femininity. The Silver Cross Mother, whose connection to the memorial is through her role as a mother, is given prominence over other women who may mourn their sisters, lovers, friends, or military colleagues. This brief gendered reading of the Remembrance Day services also signals towards how public citizenship as it is played out at the NWM is gendered.

Vance further suggests that these qualities are paralleled by national characteristics; i.e. that Canada was a young country with eternal devotion to Mother Britain. This motif was produced through songs, music, patriotic cartoons. Vance explains that "The elements are always the same. The children of Mother Britain have been scattered around the globe yet remain tied to England by bonds stronger than steel. When the call goes out in August 1914, they all answer 'Ready, aye, ready,' and come running to the aid of Mother Britain" (p. 150). The centrality of the Silver Cross Mother operates within broader discursive frameworks of imperialism.

The ordering of commemorative meanings through the ceremonial placement of wreaths at the National War Memorial has a long precedent. Meanings of nation are produced through the laying of wreaths not only through discourses of gender, but also more explicitly through discourses of national inclusion and exclusion. In 1955, a government committee named the "Committee on the use of Parliament Hill and the National War Memorial" was given the role of determining who had the authority to hold ceremonies on Parliament Hill and at the National War Memorial. A specific policy was created that determined who could lay wreaths at the National War Memorial. The policy stated that permission for wreath-laying be granted to those who intended to honour the memory and service of the Canadian armed forces, "in keeping with the dignity and national character of the Memorial" (National Archives, File: Use of Parliament Hill and the National War Memorial. Memo to all federal departments by C. Stein, July 26, 1955). The policy also allowed for the laying of wreaths by visiting heads of state and high-ranking Generals from countries that were historic allies of Canada.

Also in 1955, the Association of Baltic Canadians in Ottawa began what would become a seven-year application process to receive permission to lay a wreath in honour of the 60,000 Estonians who had been deported to Russia on June 14, 1941, at the National War Memorial. After deliberation of the first application, "The Committee decided that permission should be refused because the proposed ceremony was obviously not (underlining theirs) intended at all to honour the memory and service of members of the Canadian armed forces" (ibid, June 2, 1955). In contrast, the Anzac Day ceremony was allowed to proceed as the Australian and New Zealanders intended to include in their tributes references to Canadian armed forces, the wreaths cards included, "and our Canadian brothers in arms." Two years later, in 1957 the Baltic Canadians again applied to lay a wreath in commemoration of June 14, this time "in commemoration of Canadians as well as Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians who lost their lives during the First and Second World Wars" (National Archives, file: Use of Parliament Hill and the National War Memorial. Letter from Measures to T.A. Johnston, May 28, 1957). The application had been nuanced in hopes of conforming to the Committee's regulations. The Chairperson of the Committee summed up the reasons for the Committee's continued denial of permission:

It is of interest that though the wording of the applications for permission has changed from 'in commemoration of the mass deportation' used in 1952, and 'in commemoration of those who lost their lives in the First and Second World Wars' used in 1953 and 1955, to the wording in the enclosed 1957 application, i.e. "in commemoration of Canadians as well as Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians who lost their lives during the First and Second Wars", the date of the ceremony— June 14— is the anniversary on which these Baltic organizations commemorate a deportation to the Soviet Union of former citizens of these Baltic states in the year 1941 (National Archives, file: Use of Parliament Hill and the National War Memorial. Letter from Measures to T.A. Johnston, May 28, 1957). Their application was again denied. In this statement of rejection, the Baltic Canadians attempt to commemorate a date of mass execution of victims of war is understood as a subversive attempt to challenge or undermine the official meanings of the National War Memorial.

A similar incident occurred in 1989 when the Canadian Polish Congress, the Polish Combatants' Association and the Canadian Federation of Polish Women attempted to lay a wreath at the monument to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Poland.

Veterans Affairs Canada intervened stating that the monument was only to commemorate Canadian war losses. Spokesman for the Canadian Polish Congress, “Peter Staniszkis said his organization believes the Soviet invasion of Poland, which occurred seven days after Canada entered the war on Sept. 10, 1939, indirectly led to deaths of Canadians and others during the remaining war years” (“Polish groups not allowed to lay wreaths” 1989, p. A.6).

What the wreath laying issue of the 1950s and 1980s of the Baltic-Canadian and Polish-Canadian Associations highlight is how particular ritual animations of the National War Memorial have been constantly and vigilantly circumscribed by the government committee which was employed to monitor the commemorative work of the National War Memorial. The Committee produced a monument that was not only particularly Canadian, but producing a type of ‘Canadian-ness’ that was suspicious of the commemoration of the great loss of life of ‘other’ people. In this moment, one diasporic community’s memories and remembrance are paralleled with/ performed through the state’s site of remembrance. Allowing the laying of a wreath for the Baltic people would have allowed the site to be appropriated as simultaneously the state’s site of remembrance and the diasporic community’s site of remembrance. This was a moment of failed public citizenship for the Baltic Canadians.

In these moments of ritual, the virtualities felt as reverence for the dead are actualized both in words and in objects. The Remembrance Day service conjures the specific deaths in their very specific liturgies of remembrance. The laying of wreaths and poppies, like the other moments in this Chapter both confirm and disrupt which visitors and which ghosts belong at and to the Memorial. These affective attachments to the monument serve to re-affirm public citizenship as gendered.

Vimy Ridge Memorial Day

While Remembrance Day is undoubtedly the most significant annual day in the life of the NWM, I have chosen to dwell on a more recent annual date of ritual that takes place at the NWM, the Vimy Ridge Memorial Day, April 9th. I am focusing on this ritual to demonstrate how even new, invented traditions, work to tighten rather than expand what memory work is being done at the NWM. Through studying this newer ritual, I am interested in how imperial nostalgia is being enacted. What does the day say about not only Canada’s past, but also, the Canadian present and hopes for Canadian futures?

In 2003, Veterans Affairs Canada established April 9th as a new memorial day to commemorate the Canadian victory at the Battle of Vimy Ridge, April 9th, 1917 (“National Day of Remembrance” 2003). The National Day of Remembrance to the Battle of Vimy Ridge became official with the passing of a bill in Parliament, as the Veterans Affairs press release describes:

This anniversary has always had great significance, but it is only with the recent passage of Bill C-227, introduced by my colleague, Brent St. Denis, M.P. for Algoma-Manitoulin, that April 9th has become a National Day of Remembrance," said the Honourable Dr. Rey D. Pagtakhan, Minister of Veterans Affairs. "Our challenge is to keep alive the memory of what happened on that ridge 86 years ago, and the memory of those who were there, risking their lives and making the ultimate sacrifice for our nation. (ibid, para 3)

The Battle of Vimy Ridge has long been heralded as a defining moment in both Canadian military history and the birth of the Canadian nation. Canada suffered 10, 000 casualties and 3, 598 fatalities in the three-day battle which saw the four divisions of the Canadian Corps in battle together for the first time (ibid). The Unknown Soldier was a casualty from the Battle of Vimy Ridge (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p. i).

On Vimy Ridge Memorial Day, April 9th 2010, I strolled down to the National War Memorial. On my way I passed the National Aboriginal War Veterans’ Memorial. A man and a woman were standing there; they had hung a large flag that includes the Union Jack near the memorial. When I asked why they have hung that flag they responded, “It’s the flag of the Great War, my grandfather fought at Vimy”. The man also points out that the Lord Elgin hotel across the street is also flying the ‘Red Ensign’. I am intrigued by this return of the flag. The Canadian Red Ensign was the unofficial Canadian flag from 1868 until the maple leaf flag was adopted in 1965. It was also the flag favoured by Conservative leader John Diefenbaker in the legendary debates in the 1960s regarding the adoption of a new flag. According to Gregory Johnson (2005), for Diefenbaker, the Red Ensign was an appropriate flag for Canada because of its ties to the British Empire. In 1926 Diefenbaker said, “The men who wish to change our flag should be denounced by every good Canadian” (in Johnson, p. 245). What kind of nostalgias are operative in this seemingly singular desire to return to public prominence a flag that was replaced by the maple leaf flag decades earlier? In 2007, there was a brief campaign to install the Red Ensign flag at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France. The citizens lobbying for a return to the

old flag argued that the red ensign was the flag under which the Canadian soldiers fought at Vimy and it was the flag that flew when the Canadian National Vimy Memorial was unveiled in 1936 (Campbell 2007, p. A.7). The campaign, launched by a citizens group, was supported by Jason Kenney, then Minister of Multiculturalism who stated in a 2006 letter:

I agree that the Red Ensign should be flown (sic) in front of the Vimy Ridge Memorial in France. I believe the flag should be flown more to honour the sacrifice of our fallen men and women and to remind today's generation of the nation's past. I congratulate you on your accomplishments.

To fly the Red Ensign and recognize its significance is the right thing to do (ibid, p. A.7).

The campaign was ultimately unsuccessful. What this campaign suggests however is an earlier desire to reinstate the Red Ensign as an emblem of significance for Canadians. Might it be possible to understand both this unsuccessful flag campaign, and the citizens' hanging of the Red Ensign at the National Aboriginal War Veterans' Memorial as moments of what Svetlana Boym (2001) calls "restorative nostalgia"? For Boym, restorative nostalgics are interested in origins and the truth of the past, reflective nostalgics in contrast are interested in loss, longing and "the imperfect process of remembrance" (p.41). The nostalgics interested in returning the Red Ensign to Canadian memorial practices, in particular to incorporating this flag into the sites of Canada's key war memorial, seem to be attempting to restore Canada to its imperial roots.

I arrived at the National War Memorial on this April 9th at 10am, an hour before the service is to begin. Most of Confederation Square had been fenced off like it is on Remembrance Day. Folding chairs had been set up to produce designated seating facing the monument. A red carpet had been rolled out leading to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier from east of the monument. I found a seat on the ledge near Plaza Bridge, the optimal observation spot I have sought out for the last two Remembrance Day services. It was a drizzly, chilly spring day, but the crowd continued to gather. Children and adults carried the small paper Canadian flags that are popular on Canada Day. All of the provincial flags that flank the Plaza Bridge were at half-mast. I noticed that there was a moderate amount of poppy wearing, marking this day as analogous to, or at a similar level of commemorative significance as the Nov. 11 Remembrance Day. On this Vimy Ridge Memorial day, the crowds almost matched those of Remembrance Day, with eight thousand people reportedly to have been in attendance (Galloway 2010, para 1). Young cadets walked along the inside of the security barricade offering programs and poppies. Like on Remembrance Day, there were security officers on the roofs of the Union Station building and

the Langevin Block building. Unlike Remembrance Day, there were men in vintage WW 1 fatigues standing in front of the monument, at attention. At 10:30am, a band escorted troops to their standing positions on Confederation Square.

The service began with the vice-regal salute and inspection of the troops by the Governor General. O Canada was performed by the band of the Royal Military College and the Ottawa Children's choir. The anthem was followed by a fly past of vintage World War One aircrafts. The Master of Ceremonies Charles Gautier spoke about the Battle of Vimy Ridge and the recent death of John Babcock, Canada's last WW 1 veteran. The ceremony continued with a smudging ceremony by an Algonquin man. The torch of remembrance was lit and Sierra Noble, a Métis woman from Winnipeg plays on the fiddle the "Warrior's Lament." This performance is followed by a 21-gun salute. The guns make the windows of surrounding buildings shake and produce an awe-inspiring cloud of smoke from which the National War Memorial appears to be emerging.

The service included speeches by Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Governor General Michaëlle Jean. In his speech, Harper described the Vimy Ridge soldiers as "fierce warriors with tender hearts, rock-ribbed patriots with a sense of international responsibility.... who embodied greatness that succeeding generations have strived to imitate" (cited in Galloway, 2010, para 8). In Jean's address, she states that "memory lasts much longer than we do, longer than stone monuments" and that it is equally important to recognize the people working today to free others from the "yoke of tyranny." Their speeches are followed by the playing of the Last Post, a minute of silence, and the recitation of the Acts of Remembrance. A clergyman offers a prayer that details again the sacrifices of the Vimy Ridge casualties in particular.

Members of political parties and military representatives placed poppies on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In this act they make official what had been a spontaneous tradition invented with the installment of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (to be explored later). Teenagers from each province and territory also placed a poppy on the Tomb representing the "youth of Canada" while the choir sings "In Flanders Fields" and "Je chante avec toi Liberte." The service concluded with the release of 65 doves—one to represent each 10, 000 Canadian and Newfoundlander who was killed in World War 1. Finally a fly-by of four F-18s, flying in the "missing man" formation concluded the service. As the choir sang God Save the Queen, the officials left Confederation Square, followed by the troops.

I am struck on this Vimy Ridge Memorial Day but how the ritual mirrors the rituals of Remembrance Day. The order of the program, the layout of the site, the speakers, the speeches, the songs chosen, and the troops gathered are nearly identical to the Remembrance Day services. There are some specific additions. On this day, soldiers in specific World War One army fatigues stand at attention at the monument. The speeches made direct reference to the Vimy Ridge battles (although this also happens on Remembrance Day). The service concluded with doves and a fly-by of vintage war crafts. These are added Vimy Ridge Day elements. The day acts as another form of conjuring. While the troops wear contemporary uniforms, the soldiers in fatigues and the vintage planes are explicit conjurings of the ghosts we are to mourn.

What does this newly created ritual at the National War Memorial do? Well, in one sense the ritual does very little; it conforms to normative understanding of how memory should be generated at this site. The ritual suggests that the monument is a place for official, sanctioned, Canadian memory-making. The specific, new gestures mark the ritual as commemorating the battle of Vimy Ridge, however these gestures, and the whole ritual are redundant when, as I found and continue to demonstrate, the monument's role of honouring World War One veterans in general and Vimy Ridge in particular has been secured time and time again. The new Vimy Ridge Memorial Day stresses what is already known, felt and articulated at the National War Memorial: Vimy is where Canada was born; this is why Canadians mourn—not for other deaths or tragedies, but because certain deaths and tragedies allowed for a specific Canadian present and futures. If this lesson was not felt in November, it can be felt even more explicitly in April. While Remembrance and Vimy Ridge Memorial Day services continue to suture the NWM to its original commemorative intents, other deliberate and incidental activities challenge these intents.

Defacement: Skateboarding and Public Urination

Defacement is one of the most common ways in which the affective properties of monuments are realized and felt. In Ottawa, the Peacekeepers' Monument, a monument to the veterans of the Korean War, "Enclave: The Women's Monument", and the Aboriginal Scout monument have all been defaced in their lives. In July 2008, the Monument to Canadian Fallen, a monument to Korean War veterans was defaced when human feces were smeared on the monument's plaque. In response to the last moment of defacement, the NCC promised to

research and implement ways to encourage people to visit the monument, therefore discouraging such acts (Kennedy 2008, p. C.2).

The defacement of monuments cannot be separated from the status of monuments as ‘stone bodies’. For Michael Taussig (1999), defacement is a process which works what he terms “the mimetic magic of the statues” (p. 30). Monuments are cast from and/or stand-in for actual bodies. Like the totemic figures Taussig studies the National War Memorial is a series of figures that stand-in, mimetically, for thousands of killed bodies. The fact that this relationship is not a mere suggestion but an actuality is made evident at moments of defacement. Taussig (1999) elaborates, “Defacement works on objects the way jokes work on language, bringing out their inherent magic nowhere more so than when those objects have become routinized and social, like money or the nation's flag in secular societies where God has long been put in his place” (p. 5). These acts offer quite literal connections between human and non-human bodies.

Another way to think about defacement is to think about how vandalizing acts work to reveal the constructed and contested nature of the object defaced. Krzysztof Wodiczko's 1983 projection “South African War Memorial Projection” consisted of an image of a hand gripping a knife and stabbing downwards onto the column of the South African War Memorial in downtown Toronto. The projection, which occurred at night, lasted for only a brief time (Hart 2008, p. 113). Wodiczko described his intentions: “The aim of the memorial projections is not to ‘bring life’ to or ‘enliven’ the memorial nor to support the happy, uncritical, bureaucratic ‘socialization’ of its site, but to reveal and expose to the public the contemporary deadly life of the memorial” (as quoted in Hart, p. 113).

At the National War Memorial, there have been two key issues of defacement: consistent skateboarding at the site and one incident of public urination. Both of these acts of defacement were committed by young men, the same demographic incidentally that is commemorated in the monument, and neither of the issues are straight-forward examples of defacement. One of the issues has threatened to produce long-term accumulating marks on the National War Memorial, while the other was a one-time incident of fleeting defacement. What is striking about both of these incidents is how mundane they are; neither were active moments of protest. As mundane acts of defacement, Piotr Szpunar (2010) suggests that the acts speak more to indifference and a lack of clarity of meaning of the NWM. The two incidents are also often discussed together, and in relation to other seemingly mundane, and not necessarily defacing acts such as an alleged

increase in people sitting on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and excessive amorous activities (NCVAC, 2006b in Szpunar 2010, p. 388). First, I discuss the persistent issue of skateboarding at the National War Memorial. Second, I discuss the 2006 incident of public urination at the National War Memorial.

The long, low, wide steps leading up to the National War Memorial provide a perfect environment for skateboarders wanting to practice their tricks and kick-flips. The presence of skateboarders has caused much ire to veterans and other visitors over the years. In fact, the Royal Canadian Legion was so concerned about the attraction of the National War Memorial to skateboarders that when they created the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, corner pieces were installed in part to detract skateboarders from misinterpreted the Tomb as a skating-off point (“Sculpting” 2003). Daniel Drolet has (1995) stated that “the conflict between skateboarders and veterans is as regular as the arrival of warm weather” (p. D.4). Every summer throughout the 1990s the Legion lobbied Veterans Affairs demanded increased police patrol to deter National War Memorial skateboarders (ibid, p. D.4).

The veterans’ concerns are two-fold; they are concerned about the space maintaining a reverent atmosphere, and they are concerned about material harm to the monument. The Legion’s Bob Butt expressed his concern: “The National War Memorial is an area set up for quiet reflection, and it is hard to practice quiet reflection when there are a number of people around using it as a recreational area” (as quoted in Drolet 1995, p. D.4).

How can we understand the skateboarding at the National War Memorial? Do acts of defacement require a political or criminal intent? The skateboarders were responding to what the site of the National War Memorial afforded them—a place to play, practice their skills, exercise and socialize. One fourteen-year old skateboarder cited in the 1995 article found that while they were often asked to leave (which they did briefly, to return later), sometimes tourists asked them to take their photos, and on one occasion a visiting veteran asked them for an impromptu skateboarding lesson (Drolet 1995, p. D.4). The skateboarders animated the monument in many, possibly complicated ways. Let’s consider the veterans’ two chief concerns in turn. First, skateboarders do physically damage the monument which requires expensive repair. In 1993, Public Works Canada fully restored the monument spending \$130 000 on the masonry work (ibid, p. D.4). In 1995, skid marks on the stairs were highlighted as proof of skateboarder use and

defacement. The skateboarders have also allegedly marked the monument by waxing the curbs to improve their performance.

Second, the Legion has argued that skateboarders challenge the atmosphere of quiet reflection that the Legion desires for the National War Memorial. While this second complaint is also true, this effect of the skateboarding needn't be seen as a defacing act. While drawn to the monument for its physical properties, the skateboarders contrast the deaths being mourned in the monument by their young, happy, enthusiastic and physically active bodies. Drolet (1995) notes that the skateboarders are not much younger than the figures represented in the monument and the soldiers whose lives are mourned at the monument. As a place for quiet reflection, the monument attracts a certain demographic of veterans, school children on field trips and dignitaries laying wreaths. However by physically allowing for diverse activities, the monument encourages other visitors. And—it must be remembered that in 1945, the monument was a site of celebration, children climbing all over the soldiers. Perhaps the marks of attrition can be understood not as akin to defacement like graffiti, but rather as witness to their presence. The skid marks on the steps demonstrate that teenagers came, and maybe, in mid-kick-flip they glanced up and saw the bronze soldiers.

At approximately 11pm on July 1st, Canada Day, 2006 three young men were photographed posing at and urinating on the National War Memorial. A passerby photographer, a former army major, Dr. Michael Pilon quickly sent photographs to the local media and a veritable media hurricane of outrage ensued, sparking an intense local discussion about the meanings and sanctity of the National War Memorial. MP David McGuinty was compelled to recommend a new law making defacing the nation's war memorial a specific crime in the Criminal Code (Zabjek 2006, p. A.1). A CanWest News Service poll conducted for Stephen Harper's government showed that 60% of Canadians were in favour of a full-time guard of honour at the National War Memorial (Woods 2006, p. A.1). Piotr Szpunar (2010) explains that immediately after the incident, "calls and emails were pouring into newspapers, radio stations and television programs calling for everything from history lessons to a jail sentence to sending the three off to fight in Afghanistan; the eldest was charged with mischief" (p. 386).

After the public urination incident, one citizen took up the employ of guarding the monument. In a red sweater, with a vintage Canadian Legion flag over his shoulder, Don Dawson stood at the site of the Monument 'at attention' all day: "I got up this morning and asked

myself what I could do about this, and I decided to come here out of respect for all the soldiers who died fighting for the freedom of Canada," (Dawson as cited in Mackenzie 2006, p. A.06). The citizen-guard offered an interesting imitation of the official Governor General's foot guards that would be later installed at the monument (and who frequent Parliament Hill). While a citizen taking up the post is unconventional, the idea of standing on guard can be understood to a ritual behavior that is known through the presence of official guards and is the second line of lyrics of the Canadian national anthem. Standing on guard could be understood as an embodied performance of honour, respect and patriotism. The response finally resulted in the installation of NCC interpretive guides during the tourist season and on holiday weekends, for six hours a day, 7 days a week, the occasional patrol of Commissionaires and surveillance cameras focused on the monument (Thomson 2008, p. C.1).

Steve Pile (2005) details a similar moment of defacement that occurred at the Cenotaph of Whitehall in London, UK. The Cenotaph is a sober, white stone, the site for Remembrance services and the laying of wreaths, much like Ottawa's National War Memorial. On May Day, 2000 there was a surge of vandalism; a McDonald's restaurant's windows were smashed and McExploit was sprayed on to its walls and a local bureau de change was also broken into. On the Whitehall Cenotaph vandals painted two green arrows marked "men" and "women" pointing down. The graffiti re-signified the memorial as a public urinal. News reports following the vandalism juxtaposed images of the graffiti with historic footage of war veterans. He argues that this moment of defacement is understood through its effects:

Instead of the dead burying the dead, the dead were burying the living under the cold earth of an unrealized future; the future that those men and women had died for. The ghosts altered reality; now the protests were haunted by an idealized past *and* an idealized future (p. 160).

Pile explains that the effect of this defacement was to re-affirm the monument's original meanings.

Unlike the NWM's moments of defacement, the incident at the Whitehall Cenotaph was an intentional political moment of defacement. The skateboarding and the urination, in contrast are defacing both physically and discursively, not only through what is read as being obvious activities of disrespect, but because they both seem to articulate ignorance and indifference to the monument's meanings. Excusing and trying to dismiss the severity of the public urination

incident, many argued that they young men simply did not know. They were drunk and didn't know where they were. Haunting these excuses is the threat that sober citizens may also not know—maybe not today, but in the future, if vigilance is not taken to ensure the monument's meanings are reinforced.

Defacement then is not the act, but the repercussions of the act. Defacement is analogous to trauma and the virtual. While trauma is understood as the repetitive behaviours that follow the infliction of pain, the virtual is understood through its actualizations such as the material evidence of affective attachments. Acts are only understood as defacement if the subsequent actions produce them as such. In the case of the National War Memorial public urination defacement, the citizens-on-guard, the proposed legislation, the increased surveillance and security at the site, and the media outrage all produced the moment as an act of defacement. This constellation of responses, like in the Whitehall Cenotaph incident, worked to bury the living by the dead. The young defacers are scorned and publicly scolded, and the young dead, the soldiers represented by the monument are given a new reenergized reverence. However, at the same time both of the acts of defacement work to haunt the past with the possibilities of present and future indifference. The excessive acts of atonement, needing to speak to and be outraged by these acts demonstrate that the living are haunted by guilt for having forgotten, for not having been vigilant in their remembering.

In the Shadows: 'The Lost Boys'

When I visited the National War Memorial in the evening of November 9th 2008, a small crowd of people stood transfixed watching the monument as pairs of illuminated names slowly moved up and around the arch, pausing for 8 seconds at the top of the arch. For seven nights leading up to Remembrance Day 2008, from dusk until dawn the 68,000 names of the World War I Canadian war dead were projected onto the National War Memorial. The intent of this project titled, "Vigil 1914-1918," was to offer a powerful moment of repatriation for the Canadian soldiers who never returned to Canada. The Vigil brought hundreds of interested citizens to the monument as it became animated with motion and the designers of the Vigil

strove to democratically³⁶ name all Canadians lost in World War 1. The Vigil reiterated the monument's original commemorative intent: to honour the 68,000 Canadian war dead from the First World War and, more importantly conjured the first level of haunting, the celebrated ghosts of World War 1. In this moment in the NWM's life, the properties of the monument as a series of bronze bodies are animated as the connective tissue between a past generation of agents in Canada's birth, and a present generation remembering the past and imagining the nation's present and future.

The Vigil was the collaborative inspiration of lighting designer Martin Conboy and actor and playwright Robert H Thomas. The Vigil began with a ceremony opened by Queen Elizabeth II on November 4th, 2008. The names of the Canadian WW1 veterans were projected on Canada House in London, UK. The names were then, in time-choreographed sequence, projected on to buildings in Halifax, Fredericton, the National War Memorial in Ottawa, and buildings in Toronto, Calgary and Edmonton. Nine thousand names were projected every night and a complete schedule was posted on the internet which allowed family members to plan a visit to the Vigil to witness the repatriation of their family members. Conboy and Thomas imagined the Vigil as a virtual repatriation of the World War One casualties.

For Jonathan Vance, IWGC guidelines contributed to the un-reconciled trauma of WW1. The IWGC prohibited repatriation because of logistics; there were too many bodies to repatriate, and burying the casualties in Europe symbolically suggested that the fallen would rest with their comrades (Vance 1997, p. 60). The IWGC guidelines ensured that many could not experience burying their relatives as an act of closure. These guidelines set the context in which Vigil 1918-2008 was imagined.

The Vigil was an act of animation which served to highlight certain material and virtual properties of the NWM. In an address at the Vigil, Thomas stated, "We believe these names live in the stone, the names of the 68 000 actually live in the stone of the monument because that's to whom the monument belongs. And by placing them in light on the monument we actually bring the names to the surface."

The Vigil began with recognition of the unresolved traumas of World War I that continue to resonate in Canadian society. Thomas continued, "As artists, we are trying to present Vigil as a

³⁶ By democratically I mean all of the names were listed, given the same amount of space and time, regardless of class, creed, or rank.

piece of social history. To say directly to Canadian families that we understand that when there is war it doesn't just stop at a certain date. This is turbulence that goes on for generations" (ibid). Martin Conboy concurred, suggesting that memories of the First World War pulse strongly with Canadians:

The vigil is such a simple idea. It's amazing that no one had ever done it before... the response has been overwhelming, unbelievable. That vein that is 90 years old, we touch it and it becomes alive, like it is fully-formed and alive. People are standing there in tears looking for their grandfather's or their father's name. It's quite remarkable (M. Conboy, personal communications, December 18, 2008).

For Martin Conboy, lighting design is a form of interpretation that involves working with the building or object being lit. Conboy's understanding of lighting and representation are reminiscent of and operate within the context of projection art. Shimon Attie, in his project "The Writing on the Wall" projected archival photographs of the pre WW 2 life of Eastern Jews in Berlin on to the original or nearby architectural locations of where the photographs had been taken. He left the projections up for multiple days and was "attempting to renegotiate the relationship between past and present events, the aim of the project was to interrupt the collective processes of denial and forgetting" (in Apel 2002, p. 48). Attie and Conboy both deliberately chose the sites for their projections. Attie's sites and the National War Memorial are places already writ with significant meaning that their projections attempt to pull out. Projection, in fact is an oxymoronic term for both of their artistic endeavors, as the projections are in fact more like excavations. Attie's projection sites are mundane: vacant buildings that are the sites of former Hebrew book rooms, a Jewish hospital, and a Jewish record store. These sites were chosen to show the extent of everyday Jewish life that was obliterated and now haunts contemporary Berlin. The lighting projections/ excavations on the National War Memorial operate differently as the National War Memorial is a site that has been deliberately produced to generate a particular set of memories. However, both sites are situated in the urban hustle-bustle where the past is often overrun by the present and the future. While both projection pieces work to pull out meanings and memories that are lost, or perceived to be lost or fading, from the sites these pieces work from different perspectives. The Vigil, in contrast to Attie's projections which attempt to make present violent absences, attempts to illuminate what are already present; the ghosts already being actively conjured in the built form of the National War Memorial.

For Conboy, projecting the names on to the National War Memorial was especially powerful because of the material properties of the granite; the different quantities of mica, a material property of granite, flicker when illuminated. Projecting names on to the monument worked as a form of revelation, pulling to the surface both the material qualities of the stone and what the stone represented, the names inherent in the monument's purpose. Conboy stated that the Vigil was qualitatively different in other sites such as Edmonton where a screen was used in front of the Legislative buildings, not allowing the illuminated names to interact with an actual material aspect of the urban environment.

Despite the use of modern technology the Vigil operates within a standardized form of commemoration, the listing of the names of the dead. Listing names of casualties was a common technique of World War One monuments in Canada. Jonathan Vance (1997) explains that after World War One listing the names of the dead was so pronounced that he calls it the "cult of the service roll" (p. 116). He explains that early on in the war schools and churches published "service rolls" listing the members of their community who went off to war in the order in which they departed. After the war, "the compilation of rolls became an important ritual in postwar Canada" (p. 116), as cities and towns and smaller communities advertised and researched to insure accurate service rolls. Similarly, naming out loud the victims of violence against women is a common memorial practice at vigils (Cultural Memory Group 2006).

The listing of names can have multiple effects. In her study of the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial in Washington Marita Sturken (1997) explores how the democratic naming of the 58, 196 American Vietnam War veterans offered an arena for "multiple strands of cultural memory" (p. 58). She argues that "The histories that these names evoke and the responses they generate are necessarily multiple and replete with complex personal stakes" (p. 59). The names in the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial are listed chronologically based on death dates. There are no markings indicating the veterans' rank or creed. Similarly the names projected in the Vigil are loosely ordered based on the cemeteries where the soldiers are buried. One name, George Price, marked the end of the Vigil. He was the last Canadian to be killed before the war's end (M. Conboy, personal communications, December 18, 2008).

For an hour each evening during the Vigil, I engaged in short, informal interviews at the National War Memorial. From these interviews, I concluded that an aspect of the affective power

of the Vigil could be ascribed to the ‘roll call’ effect, the overpowering sublime effect of witnessing the vast, seemingly endless, number of war casualties. One respondent stated, Personally, I guess if I had to tell somebody to stay here more than an hour to see these names going over and over and different. It’s quite overwhelming, it’s not putting the name to the face, but it’s seeing how many people were involved. To me, that has an effect.

The impact of the names, names of strangers worked to produce collective understandings of the magnitude of the loss. Another respondent commented on observing the names: “You can maybe relate to some of the names, maybe they remind you of someone you know.” Here, the humanity and specificity of the names offered up possibilities for individual identification or emblematic memory (Rosenberg 2000). Thomas himself said of the Vigil, “So what we want to say to people is, ‘Watch. Watch the names move. This is the final march. The final roll” (Potter 2008, p. L.2). At an early count, there had been 150 000 searches on the online database (Thomson 2008, p. C.1). The sublime power of the seemingly endless roll of names is matched only by the endless amount of online searches for these names.

The Vigil also provided an exemplary moment of the wedding of individual, familial and cultural memory. Marita Sturken (1997), challenging Pierre Nora’s distinctions between history and memory, suggests that in fact history and memory are entangled. She suggests: Personal memory, cultural memory, and history do not exist within neatly defined boundaries. Rather, memories and memory objects can move from one realm to another, shifting meaning and context. Thus, personal memories can sometimes be subsumed into history, and elements of cultural memory can exist in concert with historical narratives (pp. 5-6).

The Vigil was borne out of a set of tangled memories. The actor Thomas had previously transformed familial memories into a public piece of theater, “The Lost Boys.” Five of Thomas’ great-uncles served in the First World War, only one uncle returned. During the war the five uncles sent 760 letters home to their family (Renzetti 2008, p. R.1). Together with Conboy, who projected family photographs onto the set, Thomas transformed these letters into the theatre piece, “The Lost Boys”. This collaborative experience, performing familial memories in a public space, with the use of projection art and technology set the fertile grounds for the Vigil (M. Conboy, personal communications, December 18, 2008). From the onset The Vigil also similarly worked on these different registers of individual, public and familial memories.

While many of the people interviewed spoke in general terms about Canada's losses during World War One, others connected to the event because of how it resonated with their personal or familial experiences of war. For some, like the couple that I spotted several nights in a row, the Vigil acted very explicitly as repatriation as they photographed the names of their ancestors on the monument to later archive in a genealogical program alongside photographs of their relatives in their military uniforms. While some knew generally that they had lost a great-uncle or distant relative in the war, others came to the Vigil with specific knowledge. One respondent pointed to one of the soldiers in the monument:

You see the guy over there with the weird looking machine gun thing right? I am waiting for the guy to come up about 8:01 because he was carrying one of those [machine guns] when he died. That's what we saw on the 'circumstance of his death' report. My great-uncle is coming up at 8:01 and my other great-uncle who was killed four or five months earlier he'll be at 1:30 in the morning so the hell with Elliot, but anyways, I'm here to see James, I am, after all named after the guy so...

This respondent experienced both familial losses, noting that two of his uncles' names will appear, and more striking personal losses, stressing that he has more personal connection to, and knowledge of his uncle who shares his name. In this moment, the words rolling on the arch also acquire compounding power through their relationship to the bronze soldiers below them. This respondent quite literally sees his uncle James in the figure with the particular gun as he waits for his name to appear.

Others connected to the Vigil through different forms of popular memorial practices. One respondent had come to the Vigil after seeing the Canadian war film, *Passchendaele*. The two memorial practices reinforced to her "the horror of the war." Others connected to the Vigil in relation to other more common Remembrance Day activities, speaking of always coming to the National War Memorial on Remembrance Day, or the request of one respondent's mother that she leave a poppy on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier for her. One respondent recognized the names of cemeteries projected during the Vigil from his tour of World War 1 cemeteries in Europe. A few visitors commented that they came to the Vigil with veterans of the war of Afghanistan in their thoughts. While some respondents connected specifically to familial names, others experienced the Vigil through broader public practices of remembrance. For all the respondents, the Vigil necessarily embodied the concept of tangled memories, as private losses,

specific names, were brought into the public domain of the National War Memorial. This tangling of memories further produced this site as an affective zone where belonging within the Canadian nation is produced as both a national project and an intimately domestic project. While comforting to some who could or did make these connections, for others, the Vigil project may have been perceived as another spectacle of nationalism to which they felt intimately excluded.

The Vigil also animated how the Memorial operates discursively, affectively and materially as a site. Conboy is also responsible for the every-night lighting of the NWM. He identified two key aims to his every night lighting design. First, Conboy envisioned his lighting design as producing the monument as a campfire, around which visitors gather to engage in stories, but not be the story. On producing the monument to act as a campfire, Conboy stated: When people come to pay their respects to something, they want to have an interaction with the thing itself. I think we live in a society where people, especially the young people, are constantly on show. It's self-reflexive, they do a lot of it with photographs. And seeing your shadow is a lot like that when you come to see a monument. Your shadow is actually evidence of your place there. ..And frankly some people are intimidated by that, having lights in their eyes and so forth and I wanted it to be, and actually it is great drama to light only the object and leave the people around and the surface around in darkness. So it's not that I wanted them to be anonymous, I was looking for them to have a better experience so they could actually see the thing they were looking for (M. Conboy, personal communications, December 18, 2008).

In this interpretation of the NWM, Conboy explicitly privileges the spectacle of the twenty-two bronzed soldiers, over the presence of any visitors. Conboy also focuses attention on how particular things are visible and invisible: the figures and the shadows of the figures. In the night sky, his lighting produces a halo around the National War Memorial. The invisible are made metaphorically visible through the shadows of design. These shadows are a specific evocation of loss and absence. Through the lighting design the contemporary visitors are also made invisible. This is a stark contrast to the 1945 image of the children who are posing themselves front and centre in relation to the NWM. In his lighting design, Conboy contributes to an evocation of certain ghosts— paying reverence to the soldiers from World War one, over other forms of interactions with the monument and the site.

The 2008 Vigil project was a moment in the life of the National War Memorial which worked to enact a very specific conjuring of the war losses. The Vigil worked on both the

material (granite, mica) and virtual properties (“the names live in these stones”) of the monument. The Vigil also worked to make possible a virtual repatriation of ninety-year old remains. A successful project, both the artists responsible and the witnesses were moved by the fleeting, ghost-like appearance of names on the memorial. The ghosts conjured in this moment epitomized the ontology of a ‘social ghost’; they were simultaneously deeply personal “that is my uncle!” and social—hooked into other memory technologies like films and other memorial services. Finally, the Vigil, like many other moments in the National War Memorial’s life, reaffirmed the monument’s original intent subtly disallowing a breath of commemorative possibilities.

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and The Valiants Memorial

The National War Memorial’s commemorative responsibilities expanded significantly in 1982 when the dates 1939-1945 and 1950-1953 were added to the monument’s base. This addition effectively expanded the monument’s commemorative responsibility from representing the Canadian war dead of WW1 to include the 45, 000 Canadian casualties of WW2 and 516 Canadian casualties of the Korean War. The monument was rededicated by Governor General Ed Schreyer on May 30 1982, the 43rd anniversary of the monument’s unveiling. An editorial in the *Ottawa Citizen* described the rededication as “formal recognition of the appropriateness of past practice. Now the National War Monument can truly stand for all the fallen, who are united forever by the terrible common sacrifice they made” (“Editorial” 1982, p.1)³⁷.

While the commemorative employment of the National War Memorial seemed to expand in one sense with further conflicts etched on to its base, its original commemorative intent was reinforced in 2000 with the installation of the “Tomb of the Unknown Soldier” and in 2006, with the erection of a series of busts and statues titled, “The Valiants Memorial” on Confederation Square just east of the NWM. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier stylistically and figuratively works in concert with the commemorative aesthetic of the NWM’s 1939 design. The soldier’s anonymity and the classic sculptural design of the sarcophagus correspond with the citizen-soldier motif represented in the figures of the Monument. The intent of the Valiants Memorial, to

³⁷ This editorial also suggests that the rededicated ended decades of debate as to whether World War II and Korean War veterans should have their own memorials, or continue to use the National War Memorial as an appropriate site of mourning and commemoration. The editorial also reminded readers that the memorial arch spanning Lyon at Wellington was a specific memorial to World War II veterans, a memorial often ignored.

cast in bronze fourteen exceptional figures in Canadian military history, contrasts the honouring of the every soldier that is the motif of the National War Memorial. These two monuments of the same era represent distinct additions to the National War Memorial. Both additions have also inspired the generation of new ritual practices (specifically the laying of poppies on the Tomb) and modes of engagement with the monument (specifically strengthening the monument's role as a pedagogic site through the addition of the Valiants Memorial). Finally, while the former addition was an active conjuring of one type of social haunting, the latter produces a less haunting, more pedagogic, didactic effect.

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: ... Did he have freckles?

On May 25, 2000 in the presence of a crowd of veterans, government officials and thousands of Canadian citizens, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (henceforth the Tomb) was unveiled at the foot of the National War Memorial. The interred soldier is to represent the 28,000 Canadians who have died in conflicts and have no known graves ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History" 2001, p. 1). Interring the remains of the Unknown Soldier, actual physical human remains, promised an invocation of the ghostly by producing a site that is as spirited as a burial plot.

Steve Pile (2005), following Freud suggests that the ghostly operates in urban spaces in two registers: melancholia and mourning. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier operates as a medium for 'grief-work' in the capital. Its presence is not shocking but has been produced as a necessary ghost in this central, urban space. *Ottawa Citizen* writer Graham Green (2000) suggested that at this internment, "we buried more than just our Unknown Soldier at Sunday's emotional ceremony at the National War Memorial. We also buried our indifference to the sacrifices the men and women of Canada's Armed Forces have made— and continue to make— on our behalf" (p. A.17). The correlative to 'burying our indifference' could be understood as the evocation of memory. The haunting of the Tomb takes on a specifically emblematic form as its presence is produced as emblematic of all Canadian military losses. The National War Memorial, already in its name offers the juxtaposition of two concepts: nationhood, and grief and mourning. These concepts are naturally wed when soldiers fight for their country; their deaths already demand national grief. Tombs of unknown soldiers do not mark individuals but situate bodies as

metonymic for the social body of an imagined community or nation. The soldier interred is produced, mourned, and remembered as a Canadian. The dynamic meanings this idea embodies are of powerful political significance.

Interring remains of an “unknown soldier” to stand in for collective, national losses has become a common memorial strategy for many countries (Shipley 1987, p. 107; Anderson 1983, p. 9). In fact, one of the key forces behind the proposal to create the Tomb, the Dominion Secretary, retired Brigadier-General Duane Daly, suggested the establishment of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier after visiting many similar Tombs in South Africa in 1996 (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p. 1). The establishment of the “Tomb of the Unknown Soldier” at the foot of the National War Memorial is understood by many as adding an element of the sacred to the Memorial. The Tomb, as a symbol to stand-in for many, also serves to stand-in for “national” losses. Benedict Anderson (1983) has declared that “no more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers” (p. 9). Tombs of unknown soldiers, for Anderson, are: “saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings” (p. 9). They are effective because nationalism is intimately connected to death and ideas of mortality and immortality. With what he understands as the waning of “religious modes of thought” (p. 11), the nation has become the idea of continuity that individuals can attach themselves to. Anderson is clear that he’s not suggesting that nationalism has become or replaced religion, but rather that nationalism is aligned with the cultural systems of religious thought, as opposed to simply-held political ideologies (p. 12). This idea is echoed repeatedly in the form of national monuments which utilize religious tropes of resurrection as parallel to tropes of national birth and rebirth³⁸ (see Vance 1997).

Repatriating the remains of an unknown soldier and interring them in a sarcophagus at the head of the National War Memorial was a millennium project of the Royal Canadian Legion (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001). The Tomb, while at once overwhelmingly revered as offering a sacred space, was also critiqued for placing remains in a busy urban space. Some argued the Tomb should be placed in the national cemetery, or a quiet place of reverence, echoing earlier concerns about the placing of the National War Memorial in

³⁸ This is particularly true in a Canadian context with the constant commemoration of the Battle of Vimy Ridge as *the* battle which marked Canada’s birth as a nation.

the middle of a traffic triangle (Lambert 2008, p. A.13). Lindsay Lambert gives some reasons for this critique:

Historically, burial at a busy crossroads was considered a special punishment for suicides or particularly heinous murderers, as a guarantee that they would never be able to rest in peace. I ask myself if I would want my great-uncle honoured by reburial at Elgin and Wellington streets, or myself for that matter. The answer is no. I would prefer to be left in the quiet, green cemetery with my comrades-in-arms (Lambert 2008, p. A. 13).

Despite this critique, the Legion vehemently fought to place the Tomb at the foot of the National War Memorial. A suggestion—and a continued line of questioning for me is whether and how the Tomb has re-inscribed the Square as a sacred place.

When designing the Tomb, the Committee decided to place a sarcophagus over the steps at the front of the NWM, a design preferred because it would stylistically match the Memorial, and provide an ideal site for wreath-laying ceremonies (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p. 24). In the design process consideration was given to the height of the sarcophagus, privileging a lower height to prevent people from using the Tomb as a bench (ibid, p. 26). The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier tightly corresponds with the initial commemorative intent and aesthetic styling of the National War Memorial. The altar was modeled after the altar at the Vimy Ridge memorial (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p. 7). The sarcophagus was built with granite from the La Riviere Pierre quarry, the same quarry that was the source of the granite for the National War Memorial (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p. 38). The contract to sculpt the designs on the Tomb was awarded to British Columbian sculptor Mary Ann Liu, from a select group of ten invited nominees (“Sculpting” 2003). Many aspects of Liu’s sculpture sutured the Tomb directly into classical motifs for World War 1 commemorations. The sculpture includes four principle sculpted pieces which were made in monumental scale at 1.5 times life size. A helmet is both polished yet burnished from service, a large sword, scarred by battle, maple leaves for Canada and laurel leaves for both victory and death (“Sculpting” 2003). From a documentary video, the narrator suggests, “Mary Anne suggested that the monument echo and emphasize the rounded neoclassical curves and arches of the existing war memorial. So that the new sarcophagus would be completely harmonious with its surroundings” (“Sculpting” 2003, 8:29). The leaves, as

symbols of both death and life, are also intended to bring some life to what could be perceived of as dead stone. The corner pieces of the tomb, installed to both anchor the piece visually and prevent skateboarders, also represent the medals given to the families of the fallen and depict the three sovereigns under whom Canadians have fought: King George V, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth II ("Sculpting" 2003). These pieces expand the Tomb's commemorative breadth to include war losses incurred after World War One (and the reign of King George V).

The exhumation of the Unknown Soldier's remains, the repatriation of these remains to Canada, and the Tomb's unveiling all followed Legion protocol. Every moment in the process to exhume and inter the remains produced the soldier as Canadian in a mode suitable to what had become reified within public performances of Canadian citizenship. In France, soil was taken from the site to be mixed with soil from every province, and a stone was placed at the grave stating, "The former grave of an unknown Canadian soldier of the first world war. His remains were removed on 25 May 2000 and now lie interred at the national war memorial in Ottawa Canada" ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History" 2001, p. 34). On May 25, 2000 the remains returned to Canada to lie in state at the Parliament buildings. At Centre Block, the Governor General, Prime Minister, and Speaker of the Senate welcomed the remains. The Peace Tower flag was lowered to half-mast. The funeral procession which led to the interment of the remains in the sarcophagus at the National War Memorial was held three days later on Sunday, May 28th. Present at the funeral procession was an air force platoon, army platoon, navy platoon and RMC platoon, 6 tanks, a band from the Royal 22nd regiment, the RCMP on foot, a parade of 1000 Canadian war veterans, and an estimated 15 000 spectators ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History", p. 96 and p. 118). Soil bearers poured soil from France and every province and territory on to the coffin, and Grand Chief Howard Anderson placed an offering of tobacco and a feather (p. 105). The unveiling service, which dutifully incorporated representation from every region in Canada, a performance of Christianity as Canada's civil religion, and the incorporation of Aboriginal spirituality, was another ritual service that produced the NWM as a site of public citizenship.

While we know little about the Unknown Soldier, we do know that he was a casualty of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. Originally, it was suggested that the remains of a Boer War soldier be interred because the Boer War was the first conflict in which Canada fought as a nation. Senator Romeo Dallaire suggested the interment of a Vimy Ridge casualty, suggesting, as is repeatedly

argued that Vimy Ridge was a key moment that marked Canada's emergence as a nation, and that the Battle at Vimy Ridge was a conflict with a significant number of Canadian casualties ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History" 2001, pp. 3-4). The Unknown Soldier was one of 425 unidentified Canadians buried at the Cabaret-Rouge Cemetery at Vimy Ridge ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History", p. 32). When the remains of the Unknown Soldier were exhumed, they found a number of small objects including, "2 buttons, 2 boot soles, 2 gas mask eye pieces, and... one bullet' (p. 33). That is all we know about the Unknown Soldier. The Unknown Soldier is materially minimal—buttons, boot soles, ashes. However, his virtual reach is endless.

In her address at the committal service, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson begins this work of imaging the immense unknowns in her speech:

We do not know his name. We do not know if he was a MacPherson or a Chartrand. He could have been a Kaminski or a Swiftarrow. We do not know whether he was a father himself. We do not know whether he had begun truly to live his life as a truck driver or a scientist, a minor or a teacher, a farmer or a student. We do not know where he came from. Was it the Prairies whose rolling sinuous curves recall a certain kind of eternity? Was he someone who loved our lakes and knew them from a canoe? ...In honouring this unknown soldier today, through this funeral and through this burial, we are embracing the fact of the anonymity and saying that because we do not know him and we do not know what he could have become, he has become more than one body, more than one grave. He is an ideal. He is a symbol of all sacrifice. He is every soldier in all our wars (as cited in "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History" 2001, pp. 100-101).

By attempting to depict many 'Canadians,' Clarkson animated the monument to its broadest and most 'Canadian' registers. By understanding the soldier as an "ideal", Clarkson placed the soldier in a very specific ontological place. The soldier is actual, interred are actual remains. However, he is also ideal. The soldier draws attention and evokes emotions through its idealizations. Despite what is concrete about the soldier, he moves us through the virtualities that circulate with him. The buttons, bullet, ashes are concretizations of the virtualities of idea Canadian citizenry—to be brave, to be loyal, and to possibly be... all of those ideas described by Clarkson, a prairie boy, a fighter, a boy with freckles.

According to the Legion, at its unveiling the Tomb already proved to be a popular, poignant and successful initiative (“Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History” 2001, p.118). The Tomb received many visitors shortly after its installment:

For days, weeks, months after 28 May, even into the winter, at all hours of the day, there were often a few people standing reverently at the Tomb, or perhaps talking to their young children about the significance of the beautiful structure in bronze and granite. Floral and other tributes were frequently placed on the Tomb by the public and visitors from across Canada (ibid, p. 118). In its nine year residence at the foot of the National War Memorial, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier has contributed to this burgeoning aura of the sacred that surrounds the NWM.

Following the 2008 Remembrance Day service, I noticed that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier had become quickly blanketed in lapel poppies. Seemingly spontaneous and organic the blanket of red poppies is a complicated moment of ritual and remembering at the National War Memorial. In contrast to the rigid policies surrounding the sanctioned laying of wreaths, the poppy laying tradition offers a memorial practice for all visitors and mourners³⁹. The laying of poppies at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was born as a tradition on the first Remembrance Day following the Tomb’s placement, November 11, 2000. The practice could be understood as an ‘invented tradition.’ According to Hobsbawm (1983), ‘invented traditions’ are specifically designed in the interest of inculcating affective nationalisms. The invention of flags, national anthems, and other nationalist practices may incorporate historic references but are also largely invented for specific purposes of inspiring affective relationships to the state in a present moment.

New, invented traditions are fundamental to the generation of affective, virtual, relationships to a nation or imagined community. The content of these new traditions, as Hobsbawm explains is less relevant than the affects of their practice. Laying lapel poppies on the Tomb is only a significant practice in that it sutures the new monument to old meanings of nationalism, sacrifice and reverence.

³⁹ In my Remembrance Day observations, I noted that leaving poppies was practice that had spread to other monuments, particularly the National Aboriginal War Veterans monument, where poppies are accompanied by offerings of tobacco.



Figure 5—Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

From this framework, what does the laying of poppies at the Tomb do? The provenance of the tradition can be understood to have two lineages. First, the laying of offerings at a tomb is understood to have a near timeless quality. The second lineage is the more specific history of lapel poppies. The poppy is a symbol central to Canadian Remembrance Day practices and it is the symbol anchoring one of the bronze corner pieces of the Tomb. Robert Shipley (1987) suggests that the poppy is a symbolic motif with Christian origins, "In Christian art the blood-red flower had long been connected with Christ's passion" (p. 144). Poppies are also flowers that grew naturally at sites of destruction and battlefields, naturally becoming a symbol of hope in the face of obscene pain and violence. The poppy was officially adopted as a Remembrance symbol in 1921, six years after Canadian poet John McCrae's famous poem, "In Flanders Fields" (Shipley 1987, p. 144). Again, Shipley iterates: "When the motifs appear on Canadian memorials they are not meant to be indicative of victory in war; rather, they speak of the eternal life that is the hope of the faithful and that alone can make sense of the loss of so many people" (p. 144). The tradition of laying poppies on the Tomb, offers a connective tissue between the everyday, passerby and traditional commemorative practices.

The poppy-laying tradition was officially born or invented in 2000 with historic roots in both timeless, ancient practices and historically and nationally specific history of poppies

growing at Flander's Fields. What does this tradition do? In an informal interview, one respondent both speaks to the origins of this tradition and their affective impacts:

At the end of the Remembrance Day ceremony, people take their poppies off and lay them on the tomb. It gets you. It's really touching. People just started doing it, on their own, no one told them to. It's because the diplomats can go up and put their wreaths, but this is just the public doing it to go and thank them.

For this visitor, the practice has produced a democratic practice of remembrance—all citizens can easily remove their lapel poppy, visit the Tomb and pay their respects. In another interview, the respondent's relationship with the Tomb is complicated by both understandings of broader memorial practices, and an understanding of invented traditions. Describing the Memorial, she stated:

The best part [of the Memorial] is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. That's made a big difference. I think part of it is a story that my mom had told me. When she was young she went to live in Washington DC to live with her aunt and uncle for a few months and she went to the tomb there, and when she came to Ottawa, she was wandering all over Ottawa trying to find the tomb of the unknown soldier and there wasn't one. So, on Tuesday she wants us to put a poppy on there for her.

The first Canada Day after the unveiling of the Tomb, another spontaneous moment of collective offering validated the suggestion that The Tomb is a site for performing a public citizenship: That the tomb was for all Canadians was demonstrated on 01 July 2000, Canada Day. Parliament Hill is a mob scene of celebrating Canadians on most Canada Days and Canada 2000 was no exception. Yet in the midst of the sea of boisterous celebration there was an island of quiet tranquility at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. A steady stream of people came by the Tomb and paused in quiet contemplation before continuing on their way. And many left a small Canadian flag on the Tomb. By early evening the Tomb was blanketed in Canadian flags ("Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History" 2001, p. 119).

Like Hobsbawn's description of invented traditions, the laying of poppies has not been officially endorsed however, the implications of the practice are profound. To lay your poppy at the Tomb is to engage in a collective, national grief. It is a moment of very specific public citizenship. To be Canadian in this moment is to mourn and to remember, specifically, it is to mourn and remember through the images of Vimy Ridge, Flander's Fields, and Canadian losses.

Interred at the NWM, the Unknown Soldier has been produced as an eternal public citizen. As such, while his physical remains are minimal, virtually, the soldier has near endless reaches. He is to embody almost all of what a Canadian could have been and could be in the future be. Through these virtual potentialities the Tomb broadens the scope and register of the National War Memorial. The corner pieces which represent other eras of Canadian military activity suggest that, while we know in fact that the Soldier died at Vimy Ridge, he is supposed to represent other past and future losses. The Tomb also works to reinforce the nation-building ability of the National War Memorial. The design of the Tomb, the ceremonies which marked its presence and the remains themselves all speak explicitly to the NWM's original World War One commemorative intent. While the interment of the Unknown Soldier has produced a specific, ghostly aura at the NWM; these are welcomed, conjured ghosts. What we are compelled to not forget—the losses at Vimy Ridge also compel us to remember the birth of Canada as a nation.

The Valiants Memorial

To the direct east of the National War Memorial is the Valiants Memorial, a 2006 addition to Confederation Square. The monument consists of fourteen busts and statues that circle the “Sappers’ Staircase” an underpass that accesses the Rideau Canal. When you descend the stairs, a wall in the staircase hosts a large plaque with a Virgil quotation engraved on it: “No day will erase you from the memory of time.” The valiant figures represent five eras in Canadian military history: the French regime, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the First World War and the Second World War and include various Canadian war ‘heroes’ such as Joseph Brant, Laura Secord and Arthur Currie. The Valiants Memorial was the initiative of a citizens’ group, The Valiants Foundation, led by media proprietor Hamilton Southam. The National Capital Commission (2008) in their promotional material describe the monument: The Valiants Memorial reminds us how war has had a profound influence on the evolution of Canada. The fourteen individuals featured in the memorial are celebrated for their personal contributions, but they also represent critical moments in our military history. Presented together, they become a kind of pageant of our past, showing how certain key turning points in our military history contributed to the building of our country. The memorial is therefore intended to

acknowledge and honour the role that military participation, and the men and women who contributed to that participation, have had on nation building (n.p).

In contrast to the Tomb's aura of sacred reverence, the Valiants Memorial presents a staged spectacle of heroes or as the NCC describes it: "a kind of pageant of our past." I argue that the Valiants contribute to reinforcing the commemorative meanings of the NWM and Confederation Square. However, unlike the Tomb, the Valiants contribute quite explicitly to producing a site for "pedagogies of patriotism" (Mackey 2002, p. 59).



Figure 6—The Valiants Memorial. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

The Valiants Foundation led and designed the competition for the monument, while the National Capital Commission (NCC) secured the site and organized and managed the design competition. The monument was jointly funded by the Valiants Foundation, and the National Council of Veterans Associations and the federal government. In the design requirements, the Foundation stipulated that the design include a "reasonable likeness" of the fourteen commemorated individuals and the previously cited Virgil quotation (J. McGowan, personal communications, February 19, 2010).

An earlier plan for the Valiants was to produce a wall of soldiers, what Southam referred to as a "Canadian pantheon" (Prentice 2003, p. F.3). During the planning and design of the Valiants Memorial project, the number of Valiants to be commemorated grew from eight to

twelve to twenty and then to fourteen (Lajeunesse interview: 2010). Generals Wolfe and Montcalm were removed from the monument after federal Heritage Minister Sheila Copps expressed concern that the monument was going to overly celebrate military history (Prentice 2003, p. F.3).

At first analysis, the celebration of fourteen heroes seems to contradict the celebration of the anonymous citizen-soldier embodied by the National War Memorial. However, according to Vance (1997, pgs. 151-157), placing the cultural trauma of World War 1 within a lineage of national conflicts was also a common trope of World War 1 commemorations. Like the corner pieces of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the Valiants allow visitors to contextualize the sacrifices of WWI in the context of other Canadian military activities.

Each bust and statue is accompanied by a plaque which details the figure's contribution to Canadian military history. Through the specific, figurative design representing each figure, and the accompanying plaque, the pedagogic potential for the Valiants memorial is quite significant. These pedagogic aims are articulated by NCC representative Janet McGowan: One of the things that the Foundation wanted to do was engage visitors and help them learn about the war's role in the development of our country. It might be an old-fashioned way to have statues, but if you're talking about a specific person, that's usually the best way to talk about them, by having a likeness. And it didn't have to be a full statue or a bust; it could have been a relief image (personal communications, February 19, 2010).

McGowan continues to suggest that the Valiants Memorial would incite interest in Canada's military history through its accessible and highly pedagogic form. She stresses that both their placement at eye-level and the detail in the plaque and in the sculptures would encourage this type of interest:

We wanted to make sure that the information in that plaque adequately said why that person was important and who they were... in doing so, the Foundation hoped that people would see these people face to face, it was like you were meeting the person and hopefully it would incite people to do more research or look them up or say "I've seen so and so also in the War Museum" (personal communications, February 19, 2010).

Unlike the Tomb, the Valiants were not designed to inspire specific affective responses. They were designed to inform and educate rather than inspire or agitate.

I asked landscape architect Gerald Lajeunesse how the NCC considered the relationship between the Valiants Memorial and the National War Memorial. He explained that since the placement of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the National War Memorial had become even more drenched in reverence. The highly-charged mood of Confederation Square was something they considered in the landscaping of the Valiants Memorial site. He explains,

So the relationship of this opening, up and down movement of pedestrians would this be disrespectful of the war memorial? That was the question that was being asked. But at the end of the day since Valiants truly were soldiers or people involved in conflicts and military actions they felt there was a very strong relationship between the two... Had the Valiants been surrounding the NWM that would have been a different story, but it just didn't look right or feel right. It needed to be a concentrated area. Because then you'd be walking around trying to interpret and read who all these people are and this is the most important element. You don't go here and lay wreaths. This becomes just recognition of the Valiants (Lajeunesse personal communications, March 26th 2010).

Lajeunesse articulates clearly the affective and purposive differences between the National War Memorial and the Valiants Memorial. He also stresses that the valiants are not just historic figures, but also military figures that can similarly be mourned. However, the key force and purpose of the Valiants is pedagogic.

Going down the steps to the canal one finds a large plaque inscribed with a Virgil quotation reading, "No day will erase you from the memory of time." This plaque continues to inscribe the historic site of the Plaza Bridge with importance. However, rather than its local history as the site of the Stony Monday riots and the site of decades of everyday social tensions, the site is writ with meanings of national mourning and remembrance. Janet McGowan explained the reasoning for including the inscription on the wall:

[it] was very important for us to use the wall. Because we have this big span of empty space that was designed to accept public art or monument so that is why that area was chosen. The Valiants Foundation wanted something close by to the National War Memorial and the NCC had created this space to accept a piece of art (personal communications, February 19, 2010).

This aspect of the memorial alters the singular aspect of the monument from a celebration of 'heroes' to an appeal for a broader commemorative intent; a celebration of humanity, redemption

or justice. Jonathan Vance (1997) explains that this is a strategy that is commonly employed with monuments: “They frequently affirm that the war had been fought for civilization, humanity, or ideals like Liberty, Truth, Justice, Honour, Mercy or Freedom. Such inscriptions, which list the specific principles at stake and confirm the value of fighting for those principles, proliferate in every Canadian province” (p. 28). The Virgil quotation, and the proximity to the National War Memorial, complicate a reading of the Valiants as a mere spectacle of Canada’s military past.

The figures within the NWM allow for multiple identifications with the monument; there is a sapper representing the Canadian Engineers, a railway worker yielding a pick, there is a figure in a wide-brimmed hat representing the Canadian Forestry Corps. A kilted infantryman represents the 28 Scottish regiments that Canada deployed. Each of these figures open up the monument to specific, personalized, interactions.

A new focus on pedagogy at Confederation Square may have begun with the inauguration of the Valiants Memorial, but it was further developed in the wake of the 2006 public urination incident. In 2008, the NCC began an interpretation program employing two or three NCC trained interpreters to stand at Confederation Square during the late spring and summer. The interpreters are accompanied by a temporary, interactive exhibit that explains the production, unveiling and ‘meaning’ of the National War Memorial. The interpreters do not offer a specific script, but rather answer visitors’ questions, point out interesting features of the monument, discuss its formal elements, and play an “I Spy” activity with visiting children.

While the commemorative employment of the National War Memorial expanded in one sense with the further conflicts etched on to its base, its original commemorative intent was reinforced in 2000 with the installation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and in 2006 with the erection of the Valiants Memorial. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier stylistically and figuratively works in concert with the commemorative aesthetic of the 1939 design. The soldier’s anonymity and the classic sculptural design of the sarcophagus correspond with the citizen-soldier motif represented in the figures of the Monument. The intent of the Valiants Memorial, to cast in bronze fourteen exceptional figures in Canadian military history, contrasts the honouring of the every soldier that is the motif of the National War Memorial, while conforming to the nation-building agenda of the NWM. These two monuments of the same era represent distinctly different etchings on to the National War Memorial. While the Valiants were designed to educate and entertain, the Tomb was designed as a site of reverence. The effects of these additions have

been consequently distinct; the Tomb contributes to the evocation of the ghostly at the monument, while the Valiants in contrast hint towards producing the square as a didactic, pedagogic site.

Conclusion

In sixty years both mischief and protocol surrounding the National War Memorial have changed, corresponding with and complicating the monument's ever-expanding aura of ghostly responsibilities. The suggestion, in the 1950s, that guards be hired to prevent the unauthorized laying of wreaths suggests a highly constrictive use of the monument. However, the monument at that time remained open to the pleasure of skateboarders, to children climbing on the soldiers' heads. This inconsistency suggests that meanings surrounding the monument are in constant reinvention. While the interment of the Tomb seemed to secure the site's sacred being, the Valiants memorial offers up a memorial practice that is more spectacular than reverential. Both additions reinforced the monument's central role as a place to commemorate specifically Canadian war losses of World War One.

The constant re-inscriptions of meaning of the National War Memorial and Confederation Square also continue to suture a particular type of public citizenship to this central site of meaning-making in the capital. Both the Remembrance Day rituals and the more recently inaugurated Vimy Ridge Memorial Day rituals are performances of a particular 'public citizenship.' In these rituals of citizenship, Canadians are compelled to identify with distant Canadian war losses understood to have ushered in the birth of the nation. These affective connections are produced so consistently and with such success that other identifications—or the proposal of alternative meanings of the monument—are understood as defacing acts (for example to lay a Peace wreath, or wreath to Polish war losses).

Finally, both the Vigil and the moments of defacement have suggested that the scope of the monument's power and reach are simultaneously beyond and hidden within the monument's material form, only to be revealed at moments of defacement or animation. These ghostly reaches express the very specific affective attachments that have been instilled in the monument. What haunts is the insistence that the monument is to particular war losses and the promises of specific ideas for Canada. What also haunts are the persistent, arresting suggestions that other

forms of remembrance, or particular attachments are possible (to peace, and to indifference, for example).

Part II: Aboriginality & Colonialism in Ottawa

Chapter 5: Unmapping Nepean Point

Introduction

From 1924-1999, a monument to an Aboriginal Scout stood on a pedestal at Nepean Point looking over the Ottawa River. The Scout was dressed in a loincloth, holding in one hand an arrow, a quiver resting on his back. The Scout was a later addition to a 1915 monument to the French explorer Samuel de Champlain. The statue of the Scout represents a highly complicated and contested Aboriginal presence in the city. In 1996, Aboriginal citizens led by Assembly of First Nations (AFN) Chief Ovide Mercredi staged protests at the Scout monument arguing that it was a derogatory representation of Aboriginal people and should be moved (Blyth 1998, p. 4). In 1999 the National Capital Commission moved the Scout to a new location in the neighbouring Major's Hill Park, leaving an empty, unmarked plinth where the Scout used to be. In this Chapter, I argue that throughout its life the Scout monument has been continually reproduced as a site for both producing and challenging meanings about Canadian aboriginality, in particular, urban aboriginality. These contestations were possible because of the Scout's original location at both the foot of a monument to Champlain and in the heart of ceremonial Ottawa. The relationship between the Champlain and Scout monuments and their home of Nepean Point are reflective of Ottawa's history as a capital city of a white-settler society. In this context, I am asking, how was the Scout moved or sutured to place through colonial nostalgia and the haunting of postcolonial ghosts? Postcolonialism refers here to an understanding of colonialism as not a certain epoch, but rather a set of ideologies that are historically and geographically dispersed (Said 1994, p. 7, Jacobs 1996, p. 25). Therefore, in discussing the postcolonial, we are already discussing the ghosts of colonialism.

Conventional Canadian lore rests upon the myth of three founding nations: the English, the French and Aboriginal peoples. This ideology is expressed in Ottawa's symbolically-charged built environment. In understanding the life of the Scout at Nepean Point, it becomes apparent that this monument in this space complicated understandings of aboriginality and myths about

the Canadian nation. This became particularly evident in how the Scout became implicated in various, conflicting tensions and celebrations of nationhood.

In the first section, I explore how, as a figurative bronze body and site of ghostly conjuring the Scout monument enables postcolonial engagements with past and present cityscapes. In the second section, I offer an exegesis of the Scout's lookout for seventy years, Nepean Point. I argue that the placement of the Scout and Champlain monuments were key moments in the production of the capital city as a site for the spatialisation of colonial logic. In the third section, I explain how the Scout and Champlain monuments were built within the context of an explosion of Champlain commemorations from the first three decades of the 20th century and the simultaneous proliferation of a commodified "Imaginary Indian" (Francis 1997) figure in Canadian popular culture. In part four, I offer an unmapping of the Scout's seventy-seven year life at Nepean Point. In this section I suggest that the sentiments articulated around the Scout's removal demonstrate both a particular form of colonial nostalgia and attempts to engage in more nuanced postcolonial forms of commemorative repair.

Ghosts and Bodies

While social haunting suggests that cities are doubly-occupied, inhabited both by the living and by the dead, in postcolonial cities in white-settler societies like Canada, the United States and Australia, the ghosts are also figures that refuse to forget the colonial violence which facilitated the development of the white settler-society. Edward Said (1994), in his text *Culture and Imperialism* is interested in how the logics of imperialism and colonialism continue to be felt, and produced at specific historic moments and in contemporary society. Understanding colonialism and imperialism as ideological, rather than only economic or political, means analyzing how imperialism produces affective relationships (p. 10). For Said, and other writers of postcolonial thought, engaging with contemporary colonial and imperial ideologies is both an engagement with the ghostly and nostalgia. Contemporary cultural products that celebrate or align with colonial logic keep alive what is assumed dead: colonialism. A postcolonial analysis is an engagement with these ghosts of the past that, through their haunting presence, produce contemporary practices of racialization. In these contexts, attending to the ghostly can be a postcolonial agenda (MacEwan 2008, Legg 2005, Pile 2005). Stephen Legg (2005) explains, "Postcolonialism seeks out the continuing influence of colonialism in the present so as to subvert

it forbidding us to forget the violence, both physical and epistemic, of colonial modernity" (p. 497).

The global project of colonization is presented and often understood as a linear historic and violent displacement and subjugation of indigenous peoples by Western Europeans. However, many postcolonial scholars argue that colonial texts constantly signal towards white anxiety and ambivalence about this process (see McClintock 1995, Said 1994, Phillips 1997). Ann McClintock (2005) echoes this understanding of colonial mapping practices as embodying their own undoing. Through reading various cartographers' accounts of their own mapping practices, McClintock first argues that there is a "long tradition of male travel as an erotics of ravishment" (22). In these narratives, foreign lands were often depicted as feminine and available for the conquest of the European male travelers. Both the male and female inhabitants of these lands were similarly understood as grotesquely erotic. McClintock suggests that the consistency of these narratives produced the colonial world as the "porno-tropics" (p. 22). However, McClintock argues that within these narratives of white male conquest and indigenous female submission, there are also narratives of white male anxiety. McClintock describes a drawing from 1575 of the 'discovery' of America. In this drawing Vespucci, fully clothed, carrying an astrolabe and flag, approaches a relaxed female nude in a hammock. While the woman is vulnerable, the man in this image is also presented as being in need of protection, protective clothing and instruments of science (p. 25).

Edward Said (1994) also presents a reading of white anxiety when he offers us two readings of Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness." One reading of the novella sees Conrad as presenting colonialism as a natural teleology of white supremacy by "arguing that the colonial world was in some ways ontologically speaking lost to begin with, irredeemable, irrecusably inferior" (p. 25). A second reading sees Conrad representing a colonial process that is "local to a time and place, neither unconditionally true nor unqualifiedly certain" (p. 25). By writing a text that is open to multiple readings, Said suggests that Conrad offers a more ambivalent reading of colonialism.

Representations of the colonial 'other' as naturally inferior, and in need of white saviours are productions of a false confidence produced to alleviate white anxiety that this process of violence and displacement is not "as it should be or appears to be" (Said 1994, p. 29). The 1915 Champlain monument with the 1924 Scout addition conform to these representational

codes—a heraldic Champlain, high on a cliff, and then a belated addition, the Scout monument. At the time of its birth, the monument and its representational stakes are already precarious. While the plaque reads “the First Great Canadian” this bold pronouncement is threatened to be undone by first the Scout and then the empty ledge on which the Scout stood. The figure of Champlain is to be continuously haunted by the ghosts of colonial violence.

The presence, circulation, and conjuring of postcolonial ghosts produce an enchanted Ottawa that both shocks and comforts. The Aboriginal Scout and the colonial thinking he represents offer a figure of nostalgic comfort for some who remember longingly climbing on him as a child. For others, the Scout shocks them into remembering the violence and subjugation which is constitutive of their present worlds. Ovide Mercredi, the Chief of the Assembly of First Nations expressed shock and disgust at discovering the Scout. After the Scout was relocated, the Aboriginal photographer Jeffrey Thomas was shocked by the statue’s absence. For Thomas, the empty ledge has become haunted by the Scout’s absence.

How, exactly can a monument allow for the conjuring of social ghosts? The Scout is allowed to conjure certain colonial ghosts through his form as a figurative aboriginal body. It is through his form as a crouching man, close to the ground, that visitors engage with salient understandings of Canada’s history and Ottawa’s present. The Scout as a body is treated as a play-thing, a defaced object and, eroticized figure to titillate. Through its bronzed, nearly naked body, the Scout becomes a conduit for various sets of emotions—affection, repulsion, eroticism. Considering that memory is produced through the body, The body of the Aboriginal Scout enables the generation and articulation of various memories and affective attachments. Through the Scout, affection is articulated for colonial understandings of Aboriginal peoples. Also through the Scout, Aboriginal people like Ovide Mercredi and Jeffrey Thomas have found a means to challenge present colonial thinking.

Nepean Point

Placing the Aboriginal Scout at Nepean Point produced a complicated mapping of colonial desires; he was both at the foot of Champlain and in the heart of Ottawa. Nepean Point is a location with its own unique, colonial history. I will begin my exploration of Nepean Point, with this eloquent description by *Ottawa Citizen* journalist Robert Sibley:

The view from Nepean Point is certainly panoramic. Sheltering from wind and rain against the statue of Samuel de Champlain, I gaze up the Ottawa River... The point, I decide, provides the finest view of the capital region. Indeed, I need only turn around to take in the embassies and government buildings along Sussex Drive, the glass domes of the National Gallery, the silver spires of Notre Dame Basilica, the green oasis of Major's Hill Park, the fairy-tale towers of the Chateau Laurier and the hulking U.S. Embassy looking like a landlocked aircraft carrier... Ignoring the rain like a true stalwart explorer, I look up at Champlain, wondering if he might have found the view inspiring, and what he might think if he could see the country he helped create (Sibley 2009c, p. A.6).

Through his eloquent description, Sibley applauds the colonial project which has resulted in the production of the “inspiring” cityscape of Canada’s capital. Nepean Point is the site from which to celebrate through a panoramic view, the “fairy tale” magic of settlement. Convenient lore, generated by Sibley above, suggests that it is from this point that the French explorer Samuel de Champlain surveyed the Ottawa River on his maiden 1613 voyage to the region. This belief supported the placement of the Champlain monument at this site in 1915 and is articulated in many tourist and literary tributes to the city⁴⁰. At the unveiling ceremony of the Champlain monument, the secretary of the Champlain Monument committee Dr. J.K.Foran noted in his speech:

It was here that Samuel de Champlain, in 1613 landed; it was on this spot that he took, with his old fashioned astrolabe the observations mentioned in his memoirs. He stated that it was on the south side of the Ottawa, on the third cliff, from the great cataract—this is the third cliff, this is the south side; yonder is the Chaudière (City of Ottawa archives, File: Statues, HF-0298, *Ottawa Citizen*, May 28th 1915).

Commemorating Samuel de Champlain at Nepean Point began a long-term project of producing spatial narratives of colonial history, progress and order. Jane Jacobs (1996) argues that “it was in outpost cities that the spatial order of imperial imaginings was rapidly and deftly felt” (p. 4).

⁴⁰ Nick and Helen Mika begin their history of Bytown:

On the high cliff opposite the Chaudiere Falls at the site of the future national capital, stood Samuel de Champlain, the great French explorer and colonizer, on the 4th of June, 1613. Here he encountered what must have been one of the most impressive views during his many years of travel. It was a breathtaking scene (Mika 1982, p. 11).

While the placement of Champlain began this process of creating a visual spatialization of colonial logic, as I will show later, the belated addition of the Scout monument both continued and complicated these narratives.

Nepean Point and its adjacent Major's Hill Park have long histories of being sites for celebrating and producing ideas about the Canada. Like Confederation Square, Nepean Point was largely developed by the government around the time of World War One and was also considered as a potential site to commemorate the war. In 1919, there was speculation that Lord Beaverbrook intended to construct a memorial pavilion at Nepean Point, however, Beaverbrook refuted this as a mere rumour ("Nepean Point," 1919). Also in the 1960s there was an aborted proposal to build a memorial hall at the Point ("History of Major's Hill Park..." 1975, p. 9). Like Confederation Square, Nepean Point has also been home to many monuments and the proposed home to other monuments that were never built. Both Confederation Square and Nepean Point have been deliberately developed as sites for producing Ottawa as a capital city that effectively instruct visitors on proper Canadian ideals and attachments.

The life of Nepean Point as a site of importance from the 1850s to the present highlight that despite the various contests to establish meaning at the Point, there are few possibilities with the narratives of belonging in Canada. Through the history of this site I demonstrate that while the meanings that are actively produced at Nepean Point are momentarily challenged in 1996 with the protests at the Scout monument, they are reaffirmed with the placement of a Lawren Harris-inspired sculpture *Hundred- Foot Line* in 2010. In producing Nepean Point as a specifically patriotic and pedagogic site, the National Capital Commission, City of Ottawa and other interested parties, could not, however foresee various engagements with the site that might un-do these narratives.

Nepean Point and Major's Hill Park were destined to become pivotal ceremonial sites. Both flanking the entrance of the Rideau Canal, the two sites are historically rich—the Park was the one-time home of Rideau canal chief designer Colonel John By while, as I already explained, the Point was an alleged look-out site for Samuel de Champlain. Both sites are situated in between the prestige of Parliament Hill and the bustle of the working-class neighbourhood of Lower Town (the Byward Market). In the 1850s, when Governor General Lord Head and Lady Head visited Major's Hill Park, Lady Head was so impressed with its beauty she made a sketch of the park which she presented to Queen Victoria. Mythologically, this sketch had an impact on

the Queen's decision to name Ottawa the capital ("History of Major's Hill Park..." 1975, p. 3). On the first Dominion Day, July 1, 1867, Major's Hill Park was the scene of a gigantic fire of brushwood, fireworks and celebration (Brault 1981, p. 10). In 1874, the park had become so popular amongst Ottawa citizens that it was designated as the city's first public park, Dominion Park. A carriageway was laid, flower beds were planted, a pond, glass pavilion and fountain were installed ("History of Major's Hill Park..." 1975, p. 4). The Park and the Point continued to play host to national and local celebrations when, in January of 1885, the festivities of a winter carnival were concluded at an ice castle built at Nepean Point (Brault 1981, p. 55). Citizens watched the 'storming of the ice castle' which took place at the Point.

In 1908, by an act of Parliament, the southern extremity of Major's Hill Park was sold to the Grand Trunk Railway for \$100 000 for the construction of the Chateau Laurier ("History of Major's Hill Park..." 1975, p. 5). A portion of these funds were allocated to the Ottawa Improvement Commission for the development of Nepean Point. Between 1909-1912, an iron pipe fence embedded in a concrete base was wound around the top of the bluff, a summer house, lookout, lavatories and a steel footbridge connecting the Point to Major's Hill Park were constructed ("History of Major Hill's Park..." 1975, p.6). All of these additions produced the Point as a regal and desirable place to visit.

In the early 20th century, the Point also became home to many monuments and was the proposed site of others. In November 1914, a boundary stone monument donated by the city of Ottawa and placed by the Women's Canadian Historical Society was installed. This monument had originally been situated at another site and was built in 1845 "to mark the International Boundary along the 45th parallel of latitude between Quebec and New York as defined by the Ashburton-Webster Treaty of 1842" ("History of Major's Hill Park..." 1975, p. 7). Also in the first half of the twentieth century a fountain was given to the city by Lord Strathcona, Donald Smith. The fountain remained at Nepean Point until 1960 when, in disrepair, it was moved and eventually relocated to the neighbourhood of Sandy Hill (ibid 1975, p. 6).

Following Jane Jacobs, we can understand the history of Nepean Point and Major's Hill Park as enacting a form of colonial mimicry. The development of Ottawa as a capital city has not been the creation of a city that represents the linear development of a new nation or nationalism. Rather, Ottawa's growth as a symbolic city follows the patterns of a capital city of a white-settler colony on the "edge of Empire" (Jacobs 1996). Jane Jacobs describes this condition through her

analysis of Australian cities, describing Australia as a “‘break-away settler colony’ which was founded on the principle of transferring imperial power, with little change, from the core to the colony itself” (p. 23). The transfer of imperial powers from the imperial heart to the edge is manifest in the colonial mimicry of such things as urban planning and architecture (p. 20). For Jacobs, the production of colonial cities as sites that reasserted margin-centre relationships was central to the practices of colonialism.

Nepean Point is the ceremonial heart of a capital city that is imperially marginal. This condition is embodied in the Point’s name. In 1876 the Point was officially named Nepean Point “to commemorate Sir Evan Nepean, a public servant in the British Colonial Office who designed the plan for a second British American Empire in Canada after the Revolutionary War” (“History of Major’s Hill Park...” 1975, p. 4). Sir Evan Nepean never visited Canada. There is something compelling in this naming. Naming, like cartography more generally, is a place-claiming practice. Naming the heart of the capital, for an imperial civil servant— not royalty, or a local person of prominence, speaks to the imaginings of this spot. Placing a monument to the French explorer, at a site named for foreign British bureaucrat reinforces the production of the site as a celebration of colonialism and supremacy of imperial rule.

At Nepean Point, the Scout is already implicated in the imperial and colonial imagination of the capital. Nepean Point is a site of local celebrations that take on national resonance (the first Dominion Day), and work to reaffirm imperial allegiances— as evidenced in its British civil servant namesake. The Scout’s centrality to this site will offer, in the 1996 protests over its placement, a site for interrupting the continued discursive and visual colonization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The Champlain and Scout monumental partnership marks both attempts at colonial authority over the panoramic space in their view *and* affirm what Jacobs says here: while colonialism attempted to carve ‘clear outlines’ onto the ‘haze’ of space, this has been an incomplete project. The diasporic movements, the insurgent claims for rights over the land, the pervasiveness of imperial nostalgias, all point to the spatial ‘haze’ of the present (p. 22). The placement of the Champlain and Scout monument at Nepean Point produce this space as both a colonial heart, and a site of postcolonial negotiations.

Nepean Point has seen other developments since the placement of the Champlain monument in 1915. The development of the site’s national and imperial significance continued in the 1960s when major recommendations for the re-landscaping of Nepean Point were

considered. In the 1960s there was a proposal to build a memorial hall on Nepean Point, a proposal that was never pursued (“History of Major’s Hill Park...” 1975, p. 9). In the 1960s, in time for the Centennial celebrations of 1967, the Astrolabe Theater was created. This outdoor theater, with seats facing the River followed the NCC’s objective of that era to develop sites for national spectacles (Gyton 1999, pp. 57-66). In 1970, the NCC commissioned a design by the landscape architecture firm Johnson Sustrunk Weinstein and Associates Limited. The planners agreed with the prominence of the Point to Ottawa, however, they disagreed with its inhabitants:

Nepean Point is comparable to Parliament Hill. It has the equivalent topography and scale, excellent views and is ideally related to the key historic, ceremonial and administrative facilities in the Capital. For these reasons it is capable of siting a much more monumental structure than the Champlain Monument—something for example of the scale of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C (p. 30).

Like the plan for a memorial gallery, nothing came of this suggestion that the Point be home to a grander monument. All of these developments continue to situate the Point as a site for imaging the core qualities of Canada as a nation.

Nepean Point has also been influenced by its close proximity to the National Gallery of Canada which was opened at its current location just east of Nepean Point in 1988. In fact, the green space leading up to Nepean Point is the landscaped lawn of the National Gallery. Paul Hjartarson (2005) suggests that the landscaping of the National Gallery lawns has been influenced by the landscape art of the 1920s, specifically the art of Canada’s famous ‘Group of Seven,’ a group that was in large part made iconic through the endorsement of the National Gallery (p. 204). For Hjartarson, the landscape paintings of the Group of Seven embody three key tropes used to affirm settler-invader mastery over the Canadian landscape. First, the Group of Seven, coupled with the scientific analysis of the Geological Survey of Canada, produced the Canadian landscape as existing within “archaic time” specifically through the constant depictions of the Canadian Shield, “While the ‘Canadian Shield’ was depicted as virgin territory, it also held the promise of the nation’s future development and its wealth. The implied narrative was progress through the exploitation of the nation’s natural resources” (p. 212). Second, the Group of Seven affirmed white-settler fantasies of Canada as a *terra nullius*— white-settlers could appropriate this empty land through settlement and through their appropriative looking at the art. Finally, their landscapes offer an anti-modern therapeutic space; producing the majority of

Canada as “the source of spiritual value and indeed, of existence itself, a place where life is simple, where men are pioneers and women are the land to be claimed, civilized, and made productive” (p. 216).

Hjartarson explains that at its present location the National Gallery reaffirmed these ideas about the Canadian landscape as timeless, virginal, and un-peopled through the landscape design of Cornelia Hahn Oberlander. Oberlander’s designs explicitly try to reproduce the Canadian landscape in the style of the Group of Seven. In particular, the taiga garden which is west of the Gallery, and includes excavated rocks and various Arctic grasses and British Columbian plants, was designed to mimic A.Y. Jackson’s painting “Terre Sauvage.” The Gallery, which celebrates in its interiors the Group of Seven, and re-enacts these landscapes on the Gallery grounds, both produce a site where Aboriginality is ignored in the interests of reaffirming discourses of white-settler authority to the land (Hjartarson 2005). The landscaped grounds inspired by the Group of Seven, and the classical monument to Champlain geographically reinforce colonial ideas of an uninhabited land available for white-settler domination. This relationship has been made more seamless after the Scout’s 1999 removal; without the Scout the ideology of terra nullius is more strongly pronounced.

In October 2010, the Champlain monument received a new neighbor when the National Gallery unveiled their latest acquisition, an outdoor sculpture by American artist Roxy Paine, on Nepean Point. The piece, titled *Hundred Foot Line* is a hundred foot tall stainless steel beam that has been fashioned to resemble a branchless tree. *Hundred Foot Line* inspired controversy because of its cost (a million dollars), the origins of the sculptor (American), and the plan to give this piece of art a prime Ottawa location. Maria Cook defended the Gallery’s acquisition by suggesting: “The piece complements the “romantic and picturesque” character of Parliament Hill and captures some of the qualities of a Lawren Harris painting called First Snow, North Shore of Lake Superior” (Cook 2010, para 12).

The placement of *Hundred Foot Line* ignited a brief debate about the significance of Nepean Point to Ottawa history. The new art piece is placed 75 meters from Champlain. While the piece was acquired by the National Gallery, the land it sits on was donated by the National Capital Commission. The NCC committee on planning, design and realty suggested that the new art piece could “co-exist” with the Champlain monument (Cook 2010, para 17). Some critics disagreed. Ottawa Citizen columnist Ken Gray (2010) described the arrival of Hundred Foot

Line as a practical joke, “the equivalent of finding your front lawn covered with pink plastic flamingoes” (para 1). For Gray, the location of the sculpture is its most problematic element, describing Nepean Point as “the country’s front yard” and the “most Canadian of places” (ibid). Peter Simpson disagreed, supporting the acquisition of foreign art, and most notably challenging Gray’s and others’ suggestion that Nepean Point necessarily be saturated with Canadianness: Nepean Point has no historical significance whatsoever. No important event occurred there — no discovery made, no battle fought, not even a couple of voyageurs in a drunken punch-up. People don’t even go to Nepean Point. We Ottawans admire it from afar and feel our Canadian hearts stirred by the statue of Champlain, but we rarely walk up the hill to hang with old Sam (para 5). Despite Simpson’s argument that Nepean Point is of no historical value, the short controversy that emerged with the acquisition of *Hundred Foot Line* demonstrated that the Point is more than the National Gallery’s backyard. *Hundred Foot Line* as a stylistic, monumental homage to a Lawren Harris painting also reinforces the landscape design of Oberlander. The addition of this piece to the site adds another symbolic articulation of white-settler mastery over the landscape in its seeming homage to the Group of Seven.

The life of the Scout monument cannot be divorced from the prominence and specific national symbolism of its first home, Nepean Point. Nepean Point has had a long history as a site for national celebrations. From the 1850s to the present day various gifts, fountains, monuments and public art have found a home at this site. Named for a distant British bureaucrat, and adored by a British Governor General, the Point has a history as a site from which to gaze upon new frontiers of colonial occupation. The 1915 placement of Champlain at Nepean Point could be understood as one of many moments of colonial ordering. In Brisbane, Australia, Jacobs (1996) describes the tourist destination of Mount Coot-tha as “a place where the original gaze of colonisation could be repeatedly re-visioned” (p. 139). Tourists visiting the mountain could enact or perform the “imperial vision” as a part of their everyday experience and possession of the city (p. 142). Nepean Point has been similarly produced in the last two hundred years. Both the reiterated lore that Champlain used the point as a vista and the monument to Champlain which visually reinforces this idea, allow visitors to embody this colonial position. In this context, the eventual removal of the Scout could be understood as an event which challenged both relationships between the margin and the centre, mobility, and the inevitability of colonial mapping practices. On the one hand, discourses of white supremacy over colonized Aboriginal

people have been challenged by the removal of the Scout. However, the logic and optics of a white colonizer surveying the land not only remain in-tact, but were amplified by the Scout's removal.

The Champlain and Scout Monument

In this section, I explore what logic is embedded within the design of the Champlain and Scout monument. I also discuss how the design and unveiling of the Champlain and Scout monument are both reflections of dominant discourses of white supremacy, aboriginality and nation in the early 20th century. The Champlain and Scout monuments embody two distinct yet not discrepant discourses of white-settler colonialism. From 1915 to 1924, Champlain stood by himself. In his singularity (without the Scout), the monument endorsed the narrative of Canada as a 'terra nullius', an empty land waiting for white settlement. When the Scout was added in 1924, and subsequent dialogue surrounding the monument argued that he was always intended to be there, a new discourse of Canadian nation-building emerged. In this moment, the discourse that Eva Mackey (2002) has identified as a discourse of Canadian benevolence towards Aboriginal peoples as "supporting actors in a story which reaffirms settler progress" (p. 39) emerged. These discourses synthesize in the bodies of Champlain and the Scout. The result is two figures that produce anachronistic understandings of Aboriginality, while simultaneously highlighting the precariousness of colonial logic.

Samuel de Champlain is commonly known as the "Founder of Quebec City" and the "Father of New France." Champlain led several voyages through what is now Quebec and Ontario from 1603 until his death in 1635. Champlain was not, incidentally, the first white settler to canoe down the Ottawa and Rideau Rivers. That claim can rightfully be made by Etienne Brule and Nicolas de Vignau (Jenkins 2008, p. 47). However, Champlain has become a central figure of significance in both English and French Canada. While in Quebec he is celebrated for his Catholic piety, in English Canada he is revered more generally for his faith, as the English biographer Colby wrote, "It is a rich part of our heritage that [Champlain] founded New France in the spirit of unselfishness, of loyalty and of faith" (as cited in Rudin 2003, p. 59).

The choices to produce Champlain as the 'First Great Canadian' and 'Father of New France' were choices made not in 1608 with the white-settler appropriation of Canadian lands, but, rather three hundred to four hundred years later with the erection of several monuments and

the staging of elaborate anniversary celebrations (see Rudin 2003). In 1908, Quebec City hosted lavish celebrations to commemorate the 300th anniversary of Champlain's "founding of Quebec." In this year, the people of Quebec City also unveiled a grand monument to Champlain (Rudin 2003). The people of Orillia, Ontario unveiled a monument to Champlain in 1925 ("The Champlain Monument at Orillia" 1925, p. 1). The Ottawa, Orillia and Quebec City monuments to Champlain represent aboriginality differently within the context of the nation-building project of Canada. While the Ottawa and Orillia monuments include aboriginal people as a subservient part of the relationships which led to Canada-as-nation, the Quebec monument to Champlain re-inscribes the terra nullius discourse of colonialism by ignoring Aboriginal people entirely.

Poetically, the Ottawa Champlain monument was the proposed idea of the 20th century cartographer Sir Sanford Fleming (Bond 1963, p. 22). It was the work of a citizens' committee: 'The Ottawa Champlain Memorial Committee' including Sir Sanford Fleming, Senator Napoléon Belcourt, Ottawa's Mayor Charles Hopewell, the poet Benjamin Sulte, and the sculptor Hamilton McCarthy" (City of Ottawa Archives, Samuel de Champlain file HF-0298, "Bronze Statue of Samuel de Champlain"). The monument of Champlain was the design of the popular sculptor Hamilton MacCarthy. MacCarthy had also sculpted Ottawa's Boer War memorial (1902) and, with Louis-Philippe Hebert, the 1901 monument to Prime Minister Alexander MacKenzie which is on Parliament Hill ("The National Capital Region: Statues" 1979). The committee articulated their goals in a call for funds:

This monument is to commemorate the voyage of the great Navigator, Explorer and Governor of Canada, in opening up the Ottawa River and Great Lakes to trade and civilization. It is, therefore, proposed to erect it at the Capital by general subscription of its citizens and others, upon a site overlooking the Ottawa River, and to use the beautiful model designed by Hamilton McCarthy, R.C.A.,.... The statue is to be of heroic size, executed in bronze, and will not exceed in cost \$6, 500, exclusive of the Pedestal (City of Ottawa Archives, Samuel de Champlain file HF-0298, "Bronze Statue of Samuel de Champlain").

In this monument, Champlain stands on a high pedestal thrusting into the air an astrolabe (sextant) as a sign of superior European knowledge of science and power. The accompanying plaque reads "King's Geographer, Navigator, Explorer, Founder of the City of Quebec, and Governor of New France, the First Great Canadian". The completeness of heralding Champlain

as an uncontested colonial power is unintentionally undercut by the designer's 'flaw.' Champlain is holding the astrolabe upside down; this is a representational error that reflects a historical reality. While the astrolabe is upheld as a beacon of European science and power, in fact Champlain lost his astrolabe and relied on his Aboriginal Scout for navigation (Blyth 1998, p. 5). While he stands proud as a modernist hero, his upside-down astrolabe ironically disrupts the representation of colonial cartographic mastery. Embedded within the monument's design is a representation of white anxiety and ineptness. The artist's error in placing the astrolabe upside-down was ridiculed in 1996 when the issue of the Scout's removal erupted. At the time of the monument's unveiling however, the astrolabe's position was explained as "artistic license" (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 2, File 7. Report by Mrs. Gillen, 1957: "Archival records of the monument's unveiling"). A few years after the monument's unveiling it was also discovered that the monument was designed in the image of one of the men responsible for finances under Louis XIV, based on a painting of Michel Particelli (Giles 2004, p. A.17). Intentionally and unintentionally, the Champlain monument at its birth offered a depiction of the explorer that already undercut the presumed logic of colonial mastery.

The monument was unveiled on Thursday, May 27, 1915, the 300 year anniversary of Champlain's second trip up the Ottawa River. The unveiling was witnessed by the Governor General the Duke of Connaught and the Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden and his wife and included speeches by the poet Benjamin Sulte, Sir Sanford Fleming and professor who presented what was believed to have been Champlain's axe (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 2, File 7. Report by Mrs. Gillen, 1957: "Archival records of the monument's unveiling"). The speeches at the unveiling celebrated Champlain's mastery as an explorer, a geographer, and a writer. The Duke of Connaught applauded Champlain's Christian mission as one of the founders of Christianity in Canada (ibid). The speeches reinforced that the monument was to a white-settler, Christian 'explorer.' Absent from the monument at this point was any recognition of previous Aboriginal inhabitation of the land or Aboriginal relationships with Champlain.

At the time of Champlain's unveiling the Scout monument was not yet finished. The Scout monument was added in 1924, unveiled in a small ceremony officiated by the Duke of Devonshire (Aubry 1996, p. D.2). The Scout monument was fashioned after an Anishinabe man who had modeled for Hamilton McCarthy (Thomas personal communications, November 1st

2008). The addition of the Scout commemorated a popular understanding of Champlain's positive relationship with Aboriginal peoples. From the onset Champlain has been historically understood as an ally of the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais in their fight against the Iroquois (Rudin 2003, p. 57).

In 1996, when the presence of the Aboriginal Scout became contentious, supporters for leaving the Scout where he was argued that the Scout had been a part of MacCarthy's original design. Because of the Scout's stance and the position of his hands, The NCC Chair Marcel Beaudry speculated that the Scout was intended to be posed in a monumental canoe, an aspect of the monument that was never finished (Lauzon 2011, p. 52). However, there are a few aspects of the Champlain monument which suggest that the Scout was indeed an afterthought. Images of a maquette of the monument that were included in the call for subscriptions show Champlain standing on a pedestal wearing a cape and hat with a large, drooping feather, thrusting an astrolabe in the air. The pedestal is inscribed with a simple "Champlain 1613". Under the inscription is a stylistic feather and fleur de lis. There is a small, vacant platform, and a canoe is sculpted to pierce through the base. Nowhere in this design is there an Aboriginal Scout, nor an Aboriginal Scout in a canoe. Furthermore, the Scout's removal in 1999 (and brief instances of the Scout's disappearance in the 1960s) revealed that the Scout was obscuring a stylized fleur de lis (Dunn 1963, p.3), suggesting again that the Scout was a later addition and not a part of the monument's original design. From the time of its birth, the Scout monument can be understood as an afterthought to the real commemorative work of the Champlain monument.

After its placement in 1924, the Champlain and Scout monument, perched at Nepean Point mapped certain ideologies of colonial power onto the urban landscape. In particular, the Champlain and Scout monument worked to reinforce colonial discourses of Otherness by enacting what Molly Blyth (1998) refers to as "the mapping of the colonial space by the 'commonsensical' dualities of Culture/Nature and Civilized/ Savage'" (p. 2). Stylistically, the Scout stands (crouches rather) as an exemplar of the 'noble savage' in juxtaposition to the rational, scientific culture embodied by the figure of Champlain on the pedestal. Claudette Lauzon (2011) explains how this representation of a 'relationship' between Champlain and Aboriginal people aptly depicts fraught power relations:

... the Scout erases the history of exploitation, forced relocation, and attempted eradication that characterized European-Aboriginal relations well into the twentieth-

century—a history subsumed by the narrative of partnership and cooperation between Champlain and the Anishinabek and Wendat Nations he encountered. But the cooperation invoked by the monument is by no means imagined as a partnership between equals. Indeed the visual contrasts in the juxtaposition of Champlain and the Scout are significant, and advance the narrative of colonial surety (p. 46).

For Lauzon (2011), the Scout's life at Nepean Point represents numerous moments of complicated discursive repair. The placement of the Scout monument appears to be repairing a representational void, by offering an Aboriginal presence. However, Lauzon suggests that at the time of its installation, the Scout monument contributed to dominant discourses of aboriginality. In 1924, placing the Scout monument conformed to the dominant paradigm of the “vanishing Indian” which involved parallel practices of intensely encouraging assimilation and collecting and preserving Native artifacts (Mackey 2000, Francis 1992, Lauzon 2011). Lauzon explains: “the addition of a statue of an Aboriginal scout at the base of the Champlain monument at Nepean Point, while appearing antithetical to the aim of the monument to reify the myth of the ‘first great Canadian,’ is in fact crucial to the myths of peaceful conquest and liberal tolerance that the ‘Vanishing Indian’ paradigm sought to reiterate” (p. 46)⁴¹. The inclusion of the Scout in the Champlain monument is simultaneously a figure representing benign white Canadian inclusivity and a dominant discursive idea that Aboriginal people were disappearing.

The placement of the Scout also contributed to current strategies of appropriating Aboriginal ideas, symbols, and culture as ideas to stand-in for Canada as a whole. Daniel Francis (1992) explains that in the first decades of the 20th century, car companies (Pontiac), sports teams (the Atlanta Braves, the Cleveland Indians), and the Canadian Pacific Railway, all ironically appropriated Aboriginal images to sell their products. These were ironic appropriations because in all of these cases Aboriginal peoples are being used in celebration of the very white society which had oppressed them (pp. 171-179). For Francis, “Indians themselves become commodities in the marketplace” (p. 189).

There is a connection between the appropriation of Aboriginality and colonial haunting. The American Lakota writer Vine Deloria writes, “Indians, the original possessors of the land, seem to haunt the collective unconscious of the white man, and to the degree that one can

⁴¹ Lauzon's reading of the placement of the Scout could also be applied to the acquisition and placement of Aboriginal totem poles around the capital (see next Chapter).

identify the conflicting images of the Indian which stalk the white man's waking perception of the world one can outline the deeper problems of identity and alienation that trouble him" (cited in Francis 1992, p. 189). Cultural appropriation, specifically the type that takes the form of commodification, achieves many things. These processes work to steal, minimize and incorporate understandings of Otherness. The commodified Aboriginal figure may also be understood as an attempt by white-settler society to control that which threatens to haunt. That Aboriginal land was stolen and Aboriginal peoples were and are abused through practices of colonialism becomes a story of Aboriginal warriors as integral, yet easily bought and sold, images of Canada and consumer society. Commodification is a process of attempting to appease or silence ghosts of colonial violence.

In light of the protest of the Scout at Nepean Point, many references were made to a monument of Champlain of a similar vintage in Orillia, Ontario.⁴² The Orillia Champlain monument was initiated by a committee in 1912, with ambitions to erect a statue to Champlain for the 300th anniversary of his arrival to the area in 1915. World War 1 delayed this ambition and the monument was unveiled on Dominion Day, 1925 ("The Champlain Monument at Orillia", 1925, p. 1). The monument, a design of British sculptor Vernon March (the sculptor who also designed the National War Memorial in Ottawa) features a figure of Samuel de Champlain in a casual pose, hat in one hand, his thumb looped into his belt, cape waving behind him. At the monument's base are two figures representing 'Christianity' and 'Commerce'. Christianity is depicted by a priest holding a cross in the air looking down on two crouching Aboriginal men wearing loin cloths. The Aboriginal men are looking up at the priest questioningly. Commerce is depicted by a young man holding a fur. Two Aboriginal men sit at his feet, one looks up at him, the other looks bored. These Aboriginal men are also wearing loin

⁴² The "Pioneer Monument" in San Francisco featured, much like the Orillia monument, a bronze statue of a 'pioneer' at the top of a pedestal. At its base, a series of smaller statues included an Aboriginal figure that is towered over by a Spanish vaquero "raising a hand in triumph" (Levinson 1998, p. 27). In 1996, this monument was relocated from a seemingly insignificant part of the city to a site of importance across from City Hall. The relocation illuminated the representational problems with the monument; Aboriginal leaders argued that it should be destroyed, conservatives argued for its safekeeping. Like in Orillia, the dissension was assuaged with a plaque (plaque again as visible seams). The original wording of the plaque (written by the Art Commission) read: "With their efforts over in 1834, the missionaries left behind about 56,000 converts--- and 150,000 dead. Half the original Native American population had perished during this time from disease, armed attacks and mistreatment" (on Levinson 1998, p. 28). Local Catholics and some historians argued that this text offered a "horrible and hateful distortion of the truth" and the "150,000 dead" was dropped from the final inscription (Levinson 1998, p. 28). Both the movement of the Pioneer monument and the addition of an edifying plaque offer attempts to repair as opposed to remove a problematic representation of Aboriginal peoples.

cloths, holding furs. The bored man has a hand resting on an axe. Like the Ottawa Champlain monument, an Aboriginal presence is located at the monument's accessible base.

The Orillia monument has been more aggressively critiqued than the Ottawa monument for producing an offensive representation of Aboriginality. The Aboriginal figures are quite literally and aggressively lorded over by the strident figures representing the Western imperial ideals of commerce and Christianity. A description of the monument at the time of its unveiling, by Charles Fortier perfectly articulates the culture/ nature, White/ Aboriginal binaries that were being reproduced at the site:

It is therefore only fitting that the right hand group shows a robed priest with uplifted cross in one hand, and open breviary in the other, while at his feet are seated two stalwart Indian braves into whose ears the story of the Gospel is being poured. In a wonderful way the artist has contrasted the aesthetic forces of the cultured missionary with the brute power of the savage (Fortier as cited in *Champlain Monument at Orillia* 1925, p. 15).

In describing the representation of Commerce, Fortier continued, "Here again contrast is used with strong effect, the sharpness of the trader as opposed to the more sluggish intellect of the savage" (ibid 1925, p. 15).

Unlike the Ottawa monument, in which the Scout was added belatedly and has never entirely been fixed in its site, Aboriginality has been a constant presence in the Orillia monument. The monument's accompanying inscription reads:

1615-1915. Erected to commemorate the advent into Ontario of the white race under the leadership of Samuel de Champlain the intrepid French explorer and colonizer who with fifteen companion arrived in these parts in the summer of 1615 and spent the following winter with the Indians making his headquarters at Cahiague, the chief village of the Hurons, which was near this place.

In the monument's inscription there is an acknowledgement that Champlain's successes were possible through his alliance with the Hurons. However, Aboriginality here is also clearly depicted as Canada's noble and primitive past. Here, the inclusion of aboriginal figures has a fixity that differs from the Ottawa Champlain monument. In the 1990s, when both monuments were challenged for their representations of Aboriginal peoples, the responses were understandably different. At the Ottawa monument removing the Scout was much easier than other types of reparative acts. While in Orillia, where the aboriginal figures were key to the

narrative of the monument, other forms of present engagements with Canadian history were required.

Already at the beginning of its life the Scout at Champlain is operating both *as* a moment of repair (filling a representational void and reasserting the myth of Canadian colonial relations) and a moment that problematizes the Champlain monument. The Scout both completes and undoes the Champlain monument. His presence is understood as completing the sculptor's design. However, without his canoe, the Scout's monument remains incomplete. The Scout completes liberal white settler discourses of aboriginality while simultaneously allowing for the future contestations of these dominant discourses. He is also doubly-situated spatially, placed in a very specific relationship to Champlain, an articulation of colonialist tropes of White and Aboriginal relations—yet, he is also in Ottawa's heart, surveying vast Algonquin lands.

The Scout's Life at Nepean Point

At the time of its placement in 1924, the Scout and Champlain monuments were already implicated in broader communities of Champlain commemorations and Aboriginal representations. Situated at Nepean Point, the monument contributed to ordering very specific articulations of white-settler mastery over space. However, these ordered meanings have not remain fixed. The life of the Scout and Champlain monuments demonstrate how this site became a frequent theater for performing ideas of Canadian nationalism and colonial nostalgias. In the 1960s, a decade of heightened nationalism because of the 1967 Centennial celebrations, the Scout and Champlain monument allowed for the articulation of current understandings of French, English and Aboriginal relations, understandings that again produced Aboriginality as the collateral damage, or accessories to the seemingly legitimate nation-building work of French and English settlers. In the 1990s, the decade of Canada's 125th anniversary and the 'Oka crisis' (detailed in Chapter 8), the Scout again became mobilized as a figure embraced by colonial nostalgics and curiously studied by other critics.

In this section, I argue that specific engagements with the Scout and Champlain monuments reflect "colonial nostalgia." I define colonial nostalgia as one of many contemporary articulations of white anxiety over the successes of the colonial project. Colonial nostalgia is a local articulation of imperial nostalgia. While imperial nostalgics attempt to restore the grandeur

of the British Empire by re-imagining the imperial heartland, colonial nostalgics attempt to restore settlement-era white-Aboriginal relations, otherwise the logic of imperialism as was imagined to have played out in Canada. For Edward Said (1994), considering contemporary nostalgias for an imperial and colonial past should be central to postcolonial politics. He states, “We must take stock of the nostalgia for empire, as well as the anger and resentment it provokes in those who were ruled, and we must try to look carefully and integrally at the culture that nurtured the sentiment, rationale, and above all the imagination of empire” (p. 12). Moments of colonial nostalgia are articulations of a longing for an imagined past of white supremacy. These longings are twinned with anxiety that this supremacy is slipping away. Edward Said (1994) in referencing an essay by Salman Rushdie offers a key example of colonial nostalgia. Rushdie, commenting on the popularity of films like David Lean’s nostalgic “A Passage to India”, argued “the rise of Raj revisionism, exemplified by the huge success of these fictions, is the artistic counterpart to the rise of conservative ideologies in modern Britain” (as quoted on p. 21).

The much lauded relationship of three founding peoples was contested (or put into stark relief) in 1963 when the Champlain and Scout monument became embroiled in contemporary French-English conflicts. In 1963, the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) bombed a monument to British General James Wolfe in Quebec City. To retaliate, some English people in Ottawa attempted to attack the monument to the French hero Champlain. The *Ottawa Citizen* reported: “Working in the dead of night the vandals toppled a 1,000 pound bronze statue of a Canadian Indian, tacked up a note indicating their work was a reprisal for last week’s damage to Gen. Wolfe’s statue in Quebec City, then stole away” (Dunn 1963, p.3). The more accessible lower Aboriginal Scout was the victim of the retaliatory vandalism. Dunn remarks that by choosing to topple the Scout, the vandals ironically made the French explorer more visible. Champlain was left uninjured, standing tall, and a fleur de lis etched into the base that had been obscured by the Scout was made visible (ibid). Former Dominion Sculptor Eleanor Milne describes how she received a call regarding the vandalism: “What had happened was, when the Indian figure was torn down ... he was pulled sideways like that so his whole knee was crushed... He landed on his side and probably started to roll so it crushed this knee so unfortunately it had a huge hole there” (Milne personal communications, January 19th 2009). With her colleague, they returned the Scout to his pedestal within three days; there is no visible scar on his knee.

Symbolically and materially Aboriginality is situated as the collateral in between the battle of the other two founding peoples. Francis (1992), in his reading of history textbooks argues that “As long as warfare dominates the story, the Indians have a role to play, no matter how secondary or how sanguinary” (p. 167). This moment also marks an interesting conflation of history. In this 1963 moment Champlain and the accompanying Aboriginal Scout are spoken to and engaged within the context of 1960s tensions and through again the 18th century Generals. The Scout is mobilized as a conduit for conjuring past histories that erupt in the present. French-English antagonisms synthesize with a defacement of the Scout’s bronzed body.

Four years later, both Champlain and the Scout became subject to subversive and official engagements. In 1967, the year of Canada’s centennial, official celebrations were taking place all over the country, especially in Ottawa. The central location and panoramic view from the Champlain monument was an ideal location for the creation of an outdoor theater, the “Astrolabe Theater” from which to appreciate the light and sound shows celebrating the nation’s centennial (“History of Major’s Hill Park...” 1975, p. 8). The Astrolabe Theater provided a site for numerous spectacles: the screening of films, circus arts, and performances of classical music, dance, folk music, and it was for a time the site of the Ottawa Jazz Festival (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 2, File 7, *Summer Spectacles* n.d.). To build the theater, both the monuments to Champlain and the Scout were temporarily moved. The Champlain and Scout monument were raised as well to sit on top of the rock (Lajeunesse personal communications, March 26th 2010, “Champlain’s Indian Found” 1967, p.14). A NCC press release from March 3, 1967 announced:

At least in spirit, Samuel de Champlain takes his first trip by air early next week. It is all part of the National Capital Commission’s work in developing Nepean Point for the Sound and Light Festival. The statue of the famed explorer, unveiled May 27, 1915 by the Duke of Connaught is to be raised to a new position of prominence atop the earth and stone amphitheatre built by the NCC for the Sound and Light Festival and the Centennial Commission. (National Gallery archives, Terry Guernsey Fonds, Box 2, File 7, press release 3 March, 1967).

During this re-landscaping of Nepean Point, the boundary marker and surveyor’s monument were consolidated into a new modest monument at the Point (“History of Major’s Hill Park...” 1975, p. 8). These renovations recast the Champlain monument as central to public events and

national celebrations. In particular, Champlain's 1615 travels down the Ottawa River were contextualized in relation to Canada's 1867 Confederation and the patriotic centennial celebrations. Canada's establishment as a result of the travels of Champlain is interpreted here as an inevitability, naturally leading to Confederation. This staging of history continued the ongoing disavowal of Aboriginal histories and colonial violence. This intervention promised to inspire great masses to engage physically with the Scout and Champlain's presence for years to come⁴³.

In the midst of these renovations, workers discovered on the morning of Tuesday, March 14, 1967, that the Scout monument was missing. RCMP determined that students of the Marguerite d'Youville College in Gatineau had stolen the Scout as part of a "Centennial carnival rally." They had stolen the now-400 pound (four years earlier it was 1000 pounds), green (had not been polished recently?) statue of the Scout and brought him to their college in Gatineau. According to the newspaper report, all parties involved, including the police, found the incident harmless and amusing. Other objects of the students' rally included: a flag from the NCC's 'Garden of the Provinces', steel doors from Hull's Notre Dame cemetery, pictures of former Mayors from the Hull City Hall and, "Mrs. Marcel D'Amour, wife of the Hull mayor, kidnapped earlier in the evening as part of the same hunt" ("Champlain's Indian found" 1967, p. 14). The NCC safely rescued the Scout and returned him to his newly landscaped Nepean Point home uninjured. Unlike other monument defacements, the 'centennial prank' proved to merely amuse rather than outrage many members of the general public (beyond the NCC who were tasked with the Scout's rescue).

The two acts of vandalism to the Scout in the 1960s highlight the monument's material discursive, and affective mobility. While materially the Scout was merely pushed off of its pedestal and stolen away across the River to Gatineau, affectively, the acts of vandalism highlighted other desires, histories, memories. The 1963 act of vandalism connected the Scout and Champlain to both present French-English Canadian conflicts and the historic French-English conflict of the 1759 Battle of the Plains of Abraham. In this moment, the Aboriginal figure was cast as an accomplice to the central struggles of Canadian nation-building, i.e. the French-English struggles. In the 1967 moment of defacement, the Scout is employed like a toy-like totem of nationhood, collected in the company of flags and the Mayor of Gatineau's wife.

⁴³ In 2010 the Astrolabe Theater was no longer the preferred site for concerts and other celebrations. Gerald Lajeunesse explained that the Astrolabe was in a bit of disrepair and celebrations and events at the site would resume after required repairs had been made (personal communications, March 26th 2010).

Both acts suggest that Aboriginality is an accessory to the real commemorative work of the Champlain monument and the centennial celebrations. The engagements with the Scout monument as a toy or collectible suggests a dominant understanding of this commodified Aboriginality as cozy— the preconditions for the colonial nostalgia which I explore later on in this Chapter.

In the first seventy five years of the monument's life the Scout's motility was realized in several ways, demonstrating that colonial narratives were embedded in other nationalist narratives. The Scout was mobilized as an intimate, playful figure of colonial domination. These mobilizations were about to be critiqued during the most dramatic moment in the Scout's life— its relocation to a new home separate from Champlain. We will now turn to what has been so far the most significant moment in the Scout and Champlain monument's life, the 1996 protests and 1999 relocation of the Scout monument.

The Scout's Relocation

The Scout's presence *at the foot* of the monument to Champlain became contentious in June, 1996 when the Chief of the Assembly of First Nations Ovide Mercredi visited the monument. Appalled by the depiction of an Aboriginal person in such a derogatory position, Mercredi initiated a public campaign for its removal (Blyth 1998, Hart 2005). Aboriginal protestors, led by Mercredi, staged a protest by covering the Scout in blankets (Hart 2005, Thomas 2001). Mercredi objected to both the Scout's placement, and the Scout's design, suggesting that his dress was historically and culturally inaccurate.

In this section, I suggest that Mercredi's protest operated as a form of defacement. Following Taussig (1999), I understand defacement to refer to acts which allow for the expression of unarticulated feelings. Defacing acts are also acts of ghostly conjuring; they are moments when things that are felt but unseen become momentarily illuminated. By covering the Scout with blankets, Mercredi ignited a series of responses which articulated various affectively-charged attachments to the Scout and what he represented. I explore how the public discussion that emerged following Mercredi's protests reveal how the Scout monument had been affectively charged with forms of public colonial nostalgia as a result of how the figure had been engaged with throughout its life as a toy-ish figure of infantile Aboriginality.

It is significant to note that the early 1990s were a time when ideas about Canadian identity were being vigorously discussed. The early 1990s were marked by the celebrations of Canada's 125th birthday in 1992, and the debates surrounding the 1987 Meech Lake Accord, the 1992 Charlottetown Accord, and the 1990 stand-off between the RCMP and the Mohawk population of Oka, Quebec (see Mackey 2002, p. 110). All of these activities were moments when the very foundation of Canadian identity and belonging were being debated by the population at large, politicians and Aboriginal populations. Like the Centennial celebrations of 1967, the Aboriginal Scout became a conduit for expressing endorsement for the project of Canada as a modern nation (as occurred in the 1960s) or a site for contestation of these narratives (as occurred in 1996). In both cases, the Champlain and Scout monument were active within broader celebrations and conversations about Canadian identity.

The responses to Mecredi's suggestion that the Scout be moved came in three forms. Within the newspaper accounts (articles, letters to the editor) the first and least popular response came from supporters who fervently agreed with Mecredi that the Scout was offensive and should be removed. Most prevalent was the second type of response; people offered reasons for why the Scout should keep his spot on Nepean Point. These arguments largely pursued the suggestion that the relocation of the Scout would be an example of excessive 'political correctness'. A third response came from those who generally supported Mecredi's argument but feared that if the Scout was removed he would simply be forgotten. Dennis Martel of the Rama First Nations band commented: "Removing the figures and storing them in a warehouse like they're doing in Ottawa doesn't make sense. Gee whiz, isn't that what they did to Indians in the first place?" (Hume 1996, p.A.18). In this vein, there were many who suggested forms of repair, keeping the Scout in his current Nepean Point location but highlighting the monument as a pedagogical site for understanding past discourses of Aboriginal and white-settler relations. I will explore the most common responses, the calls for the Scout to stay at the Champlain monument and the suggestions for acts of repair, in turn.

Position 1:

At the time of Mecredi's protests, debate raged in the letters section of the newspaper and on call-in shows: "More than 500 callers have sounded off to the NCC and the Citizen's Touchline, most believing the NCC should leave the statue alone." (Aubry 1996, p. D.2). Part of

the plea to leave the Scout alone was anchored in nostalgic childhood memories of visiting the Scout, leaning against him affectionately. In one letter, an Ottawa citizen Bob O'Connor writes,

I am 60 years old, and I have pictures of myself and my family, taken when I was about 10 years old. I was kneeling on both knees beside the Indian guide, and he sure didn't look like a lower-class native, and he still doesn't. To me, this is a magnificent piece of work, and it belongs to the people of Ottawa, and its part of the history of the area. It should not be removed for any reason (O'Connor 1996, p. A.11).

What O'Connor remembers is precisely the accessibility of the Aboriginal figure, while the European hero remained out-of-reach. Marks of attrition can be seen on the Scout's particularly polished and worn knee, where children and adults have leaned and posed. What is operative in this type of nostalgia? Childhood memories are present, but also present perhaps is imperial nostalgia; the recollection of an era when "cigar-store Indians", *Ten Little Indians* children's books and other representations were understood as benign. Daniel Francis (1992) suggests that what he has termed the "Imaginary Indian," an Aboriginal figure that is the creation of a European imagination is largely produced through games, stories, summer camps and books for children. We can understand the Scout as a favourite monument among children because of how the figure is similar to the child-visitors in both his position in society and physical accessibility. Francis explains why children are attracted to the mythologies surrounding Aboriginality:

It is no surprise that as children we are fascinated by the Imaginary Indian. The Imaginary Indian is, after all, much of a child himself: unsophisticated, undisciplined, independent. Too high-spirited and willful to perform the essential business of industrial society, the Imaginary Indian is the perfect model for youngsters chafing against the rules and duties of the adult world (p. 144).

The "Imaginary Indian" was produced as a figure through which children could play both "being Indian" and being children (a distinction which is not made in children's summer camp pedagogy). For citizens like Bob O'Connor, childhood and the Aboriginal Scout are intimately connected. Understandings of an "Imaginary Indian" are not only political or social ideas; they also produce affective relationships to place, home, and one's past. The Aboriginal Scout had become an intimate friendly figure for visiting children. He is cozy because he can be hugged, sat on, and he is familiar because other figures like him are made equally accessible to children

through the other discursive means in which Aboriginality is produced as child-like. We can understand the longings for past coziness with the Aboriginal Scout as an articulation of a colonial nostalgia that exists in white-settler societies like Canada. Jane Jacobs (1996) writes, “Colonial constructs not only belong to a past that is being worked against in the present, but also to a past that is being nostalgically reworked and inventively adapted in the present” (p. 14). For Jacobs, this type of nostalgia is evident in activities such as the “self-conscious elaboration of tradition”, the committed preservation of certain historic buildings, the celebration of the past, or the ‘primitive’ (p. 4). Articulations of colonial nostalgia demonstrate how colonial logic is not merely a historic reality, or a present set of ideas or policies, but is rather a mode through which people affectively engage with each other.

Articulations of colonial nostalgia also make it possible to highlight other possibilities. For Jacobs (1996), “cities act as “sites of ‘meetings’, they are also places which are saturated with possibilities for the destabilization of imperial arrangements” (p. 4). Through the debate of the Scout’s appropriateness in a late 20th century Ottawa, the Scout was both comfortable and familiar and, through enabling Aboriginal activism, dangerous and unsettling.

A second aspect of this first position against moving the Scout is the argument that the proposal to remove the Scout as an example of invasive and damaging ‘political correctness.’ We can understand this position as another (more extreme and more violent) expression of nostalgia for a less-fettered past of seemingly uncomplicated understandings of aboriginality and white supremacy. These arguments against “political correctness” suggest the meeting of two opposed and emotionally charged positions. Arguments from this position stress the irrationality of “political correctness” and argue that others are overly sensitive, while paradoxically making these claims in highly-charged language. In Howard Schneider’s article, “The View From There: What’s next, the beaver?” allegorical Aboriginal figures are deemed as precious to the Canadian imagination:

For a nonimperialist, unintrusive, good-guy nation, Canada is still finding plenty of public symbols to sanitize out of sensitivity to Indians and other ethnic groups. Although the country has never started wars, didn’t allow slavery and in modern times elevated multiculturalism to official policy, its largely European sensibility tattooed the landscape with plenty of notions now deemed politically incorrect (1996, para 3).

In this same vein, a common response was to ask “what next?” Commentators worried for

paintings in the National Art Gallery such as Benjamin West's "The Death of Wolfe", or pointed accusingly to other monumental representations of Aboriginal people, such as the monument to Champlain in Orillia, Ontario (Hume 1996, p. A.18). Others turned their attention to worry about monuments in their own cities. In Victoria's *Times Colonist*, the 'what next?' question led to speculation that the entire cityscape would eventually be made over (Gibson 1996). Fearing for the fate of the Merchant of Venice and nursery rhymes, this editorialist worries both for the 'inevitable' toppling of a monument to James Cook and:

A bun toss away from that British imperialist stands yet another one, Queen Victoria on the legislature lawns. Undoubtedly, when Canada finally grows up enough to drop the monarchy, some will say the statue should go, too. They'll see it as a symbol of colonial enslavement rather than recognize its historical significance. In the meantime, the rotund royal stands as an affront to fat people or conversely to the minorities of dieters and joggers (p.1).

Other responses were aggressive without explanation, such as this letter to the editor:

Would you please advise the citizens of Ottawa as to the date and time that the NCC will remove the Indian statue from the Champlain Monument? We understand that some Indian elders are going to show up to smoke and beat drums when the removal takes place, and we, a group of white seniors, wish to be there to beat pots and pans to let Ovide Mercredi and Marcel Beaudry know what we think of their stupidity (Bowen 1996, p. A.15).

What these conservative attacks on perceived 'political correctness' articulate are nostalgic attachments to colonial arrangements of power. Specifically, letter writers like Bowen desire not only to maintain a certain status quo represented by the monument, but perform an aggressive parody of Aboriginality to reassert their argument that Aboriginal peoples are both stuck in the past and making excessive demands on the white majority.

In these responses the discourse of 'political correctness' is mobilized to minimize any chance of critically addressing the implications of Canada's colonial history to present arrangements of power. Following Dorothy Smith's (1999) argument that discourses of 'political correctness' represent resistance to the engagement with difference, we can understand these accusations of political correctness as fervent commitments to colonial logic and, more importantly, recalcitrance against any possibility of thinking or remembering otherwise. The fear

of having to challenge and erase everything that is known about Canada's history is mobilized as a way of obfuscating possibilities for engaging in nuanced ways with this specific articulation of white-settler domination.

A parallel argument was articulated by the National Capital Commission (the government body responsible for responding to McCreedy's protests). The official (NCC) argument for not removing the Scout monument was anchored in notions of artistic integrity, privileging the design of MacCarthy over contemporary attitudes towards the figures being represented. When asked if it have been the NCC's preference to not remove the Scout, NCC official Janet McGowan replied:

Yes, partly because of artistic integrity. I mean it's really we're altering another artist's work. This is not something that is really morally correct but some things have to be done. And like I said, we were in close contact with the family of the artist and they understood. We had a lot of pressure put on us (personal communications, February 19, 2010).

McGowan continues, recounting her involvement in the Scout's removal:

We contacted the family of the sculptor, his descendants, because he'd passed away many years ago. And at first they were not really open to the idea, but finally they said, "we understand that you've had strong pressure to remove it, so we're fine".

For the NCC there were three parties involved in the issue of the Scout's removal: the AFN led by McCreedy, the National Capital Commission, and a third party that was chosen by the NCC as significant, the descendants of the artist. There was no legal necessity to consult with the MacCarthy family since their artistic rights to the statue had expired in 1989, fifty years after the sculptor's death (Aubry 1996, D.2). Not surprisingly, MacCarthy's descendents publicly insisted that their ancestor was not a racist. MacCarthy's great-great-granddaughter Charlene MacCarthy commented: "I see nothing degrading about this statue. The Indian scout is not kneeling to Champlain or else he'd be facing him and not looking away...It looks like he is leading Champlain and they are working together" (as cited in Aubry 1996, p. D.2). Here, Charlene MacCarthy circulates discursive ideas about Canadian benevolence towards Aboriginal peoples and mutual co-operation.

Responding to the strong media criticism that moving the statue was an overly 'politically correct' gesture, the NCC privileged ideas of 'artistic integrity.' I put 'artistic

integrity' in scare quotes because as I have demonstrated, it has never been clear that moving the Scout was a particular challenge to MacCarthy's artistic vision for the sculpture. Lost in this argument are the historic facts of the monument's original design and early life of the Scout monument detailed earlier in this Chapter. Since this gesture was legally unnecessary, readers of this situation see a government body asking a geographically and historically distant White family for permission to appease Aboriginal peoples. Artistic integrity offered a means for the NCC to mobilize certain unclear affection for the monument as it presently stood. Or, to put more succinctly, I argue that artistic integrity here is a vehicle for making official and quasi-legal colonial nostalgia. Artistic production (or culture) is discursively produced as a politically neutral domain immune to contemporary conflicts. This understanding of culture and cultural integrity is mobilized to stabilize certain colonial histories.

Position 2

There were many responses supporting more nuanced engagement with the Scout's presence. It was argued by some that removing the Scout would serve to "paper over' or erase this legacy" of colonialism and Aboriginal subordination (Blyth 1998, p. 5). These commentators also suggested that leaving the Scout at Nepean Point could be engaged and serve as a pedagogical moment. This position was championed by Jeff Thomas (2001) who stated, "I felt the Indian scout should remain in its original location because it offered an example of how Canadian history had diminished the role of Aboriginal peoples. But I also felt that a plaque should be added to the site describing the Aboriginal position on the monument" (para 5). These responses suggested offering what Elizabeth Spelman (2008) describes as "visible mending" which "sustains continuity with the past by acknowledging, even emphasizing, the history of rupture" (p. 147). To encourage engaging with the Scout as a pedagogic site would mean producing some sort of visible seam like an added explanatory plaque. Surprisingly, and underreported, one of these nuanced responses also came from the National Capital Commission: According to NCC spokesperson Lucie Caron, the commission did offer to "update the interpretation," but to no avail. That would have entailed adding a plaque to the monument pointing out that some people find it offensive and more fully describing the relationship between Champlain and the Huron Indians he encountered. The current plaque makes no

mention of the Indian scout. It focuses strictly on Champlain, whom it calls “the first great Canadian” (Hume 1996, p. A.18).

The suggestion of a reparative plaque echoes what has happened at many other problematic monuments (see Levinson 1998). An added explanatory plaque could have also contributed to producing the Scout and Champlain monument as a more complicated pedagogic site. A corrective plaque was also recommended for the Orillia Champlain monument. In 1996, Mnjikaning elder Sue Anderson criticized the Orillia Champlain monument for its offensive depiction of Aboriginal peoples. Dennis Martel of the Rama First Nations band was quoted as saying:

What we would like to do is use the statue and learn from it. . . . We want to work with the community of Orillia and write a new plaque that explains the true relationship between Champlain and the Hurons (In Hume 1996, p. A.18)

In response, a citizens’ committee proposed that a new plaque be installed with the following text:

With the arrival of the French in North America, both they and the Huron Confederacy recognized and welcomed the benefits of equal trade and cultural alliance between the two nations based on mutual trust and respect. Because of the historic partnership the French gained strategic access and a warm welcome to the vast territories of Turtle Island beyond the lands of the Wendat, while the Huron became a significant partner in what was to become a world-wide trading network based upon the fur trade in beaver pelts (as cited in McKim 2001, p.1).

In 2001, the people of Orillia were still waiting for Parks Canada, the Ministry responsible for the production of historic plaques, to act upon this new plaque suggestion (Tenszen 2001, p. 3). However, the above proposal demonstrates how another possible response to problematic representations of Aboriginal peoples.

Molly Blyth suggested that "Leaving the statue in place, however, also leaves the conventional structures of colonial thinking in place to continue their subtle yet powerfully seductive work of cultural imperialism" (Blyth 1998, p. 5). Mecredi’s campaign did not succeed because his protest led to the removal of the Scout. Rather, we can understand Mecredi’s campaign as successful because of how it opened up the site of the Scout and Champlain monuments to an active discussion both on how Aboriginality is produced in the capital, and

what is means to continually and unquestioningly celebrate Champlain.⁴⁴ The moment of the Scout's removal, operates within what Jane Jacobs (1996) refers to as the "complex range of postcolonial formations which unsettle, negotiate and at times overly resist imperialist structures of power" (p. 11). In this moment in the Scout's life, the monument is not understood as a relic of colonial power and colonial ways of thinking. Rather, the agitations surrounding the monument's relocation demonstrated an understanding of the monument as actively reproducing colonial ways of thinking and being attached to these ideas in the present.

As a form of defacement, Mecredi's campaign unleashed and made visible feelings that were both invisible, but keenly felt. Colonial nostalgia is simultaneously virtual—invisible but felt, and ghostly, a set of ideas and desires that keep haunting the present from the past. The advocates for leaving the Scout in place were articulating, in large part, nostalgias for an uncomplicated time when white supremacy and Aboriginal subordination were understood as obvious and unchallenged. Meanwhile, other arguments for keeping the Scout in place were based on understandings of the monument as an urban body of untapped potential, a figure whose haunting present was welcomed and in fact conjured in order to challenge still pulsing acceptance of colonial logic.

The Solution: The Scout's New Home

⁴⁴ A discussion about the validity or political ramifications of celebrating Christopher Columbus with Columbus Day in the United States emerged in 2009 when an organization launched a public service campaign compelling people to "reconsider Columbus". See: "Reconsider Columbus" n.d.



Figure 7—Aboriginal Scout in Major’s Hill Park. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Despite the many arguments against the Scout’s relocation, in 1999, the National Capital Commission moved the Scout to Major’s Hill Park. The Scout was unveiled in Major’s Hill Park with a small ceremony attended by members of the AFN, descendants of Hamilton MacCarthy, and NCC employees on October 1, 1999 (Hart 2005, Lajeunesse personal communications March 26th 2010). Here the Scout sits; he still has a view of the River and shares the Park with the monumental figure of Colonel By and in the spring many tulips. His new home lacks the panoramic view and centrality of Nepean Point. Separated from Champlain, the Scout continues to generate controversy. Placed flush on the ground, the nearly-naked Scout becomes an eroticized body (see Thomas 2001). He has not become a mobile, autonomous figure, but rather is fixed as an anachronistic body positioned as an emblem of Canada’s past.

The period of delay between the original controversy in 1996 and the Scout’s removal in 1999 was explained by NCC employee Janet McGowan as the result of technical and political negotiations and the time needed to secure a new location. The Scout’s new home was chosen by NCC Chief landscape architect Gerald Lajeunesse. Lajeunesse understood that the Scout had been designed to be situated with Champlain, but saw an opportunity to keep the Scout in a suitable new setting: “I personally believed that the Scout should not be put in a crate and put

away. He should remain out there, although he was never created to be a stand-alone piece it was something we could do” (personal communications, March 26th 2010). Lajeunesse explains his reasoning for choosing the Major’s Hill Park site:

I thought it was important that the Scout, just like at Nepean Point where you see the actual limestone outcropping, that he be there. So, I went over to the site, picked it, he obviously would be pointing up river because that’s the way he was going. And the idea being was that he wasn’t always at Champlain’s feet, he would go scouting... so there he was, a little distance away (ibid).

Lajeunesse’s justifications for choosing the new site suggest an acknowledgement of the Scout’s motility. The site was approved by the AFN (Lajeunesse 2010, McGowan 2010, however the choice was fully endorsed by everyone involved. Jeff Thomas (2001) writes,

The Scout’s new location does not provide the visitor with any historical context and leaves us to focus on the formal aspects of his body with its finely chiseled and bulging muscles, and his classic Indian cheekbones. The Scout has been reduced to an

‘idealization’ that we are familiar with in the Greek statues of western art history (n.p.) Susan Hart (2005) writes, “Whereas the Scout used to be in plain sight atop Nepean Point, he now lurks among the bushes and trees at the north end of Major’s Hill Park. Quite literally, he has been returned to nature” (p. 16). The problems of this new location as naturalizing the Scout and offering a context that is ‘ahistorical’ has been compounded by the Scout’s present lack of explanatory plaque. In 2008 there was a global peak in scrap metal theft (Rupert 2008, p. F.1). In Ottawa plaques were stolen from the Mackenzie-Papineau monument, the Champlain statue, the Boundary Marker at Nepean Point and the Anishinabe Scout (Rupert 2008, p. F.1). Many conclude that despite the centrality and prestige of Major’s Hill Park, the Scout’s new position, and plaque-less condition have rendered the figure less visible, ahistoric and de-contextualized. This new location also has opened up the sculpture to the critiques that the monument itself revels in Aboriginal stereotypes and the Scout is wearing historically inaccurate clothes, all factors that become highlighted when the Scout is separated from Champlain (Thomas 2001; Hart 2005). Although, many conclude, and agree with Lajeunesse that it is significant that the Scout has not entirely disappeared. However, in his new location, the Scout is transformed from a figure of historic specificity to one of many allegorical Aboriginal figures (a population that is detailed and analyzed in the next Chapter).

The Scout's relocation begs a final question: how has the removal of the Scout left Champlain, standing alone with his guiding scientific instrument upside-down? Many commentators contend that the Scout and Champlain were designed to be a monument together (Thomas 2001; Lajeunesse 2010). Removing the Scout, therefore, challenged the integrity of this design. However, when separated, it was assumed Champlain could stand alone (he did occupy Nepean Point on his own from 1915-1924), while the Scout, 'without context' (i.e. without Champlain), was unintelligible. What was 'integral' to this artistic commemoration of "Canada's First Great Canadian" was not up for discussion. There was no discussion about the legitimacy of keeping Champlain in place at Nepean Point. The designer of the future National Aboriginal Veterans Memorial, Plains Cree artist Lloyd Pinay, supported the decision to move the Scout, but also imagined a reversal in the positions of the Scout and Champlain, "I don't know a native person who isn't offended by that statue. I wonder how people would feel if it was a gigantic Indian standing over a tiny Champlain" (Aubry 1996, p. D.2).

It is clear, through these discussions that much of the public were strongly attached to the colonial narratives upheld by an un-challenged Champlain. When I worked at the Canadian Museum of Civilization as a tour guide from 2008-2010, I would often stop at a photograph of the Champlain monument by Jeffrey Thomas. Here, I would tell the story of the Scout's removal and ask the group of teenagers if they could think of responses other than removing the Scout. Often students suggested removing Champlain's pedestal and placing the two monuments on an equal plane side by side, or alternatively building a large pedestal for the Scout. These provocative suggestions were unfortunately not heard during the time of the Scout monument debate.

The separation of Scout and Champlain is understood by some to affect and disorient Champlain, highlighting the inaccuracy of his astrolabe, leading some to suggest that the entire monument is in need of updating. One commentator wrote:

But the sculptor also left *Champlain* in a humiliating position. The explorer was, in that era, an engineer and a scientist. He is shown holding aloft an astrolabe, a scientific instrument used to locate one's position on the planet. When used correctly, the device hangs from the raised hand and there's a universal swivel joint at its top to allow the instrument to hang straight. It's weighted at the bottom, and must find its plumb line before it can be read accurately (Brown 1996, p. C.3).

How the Scout left Champlain, subtly interpreted as a form of betrayal underlies the dichotomous relationship between the Scout and Champlain. Blyth (1998) argues that without the Scout, Champlain is left, not only as a lost man misusing his navigational tool, but a man without his “negative mirror image” (p. 4). In a colonial context where Aboriginality is produced as the uncivilized counterpoint which bolsters Western, white civility, removing the Scout also undoes part of what Champlain is supposed to be representing— authority and triumph over Aboriginal peoples. However, the monument has been, since its early history, a site of multiple intersecting discourses. The removal of the Scout allows the Champlain monument to further (and return to), its original state as a white explorer as a sole triumphant figure overlooking an unoccupied land. As I stated earlier, the Champlain monument as a figure embodying the narrative of Canada as a *terra nullius* has been strengthened by the 2010 installation of *One Hundred Foot Line*.

The Scout’s relocation and new home highlight many characteristics of monuments in general and the Scout in particular. Unlike Champlain (with his panoramic view), the Scout is understood to be physically mobile. However, its mobility is quickly recognized to be limited when, in its new home, the Scout monument takes on new meanings. The Scout becomes an allegory, an anonymous ‘lurking’ figure. It is also striking to note that despite the contentious relocation of the Scout, the colonial logic imbued in the figure is highlighted rather than challenged by its relocation. At the base of the monument to Champlain, the Scout is understood as a figure of nature, Canada’s past, the “Imaginary Indian”, however, in Major’s Hill Park, these features are accentuated by the Scout’s naturalized setting, lack of plaque and anonymity.

Separated from Champlain, and without an explanatory plaque, the Scout is required to speak for itself. For Jeffrey Thomas the new location has illuminated the Scout as an erotic figure. He is, for any historic period, unrealistically lacking clothes considering his locale. Thomas was struck by how the Scout exhibited chiseled muscles and a taut, firm body. In a photography project, Thomas photographed the Scout in his new location and juxtaposed these photographs with Harlequin romance covers that featured what he describes as “Indian Fabios” (personal communications, November 1st 2008). In the photography series, “Scouting for Indians”, Thomas photographed body parts of the Scout monument and extracted body parts from the romance cover images. The effect was to demonstrate how both cultural products create Aboriginal bodies as the foreign, erotic other. Like other figures of Aboriginality, cigar-store

“Indians”, and storybook figures, the Scout, like the romance covers, produces certain ideas about and affective relationships to Aboriginality through its body. In 2003, the cosmetic company Lise Watier used the Aboriginal Scout as a character in their advertising campaign (Hart 2005, p. 16). Unlike the clothed, serious, aloof Champlain, the Scout is nearly naked, on the ground, and vulnerable. Champlain is fixed to his spot, the Scout is flexible. Champlain, despite his image being based on another person, was created to embody a full person, while the Scout quickly slides into the role of allegory.

Conclusion

The Scout monument was conceived of and born into a complicated site of colonial imaginings. While it has been suggested that the Scout was always intended to be placed at the base of the Champlain monument, in a never-built canoe, other moments in the monument’s life clearly demonstrate that the Scout was always conceived of as a lesser, belated, mobile accompanying figure to Champlain. Given a panoramic view of as-yet-unceded Algonquin lands, the Scout’s home of Nepean Point is named for a high-status British bureaucrat who never visited the region. The context of the Scout’s conception and birth is also informed by Champlain commemorations of the era and understandings of Aboriginal peoples as vanishing, exotic, and the savage ‘other’ to European civility. The birth and design of the Champlain and Scout monuments demonstrate how the engagement of discourses of Canada as *terra nullius*, and of Aboriginality as central to a narrative of Canada’s emergence as a modern nation can oscillate to service various political contexts.

The Champlain and Scout monuments became sites of both ‘playful’ and highly ‘disruptive’ defacements during the 1960s and the 1990s. These were two historic moments when Ottawa in particular, and Canada in general was in the throes of celebrating Confederation in the Centennial celebrations (1967) and Canada 125 (1992). In the 1960s, the Aboriginal Scout was engaged with as the material collateral of a symbolic contest between English and French Canadians, re-iterating the historic understandings of Aboriginal peoples as significant as military allies or foes. While in 1967, the Scout was stolen as a token emblem of Canada, an accessible and vulnerable figure to be appropriated for pleasure, its representational significance minimized.

In 1996, the contestation over the Scout's removal operated like a moment of defacement; the Aboriginal leaders having tarnished an uncontested representation of European settlement and Aboriginal accompaniment. This moment also inspired the expression of popular sentiments of imperial nostalgia. The protests over the Scout's presence made wildly apparent the affective attachments both the public in general and monument managing organizations in particular have towards the Scout as a figure of colonial orderings. Meanwhile, the Scout was also considered as an urban figure with pedagogic potential. It could have been animated as a site for re-thinking rather than erasing or accepting Canada's colonial past. Finally, the Scout as a body that both remembers and produces place becomes clear when the Scout is relocated to Major's Hill Park. Here, the Scout is reduced to an eroticized body-in-nature, a figure that lurks, is at home, and remembers only as an allegorical figure.

Chapter 6: Unmapping Coloniality

Introduction

The French explorer Samuel de Champlain, the “founder of New France” and as the plaque reads on Champlain’s downtown Ottawa monument, “the First Great Canadian”, lost his astrolabe (a sextant) west of Ottawa, near Pembroke, Ontario. In the 1950s, a school boy found the instrument in a farmer’s field. After being displayed in a New York museum for years, the astrolabe has found a home at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, across the Ottawa River in Gatineau, Quebec (Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2010). The astrolabe was of limited use to Champlain, he was more dependent on his Aboriginal guides. The precarious and limited utility of the tool is highlighted in how Champlain holds it upside-down in the Ottawa monument. In this narrative ethnographic analysis of Aboriginal Ottawa, I wield Champlain’s tool upside-down. Inverted, I suggest that the astrolabe directs our attention to another Ottawa, the unseen, veiled Ottawa of both colonial violence and hidden histories of Aboriginal resistance. In this Chapter, I walk Ottawa brandishing this inverted tool which acknowledges and makes pronounced both what the white colonizers did not see and what the white colonizers actively worked to conceal. The lost and found, upside-down astrolabe, I suggest, is not merely a faulty colonial instrument, but rather is a tool that reveals the violence and blindness of colonial vision.

In this tour of Aboriginality in Ottawa, the upside-down astrolabe has directed me to the discursive and affective labour of the many presences and absences of Aboriginal figures in the capital city. Eva Mackey (1999) suggests that Aboriginal figures and ideas about Aboriginality are central to Canadian myth-making. Specifically, she highlights three ways in which Aboriginal figures are mobilized to specific ends. First, Aboriginal figures are mobilized to “differentiate Canada from the United States because through them British Canada can construct itself as gentle, tolerant, just and impartial” (pp. 38-39). Aboriginal figures are also used to represent a specific narrative of Canada’s evolution as a nation-state from one of savagery to civilization. Finally, Aboriginal figures are positioned as witness to the hearty enterprise of

white-settlers, “Canada’s Aboriginal peoples were not erased in Canada’s nationalist narratives, but were important supporting actors in a story which reaffirms settler progress” (p. 39). Mackey argues that understandings of Aboriginality within discourses of Canadian identity are consistently unstable as ideas are mobilized for strategic purposes (this instability is highlighted in Chapter 5). In this unmapping tour of Ottawa, we will see how both Aboriginal presences and absences reassert narratives of white-settler triumph and Canadian liberalism.

Central to this tour is an engagement with the notion of Aboriginal mobilities. In this Chapter I am interested in how Aboriginal figures are imbued with certain motility. Some figures, like the carvings of Aboriginal men into gothic buildings, imply a temporal and spatial fixity (they are both discursively anachronistic and materially limestone). Other figures like the monument to Joseph Brant, the many totem poles and the Scout monument from the previous Chapter represent both physical mobility and the discursive production of Ottawa as a site for embracing a pan-Aboriginality. Finally, while Aboriginality is mobile in the above cases, the fixity of Ottawa’s Algonquin history is scarcely acknowledged, reinforcing the notion that Aboriginality in Ottawa is of a politically precise form.

Aboriginal mobilities unmapped in this Chapter also represent possible postcolonial engagements. The motility of Aboriginal figures is engaged with both by white-settler narratives and Aboriginal activities of reclamation. In the photograph series “Indians on tour,” Jeffrey Thomas highlights how Aboriginal figures in the built environment can serve to shock and destabilize the colonial logic of white supremacy. The multiple Aboriginal mobilities that are the substance of this Chapter highlight the fragmented relationships all Canadians have with Aboriginal peoples and place-making. Like the figure of the social ghost, the displaced, relocated, disappearing and reappearing Aboriginal figures haunt both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. The clean, ordered capital city of Ottawa is reminded of the displacements of some (the Algonquin) and the strategic attempt to repair this violence through the use of certain cleansed, familiar tropes—like the British Columbia-imported totem pole. These social ghosts also provide sites of comfort and disgust to urban Aboriginal people like Thomas who engage with the figures as uncanny presences.

Specifically, through this walking tour, I have identified three moments of Aboriginal presence and absence. There are many sites of hidden or obscured Aboriginal history—at the Ottawa River, LeBreton Flats, the headquarters of the Department of Indian Affairs, and

Parliament Hill. Second, there are the many sites where Aboriginality is employed as an allegorical trope. These are representations of Aboriginal people which served to spatialize White-Aboriginal relations in the interests of securing narratives of white benevolence towards Aboriginal peoples. Finally, in this walk I encounter few, exceptional representations of Aboriginal people as public citizens⁴⁵. In this third moment, Aboriginality is again employed in the service of broader discourses of Canadian liberalism (see Mackey 2002). In all three instances, there is potential for engagements by artists and activists who are interested in highlighting and challenging the contemporary presence of colonial ideologies. Through the uncanny presence of totem poles in Ottawa and the absence of Algonquin histories, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples are afforded opportunities to conjure the social ghosts of the violent colonial histories which have facilitated the production of Ottawa as a white space.

Unmapping

In this Chapter my first impulse to tour Aboriginal Ottawa was to join an animated Scout (unhinged from Champlain, and now stationed in Major's Hill Park) in Aboriginal flanerrie of the capital city. It became clear to me early on that even fictitiously, as a white Canadian, imaging the journeys of this Aboriginal Scout would not be possible for a number of reasons. That type of Aboriginal unmapping of the city was and is the project of photographer Jeffrey Thomas.

As an urban Iroquois man, photographer Jeffrey Thomas early on felt a representational void in the cities in which he lived (Buffalo, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg). When he searched for representations of urban Aboriginal people, the presences he found were jarring. He explains, "Because the Indian image was intended for white audiences and not for a First Nations audience, it is not surprising that I felt like an Indian tourist gazing at Indians" (Thomas 2004, p. 29). In his 1998 series, "Scouting for Indians", Thomas photographs many incongruous Aboriginal representations—allegorical nameless figures etched on doors, cigar stone Indians, Indian logos on cars, Aboriginal graffiti. Before and after the Aboriginal Scout was removed

⁴⁵This unmapping tour of Aboriginal Ottawa has also been inspired by a Jane's Walk walking tour titled, "Different Perspectives: Anti-colonial walk through downtown Ottawa" of Ottawa that I went on in the summer of 2009 that was organized by the Indigenous Peoples Solidarity Movement Ottawa. In this tour, the guide—Louisa Worrell began at the Champlain monument, and visited the Hudson's Bay store, Parliament Hill, the Olympic clock at the NCC headquarters, down Wellington Street passing the Supreme Court, the National Archives, Lebreton Flats, ending at Victoria Island, with a view of Chaudière Falls.

from Nepean Point, Thomas also focused his lens on this contentious Aboriginal presence in his series, “Seize this Space”.

In 2000 Thomas began his “Indians on Tour” series. In this series, he photographed miniature plastic toy “Indians” in various settings. Thomas played with scale by foregrounding the toy “Indians” in actual overwhelming contemporary urban contexts. In one photograph titled, “Peace Chief in Toronto, Ontario, CN Tower, 2004,” “the figurine dominates the skyline in an inversion of power” (Hudson 2008, p. 16). Richard Hill describes the photography of Thomas: Thomas’s trick is to turn an absence into a presence, to find himself and his history in the world. He is able to do this because he has found the places where he can engage with history on his own terms. They seem to be the most unlikely places, the most impenetrable. But he finds his way in because he understands image and story and he uses them as Aboriginal forms of knowledge, or more precisely, as processes of knowledge making (Hill 2004, p. 14).

In “Indians on tour” Thomas imagines what and where the Scout would visit after he became unhinged from his location at Nepean Point. In an interview I asked Thomas what type of Aboriginal representations the Scout might encounter on his first stroll through Ottawa. Thomas mentioned many Aboriginal figures that have recently been added to the Ottawa landscape and quickly conjured a mental map, explaining how from the Champlain monument you can see the National War Memorial, site of the monument to Joseph Brant, and from there it is a short direct walk to the National Aboriginal War Veterans’ Memorial. As an urban Iroquois man, Thomas has taken the prerogative of animating the figure of the Scout, breathing life into the miniaturized, plastic figures of Aboriginal people that are ubiquitous in popular culture. His work in “Indians on Tour” is ironic, deriving its power and effectiveness from his ability to use his subject position as a site of exploration.

To produce an unmapping of colonialism and aboriginality I am not going to animate the Scout monument, nor am I going to animate Champlain. I do not find it advantageous or politically useful to unleash any more fictitious violence or colonial ‘discovery’ into the world in the form of a re-awakened Champlain. Champlain’s and the white-settler version of Ottawa as a place are already fully inscribed in the public imagination. So how else could I tour the capital in the playful, productive vein that I crave? I have decided that the tool at my disposal to do an unmapping of Aboriginality and colonialism in Ottawa is Champlain’s upside-down astrolabe. What better instrument to employ as a guide to the city than the misused instrument of one the

original colonizers? Champlain's astrolabe is a very specific type of camera obscura; upside-down, its ideological work is made obvious. In this Chapter I ask, where does this symbol of Western rationality take us when its uselessness is highlighted? I am trying to imagine an anti-colonial perspective that does not involve the appropriation of an Aboriginal subject position.

My unmapping tour is also influenced by my experiences as a walking tour guide of Ottawa, part-time summer jobs that early on ignited my fascination with Ottawa's built environment. My walking tour guide jobs and employment in Ottawa museums also gave me insight into the broader narratives of place that were being produced within the tourism industry. Walking with the tool upside-down like in the Champlain monument and guided by the insights of Jeffrey Thomas, I suggest that an Aboriginal Ottawa becomes visible; what becomes inverted (upside-down, ludicrous) is the notion of white mastery over the space.

Parliamentary Precinct

I begin my tour at Nepean Point pondering two great aboriginal absences; the empty plinth behind me where the Scout used to sit and the great panoramic view of Ottawa, Gatineau, and the powerful Ottawa River. An unmapping of Aboriginality in the capital starts here, with a renewed understanding of the historic provenance of the Ottawa River, which the Algonquin called Kitchissippi. Tourist material from the Aboriginal-owned tourist attraction, "Aboriginal Experiences" articulates the significance of the Ottawa River:

Long ago, the Ottawa River which runs through our nation's capital was a major highway. This highway was navigated by the many native nations from across Turtle Island (or North America, as it is known today) who were in search of food, technology and trade goods. At one time, all of the lands stretching on each side of the river were home to the Algonquin nations who were called "Adawa", meaning people of the trade.

When European explorers later traveled these same waters in search of the mighty beaver pelt, they called the area "Ottawa" after the local nation (Aboriginal Experiences 2010).

From Nepean Point, gazing over the expanses of a manicured capital city of a white-settler society, I am emboldened by my upside-down tool, to seek out and understand the region's Algonquin roots. The land I am facing, which is inhabited by Parliament Hill and many audacious capital complexes, is un-ceded Algonquin land. Parliament Hill and, in fact all of

Ottawa, is part of a thirty six thousand kilometres squared stretch of land from North Bay, Ontario to Hawkesbury, Quebec has been part of a land claims dispute since 1991. The province of Ontario has declared that an Agreement-in-Principle will be reached with the Algonquin people in 2011 (Yundt 2010, para 17).

Across the River, I see the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The Museum, built in 1989, was designed by Albertan Aboriginal architect Douglas Cardinal, and is celebrated as an emblem of Aboriginal architecture. It is an immense structure of undulating limestone, representing the Canadian Shield, and the result of 'ritual inspiration' from a sweat lodge ceremony (Mackey 2000, p. 73). The Museum's ground floor and most spectacular hall, "The Grand Hall" contains Canada's largest totem pole collection. The second and third floors are dedicated to travelling exhibits and on the third floor the "Canada Hall" focuses on Canadian history that began with the arrival of the first white Europeans (the Vikings in the 16th century). Many have critiqued the implicit teleological narratives of Canadian society demonstrated in the arrangement of the museum artifacts, placing white-settler and immigrant history within the hall detailing Canada's history, and placing the life and culture of Aboriginal peoples in separate gallery spaces (see Phillips and Phillips 2005). Eva Mackey (2000) suggests that the museum's design reproduces understandings of Aboriginal connectivity to nature and an understanding of Aboriginal people as central to Canada's past or heritage (pp. 76-77).

The Museum's "Grand Hall" is a spectacular exhibition space which includes not only totem poles but also reproductions of "Big houses" representing the life and culture of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada's North-West coast. Around the corner from the "Grand Hall", there is a long, winding exhibition hall called the "First Peoples Hall." This is a gallery space dedicated to exploring the history, life and culture of all of Canada's first peoples. At the entrance of this Hall, there is a wall mural depicting an encampment of Algonquin peoples at the edge of a River. The accompanying plaque indicates that this is a suggestion of what may have occurred on the site where the Museum now sits. In the mural, across from the depicted camp scene, across the River, sits the Parliament buildings. While the Museum conforms to other representations of including Aboriginal peoples strategically, this mural offers a palimpsest-like rendering of Aboriginal and white co-habitation. Aboriginality is located as spatially present (Algonquin people rather than transported artifacts from elsewhere), and temporally co-present. The Aboriginal people in the mural are from another time, dressed in 'traditional' clothes, with a

contemporary backdrop. The image in this museum space offers a specific ghostly conjuring. However, from where I stand on Nepean Point, this subtle pedagogic point inside the museum is not visible. Instead, the Museum of Civilization offers a pronounced presence of celebrating pan-Aboriginality in the heart of National Capital Region.

I meander down from Nepean Point and stop for a moment on Parliament Hill. I recall my conversation with Jeffrey Thomas who described Parliament: “If you go across the street to Parliament hill, you’ll find on Centre block, on the main entrance just off to the left hand side there are several Indian figures that are cut into the stone there. They are really strange looking figures. They are really kind of cartoon-like looking figures” (personal communications, November 1, 2008). Here, in the exterior walls of Parliament, Aboriginality is cast akin to the other mythical or allegorical figures which line the neo-Gothic façades, the unicorns, beavers, gargoyles, lumberjacks. The Aboriginal figures do not occupy the grounds like the statesmen of Parliament Hill do. Rather, the Aboriginal figures are enfolded into the façades of the buildings, represented as part of the limestone backdrop of the nation. When visiting the many European settler-statues, I take a second look at the grand monument to Queen Victoria. To Jeffrey Thomas, the medallion around the Queen’s neck looks distinctly like it has an Indian head on it. Unable to scale the Queen, I continue on my way. A more extensive tour would visit the celebrated statesmen— John A. Macdonald who led the campaign against the Métis leader Louis Riel and John Diefenbaker—“Dief the Chief” who had a legendarily positive relationship with Aboriginal peoples. These visits might offer a better understand how Aboriginal history is ignored in the capital.

What I won’t discover on this day of walking is that if I were to enter Centre Block I would be amazed by a frieze of stone carvings surrounding the main foyer in Centre Block called the “History of Canada.” Eleanor Milne, the Dominion Sculptor responsible for the frieze was passionate about representing Aboriginal peoples as instrumental to Canadian history. The frieze begins with the peoples of the Bluefish Caves; a region at the border of the Yukon and Alaska where archeologists have found the oldest evidence of human life. The next frame is of a Northern Aboriginal man teaching his son. If the un-tethered Scout were on this walk, he would have also seen a portrait of himself. The frieze depicts Champlain and the Scout who showed him the ways to the inland waters. Milne describes her decision to include the Scout,

Oh yes, because that's part of the history. He [Champlain] wouldn't have found those inland waters if he hadn't been led there, he would have died. He would have got lost. That was different, the requirement of that series was to make the history of Canada and I started with the very first humans that came because after all it did become Canada with them (Milne personal communications, January 19th 2009).

Here, the figures of Aboriginality operate within what Mackey (2002) identifies as the teleology of nation-building, a teleology in which Aboriginal peoples represent Canada's infantile beginnings (p. 37).

Since 1978, the elaborate interior carvings of Centre Block have also included a plethora of pan-Aboriginal symbols. An orca is carved on top of the doorway to the "Commonwealth Room" by British Columbian sculptor Walter Harris. A thunderbird welcomes visitors at the east door of the House of Commons. On top of a doorway in the House of Commons foyer is a sculpture of an Inuk hunter who holds a knife in one hand and a narwhal tusk in the other ("Canadian Symbols at Parliament" 2007, p.16). What does this artwork do to Aboriginality in the capital? Is this an active appropriation of the heart of the nation or a government-inspired and initiated project to project liberal inclusion? Jane Jacobs (1996) studies the inclusion of an Aboriginal mosaic in Australia's Parliament House in Canberra. She explains that after the mosaic was installed, the artist, Tjakamarra "later removed the central stone in the mosaic, allowing him to reclaim the symbolic status of the artwork and, in so doing, leave only an unauthorized original on the Parliament forecourt" (p. 146). The works on Parliament Hill cannot claim such radical attempts at re-appropriation. Here, as we will find at many moments in this tour, Aboriginality is produced in a generalized pan-Aboriginal context, a strategy that echoes Ottawa's pedagogic role as the nation's capital, and understandings of Canadian liberal benevolence towards Aboriginal peoples.

Leaving Parliament Hill, I continue west on Wellington Street and spot an Aboriginal figure kneeling with a bow and arrow carved into the façade of the Department of Justice. It becomes clear to me that Aboriginality is being commonly deployed as some sort of architectural decoration. Aboriginal figures are representative not of the specific, material and cultural history of Aboriginal peoples, but rather of a certain set of values associated with Aboriginal people as a means of furthering narratives of Canada's settlement as a white-settler nation. The allegorical Aboriginal men (they are all men) confirm two of Mackey's insights concerning the

representations of Aboriginal peoples. They are silent witnesses to the action on Parliament, physically smaller, two-dimensional backdrops to the activity of the white-settler statesmen. Incidentally, all of the statues to Fathers of Confederation and Prime Ministers on the lawn of Parliament Hill are posed mid-oration and often mid-stride. They are men of unquestionable three-dimensional action (i.e. they are not etched into walls, but are full-form statues of specific men). The allegorical figures, cast alongside beavers and the odd lumberjack also offer a teleological understanding of Canada's progress from a land rich with natural resources and passive Native settlement to one transformed by European settlement (see Razack 2002).

Lebreton Flats and Victoria Island

Pausing for a rest on the lawn of the Supreme Court, where others are lunching and playing Frisbee, I see in the distance a plot of land known as Lebreton Flats. This is a space of complicated Ottawa history, the site of the city's first pub, "Ma Firth's", and also a site of erupted Aboriginal haunting. Currently, the Flats are an incongruous plot of mostly empty downtown land punctured only by the 2005 building of the Canadian War Museum and a recent apartment building. In this unmapping, guided as I am by an upside-down colonial compass, I am able to access the Flat's Aboriginal history. The Flats have a long history of Algonquin life, "the acre was part of one family's territory, operating under unwritten guidelines. The guidelines were tools, whittled from experience, designed to ensure long-term survival" (Jenkins 2008, p. 55). In his history of Lebreton Flats, Phil Jenkins relays the story of one prominent Algonquin man Constant Penency, who fought to protect the rights for his family to their land. Penency, born in 1786, had fought in the War of 1812 with the British. By 1830 he had become the Great Chief of the Algonquin. Documentation from 1834 shows that Penency had requested a bequeathment of his own lands to be set apart for hunting, fishing and living of his people. This request was apparently never granted. His name appears years later in the paper work of a white-settler George Rochester. Here, Penency is referred to as a destitute man of about 90 living with his daughter. Jenkins explains, "The irony in this intersection of two such disparate lives feels almost orchestrated. George Rochester was the son of the man who built the first industrial park in Ottawa, a separate suburb called Rochesterville until annexation in 1889, on the very hunting grounds that Constant had been forced to vacate" (p. 92). Unacknowledged anywhere in the capital is this history of Aboriginal resistance to white colonial appropriation of land.

Lebreton Flats is also where in 1843 Canada's first suspension bridge was built. When building the bridge, digging into deep sand, the workers hit upon a collection of human remains. A local natural historian Edward Van Courtland was called to the scene to investigate. Jenkins (2008) explains that:

He was maddeningly vague in stating exactly where the bones were found, but gave a fine description of what the site revealed. There were twenty bodies, arranged haphazardly like pick-up sticks, many of them children's. None of the bones showed any signs of attack, and there were no arrow heads or broken weapons. Lying underneath the bones was a crimson carpet of sand, stained by the red hematite dye the owners of the bones used as decoration. ... (p. 134).

Jenkins suggests that what the bridge builders unearthed was an extended family plot. He surmises this based on the absence of war wounds. He also suggests that, based on the material of the tools found, a stone club and a stone hatchet, the plot pre-dated European contact (p. 135). With the building of the War Museum, and after fifty years of stalled development by the National Capital Commission, the NCC is moving ahead with plans to develop this space. These developments include the placement of a Canadian Naval Monument in the near future. No monument to Penecy or Algonquin peoples in general has been proposed. This complicated "empty" acreage is marked by many obliterated histories—it was also the site of a working class neighbourhood that was razed in the 1960s for the building of government buildings (an endeavor that never occurred). LeBreton Flats are an easily accessible empty wound in Ottawa's cityscape. Here other memories of the city's occupants are conjured with a little digging.

Just past the Flats, I venture down, crossing the Chaudière Bridge to Victoria Island, which is situated in-between Ottawa and Gatineau in the Ottawa River. Common tourist vernacular (i.e. what I was instructed to tell tourists when I was a bus tour guide) celebrates the island and the tourist attraction built on it as an ideal pedagogic spot for celebrating the three founding peoples of Canada: the English south of the River in Ottawa, the French north of the River in Gatineau, and Canada's Aboriginal peoples are celebrated on this island. Victoria Island is understood as a historic site where people from the Algonquin nation met for thousands of years to trade and have celebrations. Past the Flats are the Chaudière Falls, waterfalls named 'cauldron' due to Champlain's impression of the falls as a bubbling, busy cauldron (Taylor 1986, p.11). The Algonquin in the region had another name for the falls, "Asticou" also meaning kettle.

This was a spiritual site where the Algonquin would offer tobacco to the falls in the petun ceremony (Jenkins 2008, p. 135).

Victoria Island is home to a tourist attraction called “Aboriginal Experiences,” created and operated by the Turtle Island Tourism Company, which collaborates with the Odawa Native Friendship Centre. The attraction includes performances of Powwow dancing, storytelling, theater, artist workshops and the production and consumption of traditional foods. On their website they describe themselves,

“Aboriginal Experiences” is an exciting new cultural attraction in Ottawa that offers more than a fun family outing; we provide visitors with an enriching and entertaining new experience. Our programs offer a rare opportunity to experience the rich culture, teachings and history of Canada’s First People from our own perspective. Our talented team of Aboriginal artists, represent the Aboriginal community of Ottawa today – a diversity of native nations from across Canada (or Turtle Island as we know it). Each one of us has our own story that we look forward to sharing with you on your visit. On your next visit to Canada’s Capital Region we invite you to explore Canada’s only truly “urban” based Aboriginal cultural attraction (“Aboriginal Experiences” 2010).

The history of the site as significant to the Adawa people is stressed here. However, like common museum pedagogy, the stress is on culture rather than history, thus denying Aboriginal peoples a historicity that would position them within narratives of modernity. The site also explicitly produces a pan-Aboriginal experience attempting, as they explain in their mission statement:

to provide authentic Aboriginal experiences to visitors to Canada's capital region. Canadian and American Aboriginal culture is a source of much fascination to many world-wide, yet to many, it is as mysterious as it is fascinating. We seek to inform, enlighten, thrill and entertain curious travellers and locals alike, while providing an open forum where Aboriginal people from all across this vast territory can share their cultures with those who otherwise may not have had the opportunity to experience this unique culture firsthand (“Aboriginal Experiences” 2010).

While this tourist attraction circulates otherwise common vernacular about Aboriginal cultures, I also read “Aboriginal Experiences” as a practice of Aboriginal peoples actively taking over a site central to the capital city. Algonquin leader William Commando has grand plans for

the healing, activist and pedagogic roles of Victoria Island. The Indigenous Peoples' Solidarity Movement explains,

Victoria Island is the location chosen for an International Peace and Healing Centre as envisioned by respected Algonquin Elder William Commanda, and the Circle of All Nations. Elder Commanda has devoted many years trying to protect and reclaim Victoria Island as a Spiritual place for indigenous peoples of all nations. Although it is under his protection symbolically, the Federal and Provincial governments and the Domcar Corporation installed on the island incessantly encroach on this land without consultation. To end threats to this important international peace project and establish its presence, we must join this battle 'en-masse' ("Indigenous Peoples' Solidarity Movement Ottawa" n.d., n.p).

Pedagogically, offering Victoria Island as a singular moment to represent a historic Algonquin presence seems superficial and problematic by relegating Aboriginal peoples to this liminal island space between the nation-making work and spaces of English and French Canada. The Aboriginal Experiences tourist attraction requires more critique and study to understand the symbolic, pedagogic and place-making work it does. However, this space has become an active site for thinking about Algonquin and Aboriginal presences taken up by Aboriginal peoples in the capital.

Leaving Victoria Island, and having returned to Wellington Street, I turn around and walk east towards Elgin Street. On my right, I look up, and squinting notice two Aboriginal men high up on the building, supporting, it seems a crest of some sort. The building is an old Bank of Montreal. In our earlier conversation, Jeffrey Thomas told me that wherever there is a Bank of Montreal, you'll be able to find some Aboriginal men; stone-cast Aboriginal men were part of the original Bank of Montreal crest. Thomas recounts a story that happened further down Bank Street at the grocery store Hartman's:

At Hartman's, you can see the Bank of Montreal [crest] right above the doorway, it doesn't open, you can't go in that door but you can see where it opened. ... One day I was sitting there having coffee and I noticed this First Nations guy come by. He had long hair, very dark, and um, just behind him, so he turned off, going up Bank St. and a few minutes later another guy came up from the same direction looking similar, long hair, very dark and that, and he went the opposite way. And I'm sitting there and I have both

of these images in my mind and I am thinking about the crest in the doorway and the image that could have been there. And I just thought what a story to tell (personal communications, November 1, 2008).

For Thomas, who has an intimate knowledge of the rare presences of Aboriginal people in the city, old Bank of Montreal buildings offer possibly homey sites. His affective attachment to the sites, the crests of the Aboriginal figures, differs qualitatively from the colonial nostalgia articulated in Chapter 5. Here Thomas imagines that an urban Aboriginal presence is both natural and expected, nonetheless, when he notices actual Aboriginal men leaving the grocery store where the imaginary Aboriginal figures are absent from the stone carvings, the experience is uncanny. An urban Aboriginal presence is no longer merely imagined or based on an anachronistic, imperial vision of Aboriginality. It has come to life. Here we can also see that the ubiquity of allegorical Aboriginal men also has the power to haunt.

Elgin Street

I continue down Wellington Street and pass a Second Empire style building of immense substance on my right. Built between 1883 and 1889, during the era of Confederation, the Langevin Block, directly facing Parliament Hill was the first building off of Parliament Hill constructed to house government bureaucrats (Bellamy 2001, p. 436). This was an era of considerable growth for Canada and the era of both the building of the CPR and the Riel Rebellions. The Langevin building is significant because it was also the workplace of the prominent and influential bureaucrat and poet Duncan Campbell Scott. The Indian Act was introduced in 1876. However, as a senior bureaucrat in Indian Affairs from 1913-1932, Scott was central to the implementation and creation of stricter sanctions within the Act, making illegal the wearing of 'traditional costumes', arranging for police spies to infiltrate the meetings of Aboriginal groups, making it illegal for Aboriginal people to hire lawyers (Francis 1992, p. 211). Scott's reign in the Department is marked by his consistent endorsement of assimilation as policy, stating in a 1931 speech, "the Government will in time reach the end of its responsibility as the Indians progress into civilization and finally disappear as a separate and distinct people, not by race extinction but by gradual assimilation with their fellow citizens" (as cited in Francis 1992, p. 210).

The Langevin building is also one of many sites of capital complexity. Scott, along with many other government officials, travelled across Canada to develop his opinions and policies for Aboriginal Canadians. In 1905, Scott travelled to Northern Ontario to put into place Treaty No 9, the Treaty of the James Bay Aboriginal peoples (Titley 1986, p. 24). He travelled annually to the prairies to assess the implementation of policies forbidding the Sun and Thirst Dances of the Blackfoot and Cree nations (ibid, p. 163). The Langevin building sits as a silent heart or centre from which the national frontiers and the people that lived in them were continually re-imagined. This reading of the Langevin building interprets Ottawa's role as a heart and capital, as also one that is influenced by the mobilities of bureaucrats. The Langevin building stands, pulsing silently with this history.

When I reach Elgin Street, I stop at the National War Memorial. I pause here, studying the twenty-two figures that are to stand-in for all Canadian veterans, I suspect that one of the infantrymen beside the horse is an Aboriginal man but I'm not sure (see Gardam 1982, p. 28). The astrolabe guides me to the Valiants Memorial, where I find a statue of Joseph Brant. The Brant statue is the only monument to a specific, named Aboriginal person in Ottawa. Brant was a Mohawk leader and war hero, instrumental in establishing land grants for his people in the region of now Brantford, Ontario after the American War of Independence ("The Valiants Memorial" 2004, para 1). Brant, fighting for the British, and having arrived in Canada as a loyalist, is a celebrated and not surprising war hero for the Mohawk people specifically and the Canadian imagination in general. Francis (1992) argues that "In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Britain needed Native people in its armed struggle for control of the continent. Accordingly, they received all the respect due to military allies" (p. 200). Joseph Brant along with another War of 1812 Aboriginal leader Tecumseh have persisted as what Francis calls the "Good Indian"—the few celebrated representations of Aboriginal peoples as allies and heroes. In school textbooks, these two figures are presented as "the finest examples of their race" (p. 167). Brant's presence also marks another mobility that shapes Aboriginal Ottawa. Brant is emblematic of a large immigration settlement of the Six Nations to Southern Ontario from the United States. In the symbolic moment of the placement of this monument, Brant was further mobilized to come to Ottawa. This mobility is on the one hand natural; Brant in his life was very comfortable with traveling across different borders. His movement into this very specific site of national celebration also reflects a desire to commemorate Aboriginal contributions to nation-

building. However, one could also read Brant's presence as a play of familiar understandings of Aboriginal military contributions. Brant's presence and motility is contrasted by the absence of Penney, a man who, like Brant stood up for Aboriginal rights, but unlike Brant, could not be accommodated within discourses of Canadian nationhood.



Figure 8—National Aboriginal Veterans' Memorial, Remembrance Day 2009. Credit: Davidson.

I continue down Elgin and in a few blocks I stop in awe and amazement. A large monument is composed of a veritable collage of Aboriginal motifs: a bear, a wolf, an eagle, a cougar. It also includes several Aboriginal men, and, for the first and only time in Ottawa, there is an Aboriginal woman. I have found the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, a monument unveiled on June 21st, National Aboriginal Day, 2001. The fundraising, designing and planning for this monument began in 1996, after the Scout relocation controversy. The National Aboriginal Veterans Memorial has two commemorative intentions. First, the monument was designed to acknowledge the high percentage of Aboriginal recruits that served in all the major wars Canada was involved in. In World War 1, one in three able-bodied Aboriginal men enlisted and twelve thousand Aboriginal people served in the two world wars and the Korean War (Kennedy 2008, p. C.2). The second intent of the memorial is to offer an overwhelmingly

positive representation of Aboriginal cultures in light of the Scout controversy. Designer Pinay describes his choices of figures that he included in the monument:

Across the country, all citizens will be able to identify and relate to various aspects of the monument...The sculpture will address the strengths of Aboriginal Peoples' beliefs drawn from the natural world around them. Often the warrior would have a special spirit guide in the form of a bear or perhaps a wolf (as cited in Aubry 1996, p. D.2).

Jeffrey Thomas adds his assessment of this monument:

What I like about it is that the Aboriginal Veterans have a place that they can call home. I mean they always had to go share space at the National War Memorial and now they have their own place that they can go to. So in that sense it's a really good thing..... You can see the symbolism in that and it's easily identifiable as being something to do with Aboriginal people. And a lot of people stop and look at it. I mean, I've watched people there before, so in that sense, for me it's an important monument (personal communications, November 1, 2008).

The presence of the National Aboriginal War Veterans' Memorial is complicated. Much official discourse surrounding the monument reinforces ideas of Aboriginal men as seemingly natural 'warriors.' Also complicated is this as one site of Aboriginal design that celebrates Aboriginal contributions in terms of their military contributions. Like the statue of Brant, the National Aboriginal Veterans' Memorial is easily integrated Aboriginal representation in the capital.

The sentiment of the monument as a symbol of Aboriginal cultures was also iterated in Adrienne Clarkson's address at the monument's unveiling:

For, as much as this monument commemorates specific battles and campaigns, it also honours the eternal spiritual elements that are so essential to the culture of aboriginal peoples. For it has been erected by aboriginal peoples themselves. Its message of respect and honour will travel in the four directions and be heard by all who listen. It is a message of remembrance; it is a Calling Home (Clarkson in "Governor General unveils..."2001).

Aboriginal people are understood for their natural capacities with battle and conciliation with nation-building activities like participation in the World Wars.

At this point I walk east, passing through Confederation Square Park. The park, a site

with its own rich history (like Confederation Square)⁴⁶, has become home to many monuments and gifts to the capital. Here, I find my first urban Ottawa totem pole. The accompanying plaque tells us that this pole was a gift from the Government of British Columbia to the City of Ottawa in July 1971 to commemorate the centenary of British Columbia's joining Confederation; a totem pole was given by the Government of British Columbia to every province. The giving of totem poles as gifts has been a practice adopted by Canadian governments since the 1920s (Francis 1992, p. 186). The accompanying plaque states that the pole was carved by the Kwakiutl carver Henry Hunt. This is one of five totem poles in urban Ottawa. There is a totem pole in the Byward Market, on the grounds of Rideau Hall (the residence of the Governor General), outside of the headquarters of the Boy Scouts on Baseline Road and on Victoria Island. The totem poles represent a specific form of Aboriginal mobility. Totem poles are not native to Ottawa; they have all been imported from British Columbia. However, these monuments operate within specific discourses of Aboriginality.

⁴⁶ The site of the present-day Confederation Park which is directly to the south-east of Confederation Square is the result of similar early 20th century capital-building projects to the development of Confederation Square. Here, the Knox Presbyterian Church was demolished in 1930 and a city hall that served Ottawa from 1877-1931. Across the street from Confederation Square, the Roxborough Hotel was demolished in the same era, ostensibly to produce space for the building of a science museum that was much later built far from the city centre (Brado 1991). The space cleared for a science centre later became the home to the National Arts Centre and Confederation Square Park. The Roxborough was home to William Lyon McKenzie King and others (Gyton 1999, p. 57). The park that was produced as a result of these razings also became home to many monuments, and an especially welcome refuge for monuments that were continually displaced by in-fill building (in particular the Boer War monument).



Figure 9—Totem Pole, Confederation Park. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

I would like to think more thoroughly about the workings of urban totem poles in a context like Ottawa. Their functions are complicated. First, for the Aboriginal people of the North-West coast, totem poles are replete with familial and heraldic meanings. Totem poles are meant to follow a normal course of life and death. In the Pacific North-West, totem poles are erected, fall, and rot as a natural course of their lives (Dawn 2006, p. 186). Because of the understood course of their lives, totem poles live like counter-monuments; their change and death are understood as inevitable. In urban Ottawa, this characteristic of totem poles is somewhat maintained. Unlike the collection of totem poles in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the urban totem poles are exposed to the elements. They are seemingly active in their memory and symbolic work. However, their presence also signifies the operation of multiple discourses of Aboriginality.

For the white governments who give and receive the poles and for the Canadian and other visitors to Ottawa, the totem poles could be read as totems of a pan-Aboriginality. However, their presence is also a testimony to histories of white appropriation of Aboriginal culture as tourist attractions. Daniel Francis (1992) explains that in the early twentieth century, white settlers collected and sold totem poles to museums around the world, and collected totem poles

for display in reconstructed villages placed strategically along the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway as tourist attractions, “The Skeena Valley line was advertised as the railway to totem-pole land” (p. 183). Visitors to Ottawa in the 1930s would have found another source of totem poles in the Chateau Laurier’s “Totem Pole Room”, featuring columns that had been designed to resemble totem poles, and walls of Aboriginal murals and masks (ibid, p. 184).

The interest of white people in totem poles also has a history of furthering certain ideas of Aboriginal peoples as ‘vanishing’. Leslie Dawn (2006) in her analysis of the Gitksan totem pole conservation initiative of the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1920s highlights how the celebration of totem poles were central to bolstering the assimilation logic of the Department of Indian Affairs (led by Scott) at the time. In the early 1920s, under the direction of Duncan Campbell Scott, Indian agents were instructed to enforce bans on the traditional ceremonies including the potlatch. Because totem poles were erected in the context of traditional ceremonies, this ban effectively created the conditions in which totem poles became supposed remnants of a ‘vanishing culture’ to be conserved (p. 186).

The curator of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (at the time the Museum of Man), Marius Barbeau, is responsible for Ottawa-Gatineau being home to the country’s largest totem pole collection. He collected and studied totem poles as artifacts of a ‘disappearing culture’ (Francis 1992, p. 56). In fact, as Leslie Dawn (2006) points out, unlike other anthropologists like Edward Sapir who were vocally opposed to Scott’s plans, Barbeau worked closely with Scott to not only report but attempt to ensure the disappearance of Aboriginal culture, especially on the North-West coast. In 1920-1921, “Barbeau’s field notes of the extensive ceremonies that season took on a political cast and broadened the relationship between the practice of ethnology and the interests of the state; there is little question that Barbeau was spying for Scott during the period when Sapir had forbidden collusion” (p. 194).

In this context, the white interest in totem poles can be understood as the attempted creation of pre-emptive cultural tomb stones, a process that was a necessary prerequisite to successful cultural appropriation. Through practices of cultural appropriation, totem poles become emptied of the threat of the other and instead become symbols of Canada’s teleological narrative as a nation that emerged from primitive origins to become a modern state. Leslie Dawn (2006) explains this evacuation of meaning:

Insofar as the poles could be disconnected from or invalidated in terms of their original social and cultural significance and could now be seen as emblems of the death of this culture, they could successfully be appropriated by Anglo- Canadian artists working under the auspices of several institutions, such as the National Museum, National Gallery, National Railway, and the Department of Indian Affairs, as well as by the discipline of ethnology, the popular and high arts, and the tourist industry. The image of the Indian could become purely and nationally Canadian since it no longer needed to be recognized as distinctly Other. Indeed, the act of representing the poles reassuringly declared the disappearance of the Other who had produced them (p. 208).

Conserving totem poles were not only attempts at securing a teleological and justifying narrative to bolster assimilationist policies. These practices also underlie white anxiety, because, despite arguing the opposite, Aboriginal cultures on the North-West coast weren't vanishing at all (ibid, 207). Dawn explains that the totem poles, "whose ambiguities became emblems of a conflict that could be overcome only by taking possession of them, redefining them, and re-presenting them" (p. 207). The gifting of totem poles is not only an affirmation of white-settler superiority, but a hope of white-settler superiority.

The Confederation Park totem pole, a gift between two white governments fifty years after this aggressive totem pole conservation program is a reminder of active, violent forms of the twin processes of cultural genocide and cultural appropriation. A more obvious reminder of these violences is at the nearby Canadian Museum of Civilization, the home of Canada's 'largest indoor totem pole collection', a collection procured by Barbeau in the 1920s (Francis 1992, Dawn 2006).

In 2011, the totem poles represent simultaneously the discourse of Aboriginality as a part of Canada's past, and the discourse of Aboriginality as a constitutive element of Canada as a modern nation—the discourse of benign Canadian liberalism. In this context, we could read Aboriginal mobility as operative in the service of dominant discourses of 'inclusion.' Specifically, I would suggest that the incorporation and visibility of West Coast Aboriginal culture allows for the erasure and invisibility of the more politically fraught and geographically intimate Aboriginality of the local Algonquin people. By erecting and celebrating totem poles, and the participation of Aboriginal peoples in the nation-building global wars, the pedagogic narratives of Canada as a liberal, inclusive nation are upheld, while facilitating the active

forgetting of local Aboriginal histories and other violent Aboriginal histories like the Riel Rebellions.

However, in this reading of urban totem poles, I am reminded of Jane Jacobs' (1996) warning against simplistic arguments of appropriation. She suggests that these arguments, "inevitably render passive those whose identities and cultural properties are seemingly appropriated, not only without consent, but without opposition, negotiation or, even, some unintentional consequence which might destabilize the colonialist foundations of the transaction" (p. 142). In the city's five totem poles, what sort of oppositional politics or engagements might be at play? While the Confederation Park totem pole was a gift between two white-settler governments, the other poles have different provenances. The totem pole on Victoria Island, a site that has become re-appropriated by Aboriginal groups through the construction of the tourist attraction "Aboriginal Experiences." For this totem pole, it might make sense to understand its presence as an example of operational essentialism (Jacobs 1996, p. 148). Jacobs describes certain practices where understandings of identity and authenticity are mobilized for anti-colonial ends,

This mobilization may or may not be linked to an instrumental intentionality. It may be a self-conscious mining of an externally ascribed identity or it may even be (and often is) precisely how an individual or group see themselves. But whatever the link to cognizant intentionality or to the blurred boundaries between external and self-ascription, the articulation will have effects, it will be strategic (p. 148).

Is it possible that in the case of the Victoria Island totem pole, the artists and the people in charge of the transaction were mobilizing an iconic object of Aboriginality for anti-colonial objectives? "Aboriginal Experiences" on Victoria Island is already a re-appropriation of a central parcel of land in the heart of the capital city. From this physical site, both local and national struggles for Aboriginal sovereignty can be symbolically waged. In this context, the totem pole operates in a way fundamentally different to the gifted totem pole in Confederation Park.

South of the park, I wander around Ottawa's City Hall and Cartier Square Drill Hall. Beside a recent (2009) monument to firefighters I linger at an ancient-looking monument of a head-bowed soldier, known as the "Sharpshooters' Monument" or the North-West Rebellion Monument. This monument is multiply haunted, uncanny, and mobile; it has been moved three times (see Chapter 2). One of Ottawa's earliest monuments, built in 1888, the Sharpshooters'

Monument commemorates the lives of two soldiers Privates William Osgood and John Rogers who died in the battle of Cut Knife Hill, during the Riel Rebellions of 1885 (“The National Capital Region: Statues” 1979, p. 45). The regiment “The Ottawa Sharpshooters” was established, literally overnight. On Tuesday, March 31, 1885 the group of fifty soldiers marched from the Cartier Square Drill Hall to the Union Station to leave for Winnipeg (Reid 2005, p. 8). The figures commemorated: William Osgood and Rogers both nearly avoided their fate, and like many monuments to the North-West Rebellions, it is haunted by the unacknowledged grief and memories of the Aboriginal people with whom the “Ottawa Sharpshooters” were fighting.

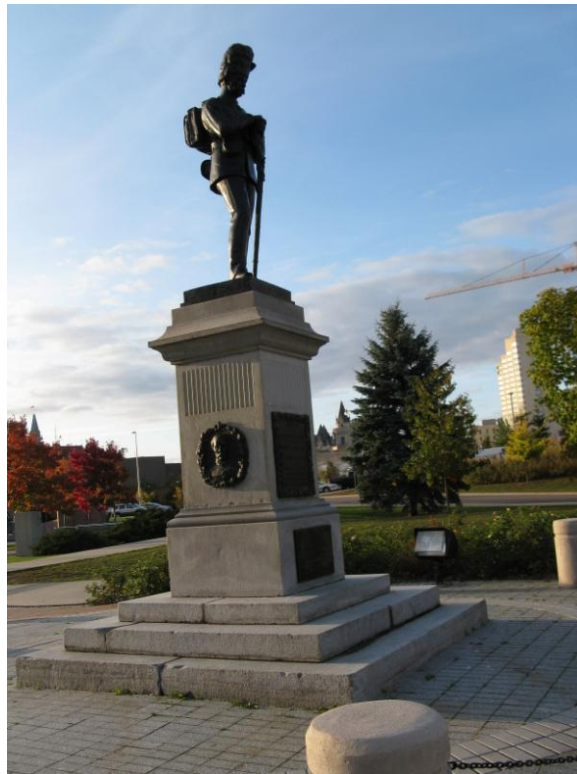


Figure 10—Sharpshooters Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

In 1885, during the Riel Rebellions, a group of Cree men arrived en masse at Battleford, Saskatchewan. They hoped that their numbers would elicit sympathy from the government officials. When the white settlers fled and the government refused to talk with them, “Disappointed and frustrated, the Cree pillaged the town and left for Chief Poundmaker’s reservation at Cut Knife Hill, about 60km west” (Brado 1991, p. 81). The leader of the government militia Colonel W. D. Otter planned a surprise revenge attack on Poundmaker’s band: “After six hours of inconclusive fighting, Otter decided that his position was untenable and

began to withdraw. The withdrawal might have turned into a slaughter had Poundmaker not held his excited men firmly in check” (Brado 1991, p. 82).

The base of the monument shows portrait medallions of Osgood and Rogers⁴⁷. After their deaths, Osgood and Rogers were buried in Battleford, Saskatchewan; their remains were later returned to Ottawa, where they were buried in Beechwood cemetery (Reid 2005, p. 23). Before they were interred at Beechwood, they were laid in state in the Cartier Square Drill Hall, the building where they first met to leave for the prairies, and the building in front of which the monument now stands. Their burial was met with a large funeral procession which John Reid describes here:

The Mayor of Ottawa, Francis McDougal, complete with scarlet velvet robe and gold chain of office, the City Clerk and all the City Councilors were at the station to greet the train, along with crowds of cheering citizens. Flags, bunting, evergreen wreaths and signs of welcome and thanks were everywhere as individuals and businesses competed for favourable mentions in the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Ottawa Free Press* (25-26)...The Sharpshooters’ last march was a parade to the Cartier Square Drill Hall, but by the long route through Byward Market to give everyone a chance to see them. (p. 27).

The monument was designed by Percy Wood and was unveiled on November 1, 1888 by Governor General Lord Stanley in front of an audience of an estimated 5000 Ottawa citizens (Reid 2005, p. 29) at a site in Major’s Hill Park which is now the site of the Chateau Laurier. With the building of the Chateau Laurier, the monument was moved in October, 1911 to a site in front of City Hall, beside the Boer War memorial. It was again moved in 1965 with the building of the National Arts Centre to a site in the centre of Confederation Park (ibid). In August 2005 the monument was moved to its present location in front of the Cartier Square Drill hall, a fitting

⁴⁷ The monument is to mourn their uncanny deaths. The commanding officer of GGFG- Capt. Alfred Hamlyn Todd received a letter from the employer of William Osgood withdrawing permission for Osgood to leave; Todd chose to ignore the letter (Reid 2005, p. 9). Osgood “was shot in the head at close range at about 9am after jumping off a five-foot cliff while on a sortie to protect the route for withdrawal” (ibid, p. 22). John Rogers had a premonition of his own death: “On the trip west he fainted at drill one morning, the result of a premonition of being killed—one that became reality when he was selected to go to Cut Knife Hill on 2 May 1885.” (Reid 2005, p. 95). “GGFG Private John Rogers’ premonition proved sadly accurate. Around 11 am during a lull in the fighting in his sector, Captain Patrick Hughes of the Queen’s Own Rifles “felt like having a smoke, but found I had no tobacco. I turned to the man next to me, poor Rogers, of the Guards, and asked him for some. He did not quite hear me and said, ‘what, sir’ and then, like a flash, a bullet came from the left, hitting him on the side of the head, and killing him instantly” (Reid, 2005, p. 22).

site, considering the role of the hall in training and mourning the NW Rebellion soldiers (Reid 2011, personal communication).

The Sharpshooters' Monument is a celebration of white-settler expansion and the suppression of Aboriginal struggles for self-determination. After the Battle of Cut-Knife Hill, Poundmaker was later captured, tried, and sentenced to several years in prison. The chief, who was honoured among his people for his peace-making efforts with the Blackfoot and with white settlers, who had once acted as a guide for the Governor General of Canada, and who was renowned far and wide for his oratorical skill, protested his loyalty to the Canadian government but to no avail. After his release from prison, Poundmaker was made a ward of Chief Crowfoot of the Blackfoot in southern Alberta. He died soon afterward (Brado 1991, p. 82).

Armed with Champlain's inverted instrument, I sense at this monument the haunting of the Aboriginal hero Poundmaker. While he is absent here, Poundmaker is commemorated for his role as a negotiator during the Rebellions: "In 1967 Poundmaker's people carried his remains home from Blackfoot Crossing in Alberta and buried them on the summit of Cut Knife Hill. Over his grave they raised a simple monument—a tipi frame of steel poles" (ibid p. 82). While the monument was built to explicitly commemorate Aboriginal-white-settler conflicts, over a century later, details or even the context for the conflict is unknown by most visitors—what remains is a figure of white-settler 'courage' or sacrifice. The Aboriginal side of this conflict is not depicted as the losing side, but rather, that this was an Aboriginal conflict as all is gravely unrepresented.

I return to Elgin Street, and find, in front of City Hall, the monstrous concrete and granite monument: The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. A plaque which was unveiled in 2010 details the Algonquin history of the site on which the monument sits. Walking through the monument, in the "House of Canada" a space produced by the arch of concrete columns, Equality, Dignity and Rights are inscribed in seventy three Aboriginal languages. This monument and its representation of Aboriginality is an exception in Ottawa in its deliberate recognition of an Aboriginal history of the land upon which Ottawa sits. Like Victoria Island, this recognition is complemented by, or couched within broader celebration of all Canadian Aboriginal peoples. In these two exceptional moments where Ottawa's Algonquin roots are acknowledged, these roots are acknowledged in the context of producing more national understandings of Aboriginality. These moments, and the hailing of national Aboriginalities is

distinct from the other mobile Aboriginal figures in the capital. In these moments, Ottawa's Aboriginal history allows for the development of pedagogy regarding Canadian aboriginal cultures.



Figure 11— Assembly of First Nations Chief Shawn Atleo unveiling a language plaque at the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. June 21, 2010. Credit: Davidson.

The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights is a site of many community rallies, including rallies about contemporary Aboriginal issues, such as disproportionate incarceration of Aboriginal peoples. When South African leader Nelson Mandela visited the Tribute in 1998, Métis Senator John Boucher wrapped a bright red “ceinture fleche” around his waist. Mandela proceeded to wear the sash to his visit to the House of Commons (Wilkes personal communications, December 8th 2008). This incident was so symbolically significant for the Métis people that a short film, “Mandela’s Sash” was made that focused on the incident (ibid).

A few blocks south of the CTHR, I arrive at Minto Park (detailed in Chapter 7). At Minto Park’s west end is a monument to San Jose de Martin, erected in 1973, a gift from the Argentinean government to the Canadian government (Ottawa Public Library, Ottawa Room. Vertical File: Ottawa Statues. Pierre Benoit, Mayor of Ottawa to Mr. J.G. Tucker, Acting Commissioner, Recreation and Parks. 15 March 1973). The bust is a classic, sober portrait of the revolutionary ‘hero’. The accompanying plaque reads, “He ensured Argentine independence,

crossed the Andes, and liberated Chile and Peru.” The gift was received with little controversy. In fact, the City of Ottawa agreed to supply the pedestal and provide the space and upkeep of the monument (*ibid*). The monument is visited by Argentinean and other South American-Canadians every year in an annual flag-raising ceremony (Best 1982, p. 58).

While the presence of San Jose de Martin has been relatively uncomplicated, the gift of a statue to the Bolivian leader Simon Bolivar sparked a debate over city monument placing policies. After the gift of Bolivar was erected in 1988 on Besserer Street in downtown Ottawa, Ottawa citizens complained and questioned the South American leader’s relevance to Ottawa. Simon Bolivar, born in 1783 in Venezuela, is celebrated as an emancipator of much of South America from Spanish colonization. In the letter that accompanied the monument, Bolivar’s qualities were exulted: “capacity, prospective vision, political wisdom and libertarian humanism, were some characteristics of our great American Independence Leader; qualities which he placed entirely at the service of a great and noble endeavour, that of liberating and organizing the civil life of our respective Republics.” (City of Ottawa Archives. RG22/ACS 1988-00-00-1211-432-88. Department of Recreation and Culture (City of Ottawa) to Community Services and Operations. 15 July 1988). The City accepted the monument under the condition that the donors took responsibility for installing and up-keeping the monument. A city regulation was introduced in 1990 limiting commemorations to figures of either local or national importance (Roberts 1998, p. 92)⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ A similar debate emerged decades later in 2009 when the city was working on facilitating the placement of a monument to Indian anti-colonial leader Mahatma Gandhi. The debate this time was not, however, over whether Gandhi deserved recognition, but rather more pragmatically over the amount of space the statue was going to take up in the proposed park (Devoy 2009).



Figure 12—San Jose de Martin. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Why does my upside-down astrolabe bring me to this monument? A bust visited by a small diasporic community? How does San Jose de Martin speak to Aboriginality in Ottawa? Symbolically, San Jose de Martin, coupled with a gift of a monument to Simon Bolivar, situated in downtown Ottawa represent two specific articulations of contesting colonialism. San Jose de Martin and Bolivar speak to not just indigenous mobility within Canada, but the diasporic, global movements to resist colonization. Their lives as monuments also speak to public (and City-led) allegiances to colonial logic.

Conclusion

From Elgin Street I turn west and venture into the downtown economic district of Ottawa. On the corner of Queen Street and Metcalfe Street in front of the Manulife Centre Plaza there's a garden and an incongruous, statue of an unmarked Aboriginal hunter. Thomas describes the sculpture:

So he's kneeling and he has a bow drawn and dressed in buckskin clothing and that and about 50 feet away there's a deer, and the deer is actually on Queen Street side, so he's aiming at the Deer... It's just kind of sitting there and the strangest thing is that, during

the summer when all of the office people come out to have a smoke or whatever and you see them sitting around this Indian. It's really quite interesting to look at (personal communications, November 1, 2008).

Here, resting on a bench, like the workers breaking for lunch, I end my unmapping tour of Aboriginal Ottawa with a figure that mirrors the Scout at Champlain. Like the figures etched into the limestone walls of the Parliament buildings, the Aboriginal hunter figure here is both incongruous (anachronistic, lacking an explanatory plaque) and at home. Allegorical Aboriginality in Ottawa's built environment haunts both Aboriginal and other Canadians. For Aboriginal people like Thomas, the figures are both comforting and disconcerting; they are an Aboriginal presence in an otherwise symbolic void. However, they are haunting in their anonymity, seeming banality, and their circulation as commodified elements of the past in a colonial narrative of Canada. For white-settler and other Canadians what could these figures possibly do? I would suggest that allegorical Aboriginal figures continue to shock for these visitors. Despite their presence as small, friendly, often two-dimensional figures, the allegorical Aboriginal figures are pervasive reminders of the violent appropriations which facilitated the development of Canada as a white-settler society.



Figure 13—Downtown Aboriginal Hunter. Credit: Davidson.

Since the creation of the National Capital Commission (as the Ottawa Improvement Commission) in 1899, Ottawa and the National Capital Region have been actively produced as a groomed site for “pedagogies of patriotism” (Mackey 2002, p. 59). By climbing down from the prestigious site of the monument to French explorer Samuel de Champlain, clutching his misused

astrolabe, I have attempted to both highlight and un-do how Ottawa is produced as a primarily white space. Ottawa's whiteness is enabled through strategic inclusion and depiction of Aboriginal peoples as simultaneously child-like, helpful, and a part of Canada's 'heritage' (rather than the fraught present or future).

Inspired by both Thomas' series, "Scouting for Indians" and "Indians on tour", I have engaged in my own study of colonial presences and absences in Ottawa. Aboriginal presences and absences in Ottawa are both haunting and banal. Some representations haunt in their banality. The two figures that bookend this tour of Aboriginal Ottawa—the Scout formerly at Champlain and the public art Aboriginal hunter demonstrate a lot about how Aboriginality and coloniality are produced and consumed in Canada's capital city. The public art "Aboriginal hunter" is unmarked and commonplace in its home in the outdoor plaza of high-rise buildings. This figure echoes another unmarked Aboriginal male figure, also crouching, lacking pedestal, in Major's Hill Park. While the figures are both banal in their locations, their accessibility and their form produce an Aboriginal intimacy that conforms to understandings of Ottawa as a white-settler space. Colonial banality is also felt in the monument to two Ottawa white-settler casualties from the Battle at Cut-Knife Hill, and the silent throbbing site of the Langevin building where policies regarding Aboriginal peoples were written.

There are many moments in Ottawa where Aboriginality conforms to dominant discourses of Canadian nation-building. Etched into the façades of the Parliament buildings, other government buildings and old Bank of Montreal buildings, Aboriginal men are allegories for Canada's rugged environment and noble past. These allegories are most effective when they are twinned with constant productions of a pan-Aboriginality. In the process of producing an 'appropriately' pedagogic pan-Aboriginality, understandings of Aboriginal peoples acquire very specific mobilities. Imported totem poles act more as totems of generic understandings of past Aboriginal cultures in the service of nation-building, than representations of Aboriginal culture. Joseph Brant and the National Aboriginal Veterans Memorial offer affirmative representations of Aboriginal contributions to Canadian state-making; representations that confirm rather than challenge any of the violence that enabled the development of Canadian sovereignty.

In this unmapping of Ottawa, what ghosts are conjured? There is a strong, necessary relationship between ghosts and mobilities. Social ghosts destabilize understandings of linear time and relationships between histories and place (Gordon 1997, Hetherington 2001). The

Aboriginal figures throughout this Chapter are both materially and discursively mobile. The effects of these mobilities are to produce a city that is overlaid with multiple stories and understandings of colonialism. Distant figures and ideas (the totem pole) work with and against the absence of representations of local Aboriginal peoples and their concerns. This is most strikingly present in the Canadian Museum of Civilization mural where adjacent to a grand hall celebrating the First Peoples of the North-West Coast is a less celebrated mural depicting Algonquin peoples on the banks of the Ottawa River facing a contemporary set of Parliament buildings. The totem pole on Victoria Island offers both a moment of pan-Aboriginality and a moment of strategic essentialism, in which the culture of the peoples of the North-West Coast is used in the service of acknowledging the Aboriginal peoples of the Ottawa region. The pedagogic patriotism which supports representations of pan-Aboriginality in the capital also works to facilitate the erasure of local Aboriginal struggles. The history of Constant Penney and Langevin Block are the social ghosts. In the context of a 21st century capital city, Ottawa has been produced to offer certain stories not just about the city, but about the nation. While the city presents stories that align with dominant narratives of the Canadian nation, the work of artists like Jeffrey Thomas and the conjuring of social ghosts disrupt these narratives.

Part III: Unmapping Multiculturalism, Gender and Sexuality

Chapter 7: Unmapping Gender in Ottawa's built environment: Laura Secord keeps walking

There is something jarring about the Ottawa statue to Laura Secord. It is not that she is one of two female figures in this recent “Valiants Memorial”, it is not her period bonnet, or that her hands hang languidly and empty at her sides. What is jarring is her utter stillness. Typical for a statue, it is true. However, Secord, in her other life as a flesh and bones woman, was a walker; she walked her way into the pages of Canadian history. And here she stands, bronze-cast, still.



Figure 14—Laura Secord monument. Credit: Davidson 2010.

Four of the over seventy monument in Ottawa actively commemorate women. Another seven monuments include women in their commemoration. The remaining monuments are dedicated exclusively to men or groups of men. In fact, since 2000, the capital city has seen a boom in figurative representations of men who embody ‘heroic masculinity’ (Holt and Thompson 2004). For example, monuments to Canadian hockey player Maurice Richard and a more recent monument to 17th century explorer Samuel de Champlain (the designer called for a less ‘dandified’ Champlain than the one at Nepean Point) were unveiled in Gatineau in 2001 and 2004 respectively (“Never Give Up!” 2010, n.p, Giles 2004, p. A. 17). Twelve of the fourteen ‘Valiants featured in the 2006 “Valiants Memorial” are male Canadian military ‘heroes’. A knight— Sir Galahad welcomes visitors at the gates of Parliament Hill while eleven ‘Fathers of Confederation’ populate its lawn. There are two female nurses at the end of the charge of soldiers through the National War Memorial however the other twenty figures of gallant bravery that charge through the arch of the National War Memorial are male soldiers. This parade of heroes is striking in its unquestionable masculinity.

There are three ways in which women are produced in the city-space of Ottawa. All three of these modes of place-making work in concert with ideologies of imperialism and race. First, colonial discourses and later nation-building discourses within Canada have relied on understandings of the land as feminine as justifications for male conquest. Ann McClintock (1995) argues that within narratives of colonial exploration, “Women are the earth that is to be discovered, entered, named, inseminated and, above all owned. Symbolically reduced, in male eyes, to the space on which male contests are waged...” (p. 31). In a Canadian context, Eva Mackey (2002) suggests that in times of insecurity, discourses around the Canadian nation rely heavily on the idea of Canada as a “natural, pure, fertile yet vulnerable woman, constantly defending herself from the more masculine and aggressive hulk of the United States” (p. 10). Second, allegorical female figures are figures that represent not only virtues, but a particular version of white femininity, a version that in large part justified colonial violence of nation making. Finally, the few quasi-allegorical and actual women depicted in Ottawa’s statuary signal towards either imperial nostalgia, or an embrace of white liberal feminist values.

Laura Secord doesn’t recall how she got here, transplanted from the realm of a 19th century forever-after, to this paved, ceremonial site in a 21st century North-American capital.

Secord is memorialized for her acts during the War of 1812 between British North America and the United States. Different stories circulate as to how Secord learned of the American plans to attack Beaver Dams. Either she hosted American soldiers for dinner in her home in Queenston and overheard of the plans of attack, or came to this knowledge in some other way. Regardless, on June 22nd, 1812, at 4:30 am, with an injured husband and many small children at home, Secord set off to walk to Beaver Dam to warn Captain Fitzgibbon of the Americans' plans. The walk of 19 kilometers, mostly barefoot, through swamps and avoiding all roads (as to avoid detection by American guards), with the threat of encountering wild animals, and in the muggy June heat, took her all day (McKenzie 1971). The British won the Battle at Beaver Dam, however, despite Secord's later acclaim, historians have greatly debated the role of Secord's information in the winning of the battle (McKenzie 1971; Coates and Morgan 2002).

She feels restless, and annoyed. She can't turn her head from side to side, so she stares at some other bronze-cast figures, soldiers, she discerns and women who appear to be in a rush. Unlike Secord, who is standing, rather purposeless, these figures are frozen-in-motion, a sense of urgency and sorrow cast into their faces. She can't see her own face, but imagines its expression is as lackluster as her pose. This annoys her also, because, not only was she a walker, her historic mission—to warn the British of American invaders, had great purpose and urgency. She also imagines her facial expression to be unexceptional because of the responses she inspires. Secord has many visitors. Visitors come and look. She looks back. What else can she do? Her eyes are bronzed in an open and direct stare. Disappointingly for Secord, visitors do not weep. They do not read the text explaining her courage and weep of amazement, pride, gratitude. Women do not look her in the eye and express in their faces sympathy, for the courage it took for Secord to leave her seven young children and injured husband. Sometimes she feels little hands pull at her skirt. She doesn't (can't) look down, but imagines the children pulling at her skirt are like her young daughter Appoloni or young son Charles.

Gillian Rose (1993) suggests that in urban places, women occupy 'paradoxical space,' space that is simultaneously central and marginal. She suggests that space associated with the emergent subject of feminism: "is multi-dimensional, shifting and contingent. It is also paradoxical, by which I mean that spaces that would be mutually exclusive if charted on a two-dimensional map – centre and margin, inside and outside— are occupied simultaneously" (p. 140). The statues of women in Ottawa embody this definition of paradoxical space. Women are

featured in Ottawa's central monumental spaces: at the top of the National War Memorial, at the seat of Ottawa's oldest monuments to John A. Macdonald and other 'Fathers of Confederation'. Yet these central positions confirm women's marginality as they are represented as nameless allegories. Furthermore, the allegorical figures, as emblems of white domestic femininity, both bolster and offer justification for the project of modern nation building.

The allegorical female figures in Ottawa all share the following qualities: they are nameless, complementary, are produced to embody certain qualities, ideals or concepts, and are seemingly ahistorical (wearing togas and peasant style clothing). Other scholars have noted that in the built environment women are most frequently represent in forms that bear little resemblance to the actual women who inhabit the cities. Instead, women often take the forms of ancient virgin maidens, angels or other mythical female figures (Monk 1992, p. 126; Warner 1985, p. 28). These representations of women contrast 'Enclave': The Women's Monument which is positioned on the geographical margins of Ottawa's "Confederation Boulevard" but acts as the catalytic source of women's protest activities to take up space and make women loudly visible (as explored in the following Chapter). Puncturing this persistent dichotomous representations of women as absent, or figuratively present as allegorical figures, are the few monuments to women-as-persons, most notably, the "Women are Persons!" monument to the 'Famous Five' that was unveiled on Parliament Hill in 2000. In Ottawa's monument landscape women are depicted in three distinct forms: as allegory, as victim, and in a few rare cases, as subjects. And, excepting one monument, these female figures are all white.

Problematising this taxonomy of female figures are the figures that I define as 'quasi-allegorical.' If allegorical figures are nameless, complementary, embodying certain qualities, ideals or concepts, quasi-allegorical conform to only some of these characteristics. Quasi-allegorical figures may be named, historic figures celebrated on their own (i.e. not at the base of a monument to someone else); however their main purpose is to represent certain ideals, concepts or institutions. The monuments to the two British monarchs—Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth II can be understood as quasi-allegorical, as I explore later in this Chapter. The figure of Laura Secord has also been critiqued for operating as a quasi-allegorical figure. Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan (2002) suggest that commemorations to Laura Secord celebrate her both for her specific acts of bravery and also because she had come to embody particular virtues befitting early 19th century Canadian women. They explain, "the monuments continued the

process of singling her out as an individual while simultaneously attempting to inform the viewer that here were qualities found in all loyal and virtuous Canadian women” (p. 197). White women have been historically and discursively produced as the embodiment of virtue, vulnerable yet moral. They were not understood as agents of history. Sarah Carter (1997) argues that in the 19th century, “Heroic women, or even women who simply coped reasonably well, were not useful to the British military and colonial authorities as suffering, vulnerable victims” (p. 13-14). Laura Secord is an exception.

Unnamed figures that offer realistic representations of women may also be understood as quasi-allegorical. In these cases, the nameless figures allow broad possibilities for identification by visitors; the sole female Aboriginal figure found at the National Aboriginal War Veteran’s memorial is one such example. The Cultural Memory Group (2006) describes another type of quasi-allegorical female form as those allegorical figures that have been reclaimed by feminist artists. “A Vision of Hope” is an Edmonton monument to violence against women by artist Michelle Mitchell. It features three life-size female figures representative of the different stages of pain and grief women go through when enduring violence: “The first figure is called Despair and has a woman in the fetal position with a clenched hand. The second is named Grief and the figure is bent over on her knees. And the third has a woman looking at the sky with her hand raised It’s called Hope” (CMG 2006, pp. 69-70). The Group suggests that Mitchell’s sculpture is playing with the genre of heroic realist sculpture; while the women are embodiments of emotions, the final figure, Hope, embodies the vertical, triumphant posture typically reserved for heroic male figures (p. 71). Through this playing with signifiers, the allegorical female figures have become ‘quasi-allegorical’, in that they are not merely classical allegorical figures; they offer a suggestion that women are more than complementary figures.

While on Parliament Hill the bronze-cast Thomas D’Arcy McGee is desperate to orate and George Etienne Cartier is desperate to sing his French folk songs, Secord spends her frozen days longing to walk like she did for that long day when she walked and walked the thirty kilometers through the uncut forest of Ontario. She yearns to stretch her legs, flex her calf muscles and put one foot ahead of the other. One spring day, (she decided it was spring as her few visitors of the day were wearing light scarves), Secord began to feel tingling in her elbows, then hands, and ears. Inexplicably, her bronze-form was unfreezing. Her eyes tingled and she blinked. And then, slowly and awkwardly at first, she began to walk.

The Flaneuse

In this Chapter I employ Laura Secord as our flaneuse-like tour guide. As Secord participates in imagined travels through Ottawa's ceremonial spaces, she unmaps gender in the city's built environment. Like the astrolabe in Chapter 6, in this Chapter I take up the Laura Secord monument as a site of mobility rather than stasis. I have chosen to present this research as a narrative ethnography for a few reasons. First, in this project I have been thinking about the monuments as dynamic within both space and time; a tour allows for this perspective. Second, I am interested in how monuments allow or disallow feelings of belonging within a city. With Laura Secord as our imagined tour guide, I hope to suggest ways in which representations of women in Ottawa produce specific possibilities for belonging through a narrative ethnography that attempts to demonstrate (or show) as much as it tells. I demonstrate that women as absent, allegorical, quasi-allegorical, and only in a few occasions afforded full subjectivities, produce a city space that encourages a masculinist public citizenship.

The figures of the flaneur and the flaneuse as well as engaging the employs of the detective, journalist, and sandwichman (Buck-Morss 1986), because of their consistent strolling and urban curiosity, make ideal unmapping cartographers. The flaneuse inverts practices of looking in the urban and characterizations of being the subject and the object of the gaze. For Charles Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin and their readers the flaneur was male. In fact, the only role for women walking the streets of 19th century urban Europe was as 'the streetwalker'. Deborah Epstein Nord (1991) writes, "Benjamin and his Baudelaire provide a kind of paradigm for looking at urban spectatorship through the lens of gender, for we begin to see that in the city of the male spectator the woman appears most often as prostitute, always objectified, always 'other' and always instrumental in making the social or existential statement he is after" (p. 353). The streetwalker was to women as the flaneur was to men. While both presented themselves to be looked at (for the flaneur also thrilled in being the object of scopophilia), the streetwalker was relegated to an object of desire, denied the object and subject ontological positioning of the male flaneur.

Challenging the figure of the woman as the streetwalker is the less theorized flaneuse: the female subject with agency, who, like the flaneur walks the city streets to look as well as be looked at. Angela Woollacott (2000) offers succinct reasons for engaging with the idea of the flaneuse:

The utility of the concept of the flaneuse lies on the insights it offers into (especially middle-class) women's historic encroachments on autonomous movement around the city, into their ability to inhabit public space on their own without harm to either their bodies or their reputations and to feel that they belonged in that space and could possess it in a leisurely fashion (p. 765).

The flaneuse is fascinated by, and takes ownership of, the city itself.

One might ask, does the concept of the flaneuse, or suggesting that flanerie is gendered re-inscribe fixed gendered identities? The figure of the flaneuse precisely offers a counterpoint to the deeply ideological persuasion that women should and were relegated to the domestic sphere. While the prostitute actively transgressed women's access to the streets, so did female artists and lesbians; the former through active creation, the latter through behavior and dress (Wolff 1994, p. 127).

In her study of the urban mobilities of the artists Gwen John and Rainer Maria Rilke, Wolff suggests that alternative mobilities were both possible and operative in late 19th and early 20th century Paris. Wolf argues that men can be overwhelmed and find the city frightening. Discussing the art and life of Rainer Maria Rilke, "Rilke's Paris, then, is the public city, split for him between, on the one hand, the beauty of its monuments and the endless opportunities to visit galleries and see great works, and, on the other hand, the anxiety and fear produced by being in the street. Rilke is the compulsive but reluctant flaneur" (p.123). To suggest the women engaged in flanerie through embodying the specific subject position known as the flaneuse is to trouble rather than reinforce gender ideologies. Thinking about the flaneuse also enables an acknowledgement that the figure of the confident male flaneur is also a difficult (or impossible) subject position for many men to occupy.

If flanerie is a form of leisurely appropriating and discovering urban spaces as a detective and a dandy, what forms of distinction does flanerie take for the flaneuse? In a contemporary context, while women have more freedom to stroll the city, the pervasive risk of gendered violence continues to be a common ground of mobilization for women. Unlike the flaneur, who delights in being the object of scopophilic attention, for the flaneuse the gaze is equally a potential threat. The flaneur is also granted the freedom of Simmel's 'blasé attitude:' the state of detachment and disinterestedness. Accentuating an air of the blasé emphasizes the flaneur's singularity. He is inquisitive, yet aloof, desirous and also pleasures in being seen. The flaneuse

does not similarly have the blasé imperative. The flaneuse is always attentive to her surroundings as a matter of safety. Likewise, solitude is the privilege of the flaneur. In Chapter 9, I argue that protest marches like the ‘Take Back the Night’ annual march to protest violence against women actively subvert understandings of women’s relationships to urban streets and act as a form of feminist flanerier. Finally, if we understand the city as a site where male fantasies are realized through masculinist urban design and architecture, the flaneuse may stroll in the pursuit of finding and creating places for female belonging. For the flaneuse, like the flaneur, the city is understood to be a place for possible adventures.

The flaneuse, as she is embodied by a bronze-cast Laura Secord in this Chapter, is an animated ‘stone body’ engaged in the unmapping of gender in Ottawa’s built environment. There are many possibilities for unmapping gender in Ottawa. Laura Secord’s tour is one potential journey. While the flaneuse sees and is seen, in this Chapter the Laura Secord statue is not just looked at, she looks. The effects of this looking are an understanding of belonging from the single perspective of a mid 19th century white-settler woman.

Laura Secord keeps walking

Laura Secord is stretching on Confederation Square, cracking her neck, rolling her shoulders, reveling in her new and unexpected freedom. She takes off her bonnet, shakes out her hair, rolls up her sleeves, and starts walking. She discovers, on closer inspection that the urgent yet solemn figures that had been in her sight are a group of soldiers, running through an archway; it is the National War Memorial. Secord looks up and her gaze rests on the first two female allegorical figures. Topping the granite arch, reaching towards the clouds are two female angels, representing Peace and Freedom. Peace is holding a laurel wreath; Freedom thrusts a torch into the air. These figures mark her first spotting of angels in the capital.

The intention of these figures to “Peace” and “Freedom” was to convey figures “alighting on the world with the blessings of Victory, Peace and Liberty in the footsteps of the people’s heroism and self-sacrifice who are passing through the archway below” (Gardam, p. 21). The Peace and Freedom figures are an adoption of the figure of Winged Victory, one of the most popular figures used in WW1 commemorations (see Vance 1997).

I understand angels to operate in the capital like the unicorns and lions with which I began this dissertation. Angels, unicorns and lions operate in two distinct registers in their urban

environment. First, the angels are manifestations of particular ideas: peace and freedom. Secondly, and more significantly for my analysis, the figures contribute to the urban through their virtual qualities, the affective charge that is unseen but felt. Angels, like ghosts in Chapters 3 and 4, are specific manifestations of the virtual. Rob Shields (2003) explains that the virtual has its etymological roots in virtue, “As an adjective, a ‘virtual person’ was what we might today call a morally virtuous or good person: a person whose actual existence reflected or testified to a moral and ethical ideal. Virtue was the power to produce results, to have an effect” (p. 3). The embodiment of this understanding of the virtual can be found in the figure of the angel. Shields reminds us that in a certain epoch, “an order of angels was said to be called ‘The Virtues’ ” (p. 3). Angels are virtual both in how they are figures that embody certain virtues or ideals and also in how they inspire goodness. There is an old and pervasive relationship between women’s virtues and angels. In Victorian times, women were exulted as “angels of the house.” Again, Shields suggests that ‘virtues’ since 1398 have included chastity and sexual purity (p. 3), typically celebrated female qualities.

In 2008, during the Human Rights Torch Relay (HRTR), a global relay that preceded the 2008 Beijing Olympics and was working towards illuminating human rights abuses in China, the NWM angels momentarily came to life. The HRTR was an initiative of the Coalition to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong (CIPFG). Adopting the iconic Olympic image and practice of relaying a torch, the HRTC began the previous August in Athens and had visited 150 cities, 40 countries before arriving in Ottawa (Chan 2008, para 36). The participants were speaking out against not only China’s human rights violations, but also the human rights abuses of regimes China supports like Sudan (Darfur), Burma, Zimbabwe, and North Korea (Chan 2008). The torch run began at the Chinese Embassy, proceeded to the CTHR and then to Parliament Hill. At the Parliament Hill rally, the speakers included two high school students from the youth activist group “Youth Reaching Out.” These two female students spoke dressed as Grecian goddesses. The optics of this, a torch being paraded through the Ottawa streets, passing through the arch of the CTHR in the company of two young women in the garb of goddesses, appears to be like the angels topping the National War Memorial had descended to earth, bearing their torch.

What do the angels do for Secord, straining her eyes and neck to appreciate them? Because of their location, high in the air, many visitors wouldn’t realize that the angels are in

reality two to three times the size of any one of the soldiers. They are huge, highly visible, seen from blocks away. They are probably even visible from across the River. While they are nameless and ahistorical; they offer powerful, large sentiments about women's 'good' in the city. They present a specifically gendered actualization of this virtual realm of hope—goodness as female. While female figures feature in this monument—out of reach both physically and metaphysically the angels situate femininity within this paradoxical space.

Ms. Secord is drawn to the two nursing sisters that follow up the rear of the charge of bronzed soldiers. She imagines, and empathizes with the sacrifices they likely made to serve their nation. In the First World War, 3141 Canadian nursing sisters participated in the First World War; forty-five of these nursing sisters lost their lives ("Canada's Nursing Sisters" 1996, para 7).



Figure 15—Laura Secord's view. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Secord herself, felt quite celebrated in her life, in the end she was almost embarrassed by the praises that showered her, the Prince of Wales himself thanked her for her valiant contribution to the British-American war with a gift of one hundred pounds of gold (McKenzie 1971, p. 101). But here, contemplating the nurses in front of her, with their earnest facial expressions and clutching small hand bags, she wonders how they feel about their place at the rear of this collectivity of fighters. Susan Hart (2008) critiques their position in the NWM. On the one hand, the position of the nurses represents a historical reality, while men were at the front lines the female nurses were stationed further back. On the other hand, the position of the nurses conforms to the lesser value given to women's contributions to the war efforts. Their position is amplified by their seeming lack of substantial accoutrement marking their involvement with the war. Hart (2008) notes that while the male figures carry heavy tools like rifles and machine guns the nurses carry their gloves and small handbags. She continues to suggest that,

Although purse-size nurse's kits did exist at the time, the small purse-like bag that the one nurse figure clutches is not easily identifiable as such and would, no doubt, be seen and understood by the vast majority of today's monument viewers as a purse ... By portraying the nurses without explicitly visible instruments of their profession, unlike their male counterparts, the women are denied the agency to provide a meaningful contribution to the war effort (p. 106).

Here the female nurses are quasi-allegorical. Their specificity as World War One nurses produces a site for remembering a specific group of Canadian women. However, this specificity is muted by their position at the back of the charge of soldiers, carrying what could easily be read as generic purses.

On Remembrance Day, Secord might adjust her feelings of pity and angst and instead be struck with some feelings of envy. While her statue is curiously examined, the nursing sisters are actively celebrated as a site of mourning and remembrance. On Remembrance Day, several wreaths from nursing veterans' organizations are laid at the monument's base, including wreaths dedicated to particular 'nursing sisters.' In this annual moment of animation, the nurses are recognized in the fullness of their personhood.

As compelling the crowd of soldiers is, Secord turns her attention to what are, she realizes, her comrades of sorts: the population of busts and statues that line the canal overpass east of the National War Memorial. While inspecting her friends, Laura suddenly gasps, clutches

her chest and is forced to loosen her top buttons to help her breath. In front of her, is her greatest hero, the man with whom her husband and her many friends faithfully fought, and whose recently-killed body she watched be rushed past her door during the height of the war of 1812. It is a bust to Sir Isaac Brock.

Beside Brock is a bust to Georgina Pope, the other woman in this cluster of “Valiants.” Pope was a decorated nursing sister. Born on Prince Edward Island in 1862, Pope first served in South Africa during the Boer War in 1899. She returned in 1902, this time in charge of Canadian Army Nursing Service. Pope was the first Canadian to be awarded the Royal Red Cross by Queen Victoria. She was also the first “Matron” of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Pope died in 1938 after having served in World War I (“The Valiants Memorial” 2004, n.p.). While the nursing sisters at the rear of the soldiers’ charge in the NWM offer quasi-allegorical figures for female visitors to the capital to engage with, here Georgina Pope represents one of few specific, historic woman commemorated in Ottawa.

Secord also recognizes and smiles when she comes face to face with the full-sized statue of Joseph Brant. She recalls that evening, in her Massachusetts’ home, when her father brought the great Mohawk leader home to dine. Secord, who came of age in Massachusetts during the American Revolution, was in her mid-30s for the brutal War of 1812, and witnessed and endured the rebellions of 1837 before her death in 1868, understood conflict.

Leaving Confederation Square, Secord crosses Wellington Street. Wellington is a name that Secord recognizes. Wellington Street was named by Colonel John By in honour of the Duke under which he fought, the same Duke who ordered the building of the Rideau Canal. Secord remembers the Iron Duke, having had many lengthy debates with her husband James and friends about the Duke’s leadership. She continues climbing up the hill to the bronzed man who she reads is “Sir Wilfrid Laurier”. Secord is not too compelled or drawn to this figure, although Laurier epitomizes what has been the dominant commemorative practice on Parliament Hill. According to its statuary, Parliament Hill is a site for statesmen and imperial heads-of-state. In commemorations, the Hill boasts eleven figurative statues to ‘Fathers of Confederation’ and former Canadian Prime Ministers (all men), two monuments to Queens of England, one monument to a series of Canadian first-wave feminists, a commemorative Centennial flame, commemorative sundial, and tower bell, a pavilion, and monument to fallen Canadian police officers.

On Parliament Hill's east side, Secord approaches the monument to John A Macdonald, Canada's first Prime Minister. At the time of Secord's death at 93 years old, Canada was one year old. She recognizes the statesman, whose image was frequently in the *Niagara Mail* she read in her late adulthood. The monument to John A. Macdonald has at its base an allegorical female figure in a toga, intended to represent with her firm, young body, the youth of the nation (Guernsey 1986, p. 24). She is wearing a wreath of maple leaves, and holds a shield of arms and a flag. This female allegorical figure in her abstract attire (distinct from the quotidian fashion of the men-in-bronze) is unintelligible to Secord. While the figure is a woman, Secord feels no kinship with the woman who sits anonymously and anachronistically at the base of Macdonald.

For Marina Warner, the tradition of the allegorical female figure can be traced back to Greek and Christian origin stories. In her study of origin stories, "we can find the source of the tradition of ascribing meaning more readily to the female form than the male" (p. 225). She continues to argue that "the definition of woman partakes of the definition of art: both are beautiful and exercise fascination" (p. 225). Allegorical female figures are gendered 'stone bodies' that come from a long, Western provenance. Warner (1996) explains:

Major currents run through the companion myths of Pandora and Pygmalion, and have shaped the tradition of personification: the woman is created from earth or stone; she is not a rival, but a daughter, like Athena, who will not usurp her father, or a spouse, like Pandora and Galatea; female forms are associated from the very start with beauty and artistic adornment and its contradictory and often dangerous consequences. (p. 239).

Allegorical female figures act as the actualization of male desires. They can also, however, represent male anxieties. Metaphorically, the feminine is complicated, always already full of promise (fertility), intrigue and desire, and the figure which embodies male anxiety. Women, like Pandora and Helen of Troy in Greek myth, or Eve in Christian myth, bring the risk of disease, pain, social ills (Warner pp. 214, 222).

Despite Secord's indifference towards the toga-clad woman, the female figure at the base of Macdonald has been accused of arousing too much desire. In 1911, a Senator complained that Macdonald's allegorical female figure was distracting the younger male MPs from their work with her 'charms' (Guernsey 1986, p. 24). In this historic moment, it is clear that female figures, despite the virtues they are created to embody, can also simultaneously embody women's

threat—sexual temptation. The allegorical figure seated at the base of Macdonald's monument embodies then the two main options for women in the capital: angel and seductress.



Figure 16--Allegorical figure at statue to John A. Macdonald. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Representing Canada as a young woman has a certain provenance in art history. Gillian Rose (1993) suggests that using women to represent the 'nation' is common in the Western imagination, as women are similarly understood to represent 'the land' and Nature. Rose writes, The female figure represents landscape, and landscape a female torso, visually in part through their pose: paintings of Woman and Nature often share the same topography of passivity and stillness. The comparison is also made through the association of both land and Woman with reproduction, fertility, and sexuality, free from the constraints of Culture (p. 96.)

In this figure representing Canada, (the first of many), the nation is represented by a young, white, female body. Here, we have the beginning of a gendering of the nation that is also racialized. She sits not only as a representation of Canada, but as a justification for the existence of Canada. Sarah Carter (1997) in her analysis of representations of gender in Canadian West in the late 1800s, explores how mythologies surrounding Aboriginal violence to white women were "exploited to rally consensus around the project of first subduing the indigenous people and then policing boundaries between them and the newcomers" (p. 8). In the process of colonialization,

white women were produced as pure, pious, agents of civilization. In contrast, Aboriginal women were seen as “dissolute, dangerous, and sinister” (p. 159). The employment of seemingly ancient symbols of propriety takes on more contemporary resonance when it is recognized that the association of white women with virtues like purity and civilization were integral to the logic of white supremacy.

Secord leaves John A Macdonald, swallows feelings of indignity and approaches the equestrian figure of Queen Elizabeth II, high on a pedestal. Parliament Hill is the home to two monarchical monuments: the monuments to Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth. While the monuments commemorate the monarchical reigns of two women, their style and mode of address highlight the emblematic role of the women rather than their individuality, situating these statues as ‘quasi-allegorical’.

Secord looks up at the monument to Queen Elizabeth. First, she is surprised by the Queen’s casual position astride a horse. The royalty she knew, (and she did, she would remind you, meet this very Queen’s great grandfather King Edward VII when he was the Prince of Wales and on a Royal tour of British North America in 1860), had great fidelity for regal traditions.

The monument to Queen Elizabeth was unveiled by the Queen when she came to Canada in 1992, a year that marked both Canada’s 125th birthday and Queen Elizabeth’s 40th year in power (Sibley 2009c, p. A.6). While the Queen herself was involved in the design process, most elements of the design and the process to produce the monument reinforce the Queen’s position as a figurehead. The monument to Queen Elizabeth is the only monument on Parliament Hill to a living subject and the only monument where the subject represented consulted on and issued requests regarding the monument’s design (Hart 2008, p. 153). While the committee and artist had designed a low pedestal like other recent monumental additions to Parliament Hill, Queen Elizabeth is reported to have concerns of the “possibility of people climbing on the horse with her effigy, saying that it would probably provide a first-class vantage point from which to view events that take place on the Hill” (as cited in Hart 2008, p. 157).

The second thing that Secord notices is how distant the Queen feels. The high pedestal is matched with a site of prominence, the East side of Parliament Hill, paralleling the placement of the Queen Victoria monument on the West side of Parliament Hill. Susan Hart (2008) explains that the Queen Elizabeth monument was the result of attempts to evoke both ‘prominence’ and

‘informality’. This conflict and the ultimate resolution represent simultaneous desires of the Queen, the Committee and the artist and consulting firms, to create both an imposing presence and a ‘friendly’ monument. This conflict also suggests the movement from an image of Queen-as-allegory that is represented in Queen Victoria, to a Queen as also an individual. The Queen is depicted astride her horse Centennial, a horse that was a gift to her from the RCMP. While equestrian styles are considerably regal, riding it astride for a woman challenges traditional equestrian poses and suggests a level of informality. Hart (2008) explains, “the portrayal of the queen astride the horse achieves the goal of informality while simultaneously underlining and maintaining the power and authority of the figure that a sidesaddle figure would have seriously undermined” (p. 161). The informality of the Queen is also marked by lack of headdress (ibid). *Ottawa Citizen* writer Robert Sibley (2009c) describes his impression of this monument:

There is a stillness to the monument, a kind of quiet and timeless solidity. Yet, at the same time, it possesses a dynamic quality, a sense of movement. The Queen holds the reins loosely but firmly. The horse's right foreleg is raised as if moving forward. There's a playful swish in the thick tail. I can pick out the details of a crown and shield on the saddle straps and harness and the buttons on the Queen's cape with their royal insignia. She looks, well, regal and commanding, gazing into the distance (p. A.6).

Queen Elizabeth’s engagement in the design of her monument created a monument that was to a woman who was more than a figure of imperial power. However, the Queen’s own insistence on a monument on a high pedestal disallowed for the type of engagements possible with other more recent Parliament Hill monuments, and ultimately reinforced the Queen’s position as a figurehead. The Queen’s presence also boldly asserts an uncontested imperial presence in the heart of the capital.

Secord feels that, unlike the many men that populate this lawn, the Queen could or should offer a possibility of communion among women, among bronze-cast monumentalized women in particular. But Secord knows that the Queen is quite removed from the everyday lives of women—19th century women like herself, or the 21st century women of the Queen’s own generation. She still feels somehow, alone in this population of bronzed figures. With loneliness comes exhaustion. Aimlessly she walks south, and finds an empty chair, upon which she sits. It takes her a moment before she spots a cup of tea on the table beside her, delighted, she reaches

for it. Discovering that the tea cup is bronzed and secured in to place, her gaze moves upwards and she finds that she has met a quite large, round, elderly woman, who is dressed in clothes not entirely foreign to Secord. Reading the engraving at the bronzed woman's feet, Secord is pleased to find herself face to face with Nellie McLung. Not entirely face to face, McLung is larger-than life.



Figure 17—"Women are Persons!" Credit: Davidson, 2009.

McLung is part of the "Women are Persons" monument, unveiled in 2000. This monument depicts five women known in Canada as 'The Famous Five': Emily Murphy, Irene Parlby, Louise McKinney, Henrietta Muir Edwards and Nellie McClung. The statues embody a variety of poses; one is holding a scroll which states "Women are persons". The women are celebrated for having fought and won the Persons' Case of 1929, arguing to the British Privy Council that women should be persons under the law and therefore eligible for appointment to the Canadian Senate. This monument was a project of the "Famous 5 Foundation" (F5F), a corporation established to "commemorate and spread awareness of the accomplishments of the Famous 5. This has included the creation of larger-than-life bronze monuments at Olympic Plaza in Calgary and on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, a Famous 5 Millennium postage stamp and a 'Nation Builders' \$50 bill" (Famous Five 2010, n.p).

This monument was designed and sculpted by Barbara Patterson ("Discover the Hill" n.d). It disrupts the stylistic and representational homogeneity of Parliament Hill in a few,

significant ways. The women are not on pedestals. This is a stylistic trend that began earlier with un-pedestalled monuments to William Lyon McKenzie King (1968), Lester B. Pearson (1989) and John Diefenbaker (1985). The placement of an empty chair and the women raising their tea cups in a toast produces a welcoming group of bronze women. At any given day, this monument is the most loved and visited monument by tourists, who pose for photographs taking tea with the women. Symbolically, the Famous Five is the first monument of Parliament Hill that does not celebrate either Canadian heads of state or ‘founding fathers.’

After the monument’s unveiling, frequent commentary highlighted what is not mentioned in the monument: the participation of Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung in the 1920s eugenics movement in Alberta (O’Flanagan 2000, p. A.2). Familiar with these critiques, the Famous Five Foundation insists that the pro-eugenics positions of the women were in keeping with the views of the day, and this one aberration should not diminish the women’s great successes championing for the rights of women. The critics of the “Women are Persons!” monument argued that the monument inappropriately celebrates liberal feminism dominated by privileged white women. While this is true, similar critics have not emerged to challenge the dominant celebration of John A Macdonald or other nation-builders who endorsed policies abhorrent to Canada’s indigenous peoples.

Another critique was that the women were not suited for Parliament Hill, a site that had previously been reserved by “Fathers of Confederation” and heads of state, Prime Ministers and Queens. Sibley (2009b) suggested that “surely the best place for the Persons monument is the front lawn of the Supreme Court, where it would be a constant reminder to the Supremos to keep their hubris in check” (para 3). In response to this article, the former Minister of Heritage, Sheila Copps wrote an article defending the monument’s location. She detailed how a Bill was passed in the House of Commons with unanimous support for the placement of the monument. Its location was picked to place the women near East Block the building which houses offices of Senators, appropriate considering their success at fighting for women’s rights to be appointed to the Senate (Copps 2009). The representational force of the ‘Women are Persons!’ monument is limited; as the one monument in Ottawa to commemorate specific women its responsibilities are unrealistically enormous. They represent a specific form of feminism, and a specific articulation of women as persons, however, they don’t and they can’t possibly, offer a site for all women.

They represent the dearth of women in Ottawa's built environment more than their own limitations.

Refreshed from her break and the imagined cup of tea and inspired also by meeting some hospitable bronzed women, Secord continues her stroll on the East side of Parliament Hill, where she arrives at a monument to 19th century politicians Robert Baldwin and Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine. Baldwin and Lafontaine are celebrated for having formed a government in 1841, as well as having developed 'responsible government' in Canada. They represent the beginnings of a nation that recognizes as its two founding peoples the English and the French (*Discover the Hill* n.d, p. 12). The monument, designed by Walter Allward, takes the form of an arched wall-pedestal, with bronze figures of Baldwin and Lafontaine standing together on its top. On the wall, 1848-1851 the dates of their second "Great Ministry" are carved along with a fleur de lis and a British crown. Two, lounging female nudes are also etched in to the wall, one at (as) Upper and one at (as) Lower Canada. In this monument, Baldwin and Lafontaine, in all of their figurative glory stand on the landscape they are presumed to have created— a united Upper and Lower Canada. Integrated into this landscape, visible, desirable, yet indistinguishable from the landscape itself are women.



Figure 18—Baldwin and Lafontaine monument. Credit: Davidson, 2009.

Art historian C. M. Armstrong suggests, "The female nude, when free of narrative situations, is most often constituted frontally and horizontally— as a kind of landscape" (as cited in Rose 1993, p. 96). Gillian Rose develops this argument suggesting that by presenting women as landscape "both Woman and Nature are vulnerable to the desires of men" (p. 96). The women are presented as objects of desire for the male flaneur. The male visitor to this monument is

aroused both by the concept of responsible government, the union of Upper and Lower Canada represented by the women, and by the women themselves. That the ‘women as landscape’ are barely visible, two-dimensional etchings, supporting the three dimensional statues of Baldwin and Lafontaine further reinforces the ontology of the male figures as individuals and the female figures as nearly visible allegories. Secord brushes her fingers along the etchings of the female nudes and tries to make sense of their presence.

Secord continues along the path behind the Parliament buildings. She stops to take in the view of the Ottawa River. Stepping back to admire the Library of Parliament, she backs into, and has found herself nearly sitting in the lap of another bronzed woman. Secord turns around to admire this larger-than-life figure who is seated awkwardly looking upwards at the base of a monument to Thomas D’Arcy McGee. While this monument has its own complicated history (see Chapter 3), Secord attempts to forge a communion with the woman who has cast to sit, neck strained, ear cupped in her hand to listen, eternally to McGee’s incessant oration. Like the other bronze women on the Hill, this woman is engrossed in her role of bolstering the prestige of the man on the pedestal. Officially, her role is to embody ‘memory’ (Guernsey 1986, p. 80). She is holding a scroll that reads “Confederation.” Like her colleagues at Baldwin and Fontaine and Macdonald, this nameless woman stands in for a rather vague quality. While McGee is caught mid-speech, powerfully endorsing specific, fierce ideas about Confederation and the future of the nation, the woman remembers. Secord harrumphs and continues walking west around the Hill.

She comes into contact with three more bronze figures when she discovers the monument to Canada’s second Prime Minister, Alexander MacKenzie. After being displayed at the World Exhibition in Paris, the monument to Canada’s second Prime Minister, Alexander MacKenzie was unveiled in September of 1901 (Guernsey 1986, p. 32). The monument, a design of Hamilton MacCarthy and Louis-Phillipe Hebert, includes two allegorical figures: a woman as probity, and a boy with tools to represent industry. The young boy was also meant to represent McKenzie’s vocations as a contractor and the Minister of Public Works (“Close Up: A Self-Guided Walking Tour” 2001), and is the first male allegorical figure that Secord encounters on her stroll. The other male allegorical figure on Parliament Hill is a ‘working man’ at the base of a monument to George Brown. Brown was the founder of the *Globe and Mail* newspaper and a ‘Father of Confederation.’ The nameless male figure at his base looks up at Brown with his hand in his hand, in a posture of salutation and respect and is intended to be “a symbol of the

affection of the people of this country for the foremost champion of the principles of free Government” (as cited in Guernsey 1986, p. 74).

Susan Hart (2008) in her analysis of the allegorical figures on Parliament Hill articulates how the gendered allegorical figures differ. The male allegorical figures of the young boy and working man both emphasize the age and class privilege of the figures on the pedestals. However, Hart suggests that the working man figure at the base of Brown operates differently than the toga-adorning figures, writing,

Their positions relative to each other on the monument also reflect their differing social status. Yet, although one figure represents an actual person and the other is allegorical, both figures may be viewed as male role models and may also be interpreted as representing the fight for responsible government in Canada (p. 75).

Hart suggests that, by being draped in contemporary clothes (of the time) the figure of the working man has the capacity to reflect actual men (p. 250). Marina Warner also argues that “the female form tends, as we have seen, to symbolic interpretation; the male resists anonymous universality more robustly, and often manages to retain individuality even while calling higher things to mind” (p. 225).

Secord continues on her Parliamentary walk and arrives at a monument to Queen Victoria on a small hill to the west of Centre Block. Proposed in 1897 to mark the 60th anniversary of the Queen’s reign and unveiled in 1901, the Queen, stands on a high pedestal, her gaze passes over the allegorical figures at her feet— a lion and a woman in peasant dress looking up to the Queen. The monument, designed and sculpted by Louis-Phillipe Hebert is supposed to speak to “political liberties obtained” (Guernsey 1986, p. 41). The monument to Queen Victoria is also adorned with a young, female figure allegorical of Canada. Terry Guernsey describes this figure, “wind-blown and unsteady, she is perhaps an emblem of a still uncertain nation, presenting a simple gift of a laurel wreath to an apparently oblivious and far-distant Queen” (p. 42).

In her analysis of monuments to Queen Victoria, Janice Monk (1992) suggests that they consistently bear little resemblance to the actual woman of Queen Victoria (p. 125). Queen Victoria monuments conform to my category of the quasi-allegorical. While Victoria herself wore grieving clothes for much of her adult life she is almost always depicted in robes of state, like in the Ottawa monument. Victoria’s attire contrasts with the men on Parliament Hill who are portrayed in the clothes they wore. The Parliament Hill monument to Queen Victoria boasts a

few details which distinguish this monument as particularly Canadian. She is presented at the age she was at the moment of Canadian confederation and the allegorical female figure at her base uplifts a wreath of laurel and maple leaves. These details, while adding some specificity to the monument, continue to suture the Queen to her figurehead status.

Every juncture in this monument's life speaks to the authority of British imperialism. Before arriving at Parliament Hill, the Queen Victoria monument was admired in Paris at the Universal Exhibition. The role of this monument as an emblem of British imperialism was emphasized at its unveiling. While the monument to George Etienne Cartier was marked by Prime Minister Macdonald reciting Cartier's favourite song, the unveiling of the Victoria monument was accompanied by a presentation of military medals to veterans of the Boer War (Guernsey 1986, p. 44). The Latin inscription in the monument's base reinforces the aloofness imbued in this representation of Queen Victoria. In the company of her descendent Queen Elizabeth II, Queen Victoria offers a clear and uncontested imperial presence in the heart of the capital city.

Yvonne Whelan (2002/ 2003) explains that after Irish independence in 1922, the streets of Dublin gradually became uncluttered of statues to imperial leaders as

Older icons of empires were unceremoniously bombed from their pedestals or sold by the state to foreign interests... In 1948, the statue of Queen Victoria was removed from the grounds of Leinster House in a symbolic gesture that coincided with Ireland's departure from the Commonwealth. It was later to re-emerge in the Australian capital, Sydney, in 1988, as a gift from the Irish government on the occasion of the bicentenary of white settlement in Australia (p. 67).

Canada, like Australia is more popularly the recipient of re-gifted imperial monuments, than inclined to challenge their presence on central Canadian icons like Parliament Hill and Canadian currency.

On her Parliament Hill stroll, Laura Secord experiences a psychic sense of annihilation. Many female figures represent concepts including: Upper and Lower Canada, the nation, and memory. However, embodied as they are by eroticized and 'timeless' young female figures, these figures situate young, white, women as both virtuous and foundational to the project of Canada. The two subjects Secord has encountered, the quasi-allegorical figures of Queen

Elizabeth II and Queen Victoria embody British imperialism more than they represent the actual women who occupied the role of sovereign.

Secord leaves Parliament Hill and, struck by the glass dome of the National Gallery, wanders towards Sussex Drive. Here she finds “Reconciliation: The Peacekeeping Monument” which was unveiled in October, 1992 by the Governor General, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and 2000 peacekeeping veterans (Leger 1996, p. 46). The monument was designed by sculptor Jack Harman, landscape architect Cornelia Hahn Oberlander and urban designer and architect Richard G. Henrique, and was initiated and funded by the Department of National Defense. It was designed to commemorate forty years of peacekeeping and the Lester B. Pearson’s 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for establishing peacekeeping as a UN initiative (Leger 1996, p. 46). The monument consists of a V-shaped wall, engraved with a quotation from Ecclesiastes “Their name liveth for evermore.” The inside space of the V is landscaped as a rubble-strewn conflict zone. On top of the wall are three figurative statues representing peacekeepers.

One male figure stands holding binoculars, looking into the distance, while a female figure crouches, holding a radio. A third male figure stands with his gun slung over his shoulder. The woman in Reconciliation is there despite the protests of the Department of National Defense. The DND argued that no woman had performed that role making the design historically inaccurate (Roberts 1998, p. 157). Marc Jean Leger (1996) suggests that the relationship between the male overseer and the female radio communicator echoes that of the Champlain and Scout monument. He suggests that both monuments privilege a white man figure bearing a tool of scientific progress and orientation—the astrolabe for Champlain, and the binoculars for the peacekeeper. Crouching, less visible and subordinate are the Aboriginal man and the woman, whose radio antennae mirror’s the Scout’s arrow (p. 53)⁴⁹.

Secord travels quite a ways before she encounters her next monument. She has walked south on Mackenzie Street. The huge ship-like architecture of the U.S. Embassy, and then the imposing Second Empire brick “Connaught Building” are on her left, and the charming, vertiginous Major’s Hill Park is on her right. She arrives at Confederation Square, greets her valiant colleagues and decides to continue down Elgin Street.

⁴⁹ Reconciliation also speaks stylistically and substantively to the National War Memorial, which is just out of its sightline.

Suddenly, she is struck by an uncanny presence. In her historic thirty kilometer walk nearly two hundred years ago Secord was met and startled by a group of Mohawk people. In an appeal for compensation by the government she describes that she “did at great Risk peril & danger travelling on foot & partly in the Night by circuitous route, through woods mountains, the enemy lines & Indian Encampments to give important intelligence of a meditated attack of the Americans upon our troops...” (as cited in Coates and Morgan 2002, p. 119). Quickly they became her allies and escorted her the final way to her meeting with Captain Fitzgibbon. Her personal relationship with Aboriginal peoples was complicated by her position as a white woman and the dominant discourses that attended both subject positions in the mid 19th century. On this walk, she is met with an opportunity to consider again her feelings towards Aboriginal peoples. At Confederation Park, after admiring a totem pole, Secord comes to greet a group of Aboriginal people represented in the National Aboriginal War Veterans’ Memorial (NAVA). This monument consists of a collection of pan-Aboriginal Canadian symbols and Aboriginal busts on a square pedestal. One of these busts, facing the Park, rather than the street, is of an Aboriginal woman. What is remarkable about this figure is that she is the sole representation of an Aboriginal woman in the capital. The Aboriginal woman in the NAVA memorial, represents not only female Aboriginal war veterans, but rather, in her singular presence highlights the total symbolic annihilation of Aboriginal women in Ottawa’s built environment.



Figure 19—National Aboriginal War Veterans' Memorial. Credit: Davidson, 2010.

Secord leaves the Park and continues down Elgin Street. Unmoved, she wanders through the granite arch and concrete posts of the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and then veers left, down a small side street. She had noticed, out of the corner of her eye, a large pink slice of bread. This monument in front of city hall takes the form of an eight foot high slice of bread, out of which the outline of a house has been cut. The house shape sits on the ground as a bench or podium. This is the Dorothy O'Connell monument to commemorate anti-poverty activism. It was unveiled on October 17, 2004 and named after the first person to win an award for anti-poverty activism in 1996 (Peters 2006, p. 25). The award for anti-poverty activism was founded in 1996, in response to 21% cuts to welfare the previous year (Peters 2006, p. 28). The monument is both named for a local, activist woman Dorothy O'Connell and was designed through collaboration between the anti-poverty community and feminist artist c.j. fleury. The monument generated controversy when some argued that the money used to design and build the monument should be distributed to those living in poverty. However, the Committee calculated that each person in Ottawa living in poverty would receive \$1.50 if the money was redistributed (Peters 2006, p. 28). At its unveiling, roses were placed at its base to honour those who had died of poverty-related afflictions. Sheryl Peters (2006) writes, "This monument is the only award that is specific to anti-poverty activism. It is important because it publicly recognizes anti-poverty work. Anti-poverty activism has a high rate of burnout" (p. 28). This is one of a few monuments in which a local woman is specifically named and honoured⁵⁰.

Secord returns to Elgin Street. She is getting hot now, tired and thirsty. After a few blocks she comes across a small, delightful park where she decides is a perfect place to sit and relax. She walks along the spirally path in the park, passing a bust to the South American leader Jose de Martin, to whom she doesn't give much regard. She finds some benches facing a large boulder. Having reached Enclave: The Women's Monument, Secord is struck by the funereal nature of the monument. Unlike the NWM, where the lives lost are marked by representative bronzed bodies, marking soldiers whose lives were lost in valiant battle, here, the lives lost are

⁵⁰ The other moment is the Monument to Canadian Aid Workers in Rideau Falls Park which was dedicated to two Canadian aid workers who died in service: Nancy Malloy and Tim Stone.

marked with stones. Here, in the cozy park, Secord sits, rests, takes off her shoes, like she did on her epic walk.

Conclusion

In Minto Park, Secord reflects on her place in this foreign city. How does she belong here, in this time and place? She notices that most of the other women in Ottawa's built environment share some dominant characteristics; they are nameless, complementary, and on a different physical plane of engagement than the principle figure being commemorated— either elevated into the clouds, or accessible at the base of monuments, the crawl-upon figures for visiting children. The Victorian woman was exulted and presumed to be the 'angel in the house'. In Ottawa's statuary, women are also presumed to be the 'angels in the capital'. Women are the complementary, fetishized and virtuous 'other' to the male figure that is afforded a fully-developed personhood. In the form of nameless allegorical figures women are afforded one form of in/visibility. They act as a type of fetish object— present only for their virtue and beauty, often physically exulted to untouchable heights. However they are mere objects, the invisible accoutrement to the male subjects of commemoration. A second set of women are offered a more conventional form of visibility in the capital. These women are named and commemorated for their own merits, in a format that has been afforded to men since the beginning of Ottawa statuary.

In her walk, Laura Secord couldn't possibly come across all of the other bronzed and stone-cast women in the city. She didn't for example, visit the women that stand to represent Truth and Justice outside of the Supreme Court of Canada. If Secord had strolled much further from her Confederation Square home, outside of Ottawa's Confederation Boulevard district, at the crux between Ottawa's Little Italy and Chinatown, on Preston Street at Somerset, she would have found a monument of a woman running with a baby in her arms. This monument was designed to commemorate Project 4000, an initiative launched by Mayor Marion Dewar in 1979-1989. In this project, Ottawa families sponsored 4000 Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotians who were escaping the aftermath of the Vietnam War. The monument, produced by UNHCR and Pham The Trung, titled, "The Vietnamese Commemorative Monument, Refugee Mother and

Child” was unveiled by the Vietnamese Canadian Federation April 30, 1995 (Buckley n.d., p.vi)⁵¹.

Strolling Ottawa, Secord finds herself in a landscape of heroic masculinity. Employed to embody certain qualities or ideals, women are exulted as virtuous. Yet, coupled with this embodiment of virtue, women are nameless, abstract and unrecognizable. The monuments to Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth gesture towards the representation of actual women. The aptly named “Women are Persons!” monument represents women in Ottawa’s built environment in a way that does not conform to the desires of a male flaneur. Responding to violence against women physically and the absence of women symbolically is Enclave: the Women’s Monument; a site of mourning, agitation and the catalyst for new feminist flanerier in the city.

⁵¹ This monument, while celebrating a moment of great pride for Ottawans— the welcoming of many refugee families by the city in 1979-1980, was not immune to controversy. Roberts (1998) explains that “the initial inscription to the Vietnamese Refugees Memorial was changed following an overt political overtone aimed at the Vietnamese government and the treatment of its people (Dixon 1997)” (p. 92).

Chapter 8: Dwelling at the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and “Enclave”: The Women’s Monument

“All Human Beings Are Born Free and Equal in Dignity and Rights.”- Canadian Tribute to Human Rights

“To honour and to grieve/ all women/ abused and murdered by men/ envision a world without violence/ where women are respected/ and/ free”- Enclave: The Women’s Monument.

On Elgin Street, just south of Ottawa’s Confederation Boulevard beside the Knox Presbyterian Church, in front of Ottawa’s City Hall, and facing the National War Memorial directly to its north, is the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights (CTHR). This monument is composed of a series of columns and a red granite lintel. The first line of the UN Declaration of Human Rights is inscribed in both official languages on the red arch, while the virtues: Justice, Dignity and Equality, are inscribed on plaques topping the concrete columns. The monument produces a path through which to move and reflect on the values that Canadians and global citizens are being compelled to uphold. While the National War Memorial mourns war deaths, this monument is intended to be oriented towards the future, to inspire peace and justice.

A few blocks south of the CTHR is Minto Park, one of the most gorgeous, classic Edwardian parks in the city. It is a perfectly rectangular park, surrounded on three sides by turn-of-the-century houses, and the fourth side by Elgin Street. On a regular afternoon, Minto Park is informally an off-leash dog park, populated mostly by small urban dogs and their owners. Walking through the park, a visitor arrives at a large boulder with a circling of smaller cut rocks at its foot. This is “Enclave: The Women’s Monument”. The smaller stones are each inscribed with the names of Ottawa women that had been murdered by men. Enclave marks a response to the material and symbolic annihilation of women in both the private and public spheres of Ottawa. This monument produces a site from which to mourn the murders of women and offers a particular commentary on public citizenship. While predominantly male deaths are mourned and

celebrated at the National War Memorial,⁵²(a site of definitive nation building as I demonstrated in Chapter 4) women are most explicitly present here, in a local monument recalling everyday murders of women by men.

Both CTHR and Enclave, built in 1990 and 1992 respectively, are contemporary contributions to Ottawa's monument landscape; their abstract forms are reflective of this age. Despite their use of abstract forms, both monuments, like the other monuments in this study, evoke the presence and absence of human bodies. As gatherings of concrete and granite bodies, I argue that both monuments produce sites for particular forms of dwelling and belonging in these urban spaces. In this Chapter, I suggest that at the CTHR and Enclave are engaged with through the specific modes of dwelling that are responsive to their ontology as 'stone bodies'. After offering a brief history of each of the monuments, I analyze how these two monuments create relationships between concrete and granite 'bodies' and dwelling. Next, I unmap the two monuments and their relationships to their sites and the broader Ottawa landscape to tease out how their ontologies as bodies and sites of dwelling work with and in response to other possibilities for dwelling in the city. In particular, these series of bodies offer not only symbolic suggestions, but affective persuasion of how gendered, racialized urban dwellers should belong to the city.

I argue that the CTHR represents a teleological moment of progress from the National War Memorial, both materially and symbolically, by celebrating what Eva Mackey (2002) describes as the myth of Canadian liberal tolerance. This is a myth most commonly mobilized through the political and discursive language of multiculturalism to "manage populations and also to create identities" (p. 5). In contrast, the location, material and symbolic language of Enclave position this monument as at odds with official narratives of the nation produced in Ottawa. However as sites of dwelling through the arrangement of bodies, granite, concrete and flesh, both CTHR and Enclave offer sites to remember and agitate for change in ways that complicate their designs. The CTHR (while couched within very specific nation-building narratives) *does* allow people to create more open public spaces. While Enclave, is both a challenge to the seamless narratives of nation produced on Elgin Street, and a site that simultaneously confirms and challenges dominant gender ideologies.

⁵² In World War I, 45 nursing sisters lost their lives, (Canada's Nursing Sisters" 1996, para 7) compared to the 68,000 male Canadian soldiers.



Figure 20—Enclave: The Women's Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2008. Canadian Tribute to Human Rights. Davidson, 2010.

Introducing the Monuments

The histories of CTHR and Enclave demonstrate that from the beginning they were oriented towards producing different types of spaces and modes of engagement. The CTHR, while it emerged out of a specific historic moment, quickly grew into a monument with local, national and international aspirations and open opportunities for engagement. In contrast, Enclave began and continues to operate as a site with a specifically local focus encouraging a specifically feminine form of belonging.

In 1981, Hania Fedowitz from the Canadian Polish Congress proposed to the city to rename Daly Ave, a street in Ottawa's heritage neighbourhood of Sandy Hill, Solidarnosz Ave to honour of the Solidarnosz movement Poland (Wilkes personal communications, December 8th 2008). Daly Ave houses the Polish Embassy. The proposed name change was an affront to the Polish government, and was denied by the Ottawa City Council due to local protests (Roberts 1998, p. 113). Fedowitz then contacted George Wilkes, president of Action Sandy Hill, a

community heritage organization, to consider other ways to honour the Polish solidarity leaders. It was in this context that Wilkes and Fedowitz, along with other community activists decided to create a monument to commemorate, celebrate, and agitate for international human rights. A committee was established including members from the neighbourhoods of Sandy Hill and Centretown, and the Polish Congress. With between 30-40 members, The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights became incorporated as a charity in 1984 (CTHR 1990, p.4).

Central to the CTHR founding committee's (henceforth the Committee) mandate was to create a space with a broad commemorative intent. They stipulated in their design competition:

The Tribute will be dedicated to promoting awareness of fundamental human rights without espousing any particular political beliefs or position. It will provide the first symbolic focus on human rights and upon respect for the individual and minority groups ("National Competition" 1985, p. 122).

This stance was also pragmatic; in order to receive non-profit designation the group had to abstain from making any overt political message, and site donation by the City of Ottawa was contingent on the monument's form and text (Roberts 1998, p. 122). Early on, the monument's commemorative meanings were conceived of as broadly inclusive. While this pragmatic stance definitely enabled fundraising endeavors and encouraged a broad range of support, this pragmatic stance also encouraged the building of a Canadian monument that aligned itself with liberal conceptions of politics and tolerance.

The competition and fundraising processes both attempted to generate the widest possible bases of interest and ideas. The design competition was nation-wide, attempting to generate a design for a monument that could be a national symbol (Roberts 1998, p. 122). Fedorwicz described the monument's building process: "This is a people's project... It's brought together people who would not have thought of working with each other. They really have common interests" (as cited in Buchanan 1989, A.11). Because of its wide scope of appeal, the CTHR quickly earned support from many diverse factions of Canadian society. Patrons of the Tribute included authors June Callwood, Antoine Maillet and Doris Anderson, then-broadcaster Adrienne Clarkson, politicians Edward Broadbent and Jean Chretien, then Governor General Jean Sauvé, and a host of other notable individuals (CTHR 1990, p. 35). The funders for the monument also included a broad range of support from community organizations, unions and professional organizations, businesses and governments. In 1989, the Tribute had support from

“130 organizations, 6 provinces and 19 municipalities” (Buchanan 1989, p. A.11). The support came from both local and national levels; several churches, ethnic groups, gay and lesbian organizations, Aboriginal organizations, and businesses ranging small flower shops to large national banks offered different levels of support (CTHR 1990, p. 38). The Committee also secured the support of key leaders in the art community. The design jury included members such as Andre Fortier, who had extensive experience with the public service in the realm of human rights as well as artists like Newfoundland-based Mary Pratt, Jack Shadbolt and Pierre Theberge, the then-Director of the University of Waterloo School of Architecture, Larry Richards, and the chair of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Phyllis Lambert (*ibid*, p. 5). The jury membership demonstrates both the prestige of the monument competition and a concerted effort to produce an open competition with fair geographic representation.

In September, 1986 the competition jury chose Melvin Charney’s design from the 129 applications. The Tribute consists of a series of anthropomorphic concrete columns, some holding up red granite plaques inscribed with Equality, Dignity, and Justice. A red granite lintel leans on the front of the monument. It is inscribed with the first line of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, “All Human Beings Are Born Free and Equal in Dignity and Rights”. The inside space created by the concrete columns and granite plaques is called the “House of Canada.” The House of Canada emerged out of a need to acknowledge the Aboriginal nations in Canada. The Committee realized that naming Equality, Justice and Dignity in English and French was insignificant. Wilkes explains:

I don’t know how it really started, but we had already done the official languages and we became aware that Aboriginal peoples should be represented. And you’ll notice that they are amongst our patrons, so we went to the AFN of the day and they said basically “can we have more than one? Can we have three?” (personal communications, December 8th 2008).

Instead of three, the Committee decided to represent the three concepts translated into seventy-three Aboriginal languages. Wilkes continues:

Sometimes its several words, so that’s why the designs are the way they are. So in many ways, that collection of expression in these languages is a very valuable, cultural presence in the nation’s capital of the cultures of all of these people, because language is

culture, of course. It helps; it can help them, from their point of view, to help them maintain their languages (ibid).

The House of Canada is designed so that the Aboriginal language plaques create a map of Canada. The plaques are ordered from West to East, North to South, with Innu and Inuktitut plaques at the top, and Micmac plaque furthest to the East.



Figure 21—"The House of Canada" June 2010. Credit: Davidson.

Charney's design was chosen in part "for its integration with buildings adjacent to the site, and... his rich use of symbols conveying many levels of meaning" (CTHR 1986 on Roberts 1998, p. 123). Central to the monument's design is a path that allows visitors to walk through the monument. In an earlier version of the design, this line from a Lech Walesa speech adorned the red granite arch, "We cherish the dignity and rights of every human being and every nation... To follow this path means to enhance the moral power of the all-embracing idea of human solidarity" (cited in Beale 1986, p. E7). This quotation was part of the inspiration for Charney's focus on a path. The inscription was later changed to the line from the UN Declaration of Human Rights at the suggestion of John Humphreys, a Tribute patron, who suggested that the line he had authored had a more universal resonance (Wilkes personal communications, December 8th 2008).

By suggesting this new text, Humphreys erased the last connection to the Polish solidarity movement and further articulated a monument with the broadest, most flexible politics.

The CTHR emerged out of the desire of Polish Canadians to honour a particular political movement. Quickly the CTHR became an extremely broad idea. The design criteria, fundraising practices, and even jury membership were all designed to facilitate a monument that was simultaneously very Canadian and international. These origins and the breadth of support are continually reflected throughout the monument's life as various interest groups and communities continue to use the monument for their own interests. The origins of CTHR including the financial support, the design competition and the design jury also worked to produce a space with simultaneous national and international resonances. At the moment of its birth the CTHR was a site for particular "pedagogies of patriotism" (Mackey 2002). Specifically, the monument asserts that Canadians are open to different perspectives and compassionate of international human rights issues, while refusing to identify any particular stance.

Both the CTHR and Enclave, unveiled in 1990 and 1992 respectively, were born in a specific context of increased state-nurtured nation-building policies (see Mackey 2002). In the early 1990s, definitions of Canada were being highly debated in the public as the federal government attempted to produce amendments to the Canadian constitution that Quebec (in the Meech Lake Accord) and the general public (the Charlottetown Accord) would endorse. Also in the early 1990s, many nations were planning to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the conquests of Columbus. The federal government decided instead to focus on Canada's 125th birthday (Canada 125 celebrations). Mackey (2002) writes that "between 1989 and 1992, the National Identity Task Force developed at least twenty-seven versions of 'identity and unity related projects'" (p. 110). Despite an economic recession, the government remained committed to facilitating and encouraging birthday parties for Canada across the country (Mackey 2002, p. 115). The discourses of national celebration were interrupted (or challenged) by the 'Oka crisis' in the summer of 1990. The 'Oka crisis' began as a peaceful vigil of Mohawks of Kanehsatake, Quebec who were protesting the local municipality's plans to make a golf course. The protest became an armed stand-off between the Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian army. Mackey explains,

The Oka events brought the historical oppression of Native people to the forefront of Canadian politics, and also received international attention as national and international

media were filled with images of masked Mohawk warriors carrying automatic weapons, under the surveillance of the Canadian army. Canadian and international Human Rights groups condemned the government's inaction as an abdication of responsibility (p. 112). It was in this context that the CTHR with its adherent pedagogic stress on Canadian inclusivity and values was unveiled. This was also a context of deliberation over the promoted myths and lived realities of Canadian heterogeneity. The CTHR, unveiled months after the internationally-damning 'Oka crisis' can be understood as a site that both affirmed the public discourses of nation-building, and the anxiety and insecurities surrounding the fragility of Canadian myths of inclusiveness.

While the CTHR was committed to a broad scope of appeal and commemorative intent, the origins and commemorative intent of Enclave are marked by their focus on the local and the specific⁵³. Enclave was produced by a group of anti-violence against women activists and health care workers who called themselves, "Women's Urgent Action." Before building the monument the group had staged vigils and planted trees in honour of murdered Ottawa women in Minto Park (CMG 2006, p. 149). Two feminist artists, c.j. fleury and Mary Faught, were commissioned to produce the monument. Enclave consists of a large, uncut two meter high stone of light granite. A space in the shape of a shield, or yoni, has been polished on the boulder for the inscription: "To honour and to grieve/ all women/ abused and murdered by men/ envision a world without violence/ where women are respected/ and/ free." On the large shield, accompanying the inscription are waves, spirals, an image of changing moons and female figures who are depicted supporting the inscription-bearing shield. At the monument's base, forming a half-circle, are 37 smaller name-stones: the "Markers". Each marker is a different height, faces a different direction, and has the name of an Ottawa woman who was murdered by a man between

⁵³ My approach towards analyzing Enclave is quite distinct from the approach taken by the Cultural Memory Group, a group whose work I have been influenced by and applaud. In their book on commemorating violence against women across Canada, the Group's (2006) ambition was to "Above all, whatever questions we might raise about omissions, compromises or silences in the design and language of feminist memorials, we want to acknowledge and celebrate the achievement of those who have brought about such memorials and inscribed such words into public space against consistently daunting odds" (p. 19). The Group is committed to celebrating and bringing to light the incredible work and activism that has produced urban spaces where the violent deaths of women are mourned and acknowledged. My project in this Chapter is to critically consider what types of public engagements are made possible through the design, materiality and placement of Enclave. Enclave is a particular site of feminist activism. I am interested in how the sculpture simultaneously produces inclusions and exclusions; both of which could be understood as productive and restrictive. This discussion is limited by my perspective as a sociologist. This analysis is not intended to consider the monument as an art object.

1992- 2000. Also incorporated in the design were elements that were to encourage public engagement; in particular the making of rubbings and the placement of candles and other offerings. Faught and fleury describe their intentions, “The centre of the spiral path is an enclave, a safe space for visitors to touch the ‘marker’... They can visit at any time, make an impression for themselves of the markings on the polished face” (fleury archives, “Symbolism Behind the Monument”, n.d).

Both Enclave and the CTHR have been significantly influenced by the material resources available to their founders. Both monuments sit on land which was donated by the City of Ottawa (Roberts 1998, p. 122). However, while the CTHR had the immediate support of key figures in the national art community, and a roster of financial supporters from across the country, including various levels of government, Enclave was funded in part through a tin can coin drive (c.j. fleury, personal communications, April 6, 2009). This discrepancy could be understood to reflect broader phenomena of underfunded feminist memorializing. The CMG (2006) states that feminist memorializing across the country has been done with meager finances, the average cost being between \$5000-\$10 000 (p. 18). The total cost of Enclave was \$10 000 (ibid, p. 151), each artist was paid \$750 (c.j. fleury, personal communications, April 6, 2009). In contrast, CTHR’s initial budget was \$741 450, with \$10 000 to be paid directly to the artist as a prize (“An Invitation to Participate” 1990, p. 14). The efficacy of Enclave to produce a powerful, productive site to both mourn and agitate has been restricted by material constraints. I argue that these constraints reflect a lack of public urgency regarding violence against women, and the lower value placed on feminist artistic practice. These differences also reflect the popularity of endorsing what are understood to be broad Canadian ideals of ‘human rights’ compared to the politics of challenging violence against women.

Concrete Bodies, Granite Bodies

My pursuit of a theoretical analogy of thinking about monuments as bodies has enabled me to think about the efficacy of monuments in productive ways. Like bodies, I suggest, monuments are also affectively-charged assemblages of material, virtual, discursive components. Concrete and granite work with their environment, the etched-on inscriptions, and the communities that gather at them to produce specific affective relationships to the city. The concrete columns and granite markers that stand-in for symbolic ‘civic’ and murdered bodies

enable certain modes of communion. In this section, I discuss the materiality of these two monuments and how these materials produce specific types of monumental ‘flesh’. In particular, these two sets of bodies are understood popularly as different types of public bodies. The concrete columns are overwhelming yet mute, generic and easily embraced by a Canadian public. The granite markers at Enclave, name particular women, and call for specific feminist politics.

In August, 2008, I sat at the CTHR to do some observational fieldwork. Across from the monument are a series of modern office buildings. On many visits to the CTHR, especially in the midday, office workers sit along the ledge of the monument eating their lunches. On this August weekday, a middle-aged man and a young boy arrived and sat leaning against one of the concrete pillars. Five minutes later, a woman joined them. The young family (presumed) visited the monument for fifteen minutes. The boy had discovered that the arrangement of columns produce an ideal site for playing hide and go seek; he had initiated a game with his father. Another middle-aged woman had arrived at the monument; she sat, leaning against one of the columns, reading a novel. If I had visited a decade earlier, on any Thursday in 1996-1997, I would have been privy to an inter-faith worship session:

There is a regular routine: a brief speech, then a period of silence, and finally a song.

Norma McCord talks about the cuts to health and the sound system, consisting of a microphone attached to a speaker that can be hung over the shoulder like a purse, arrives as she is finishing. She reads a blessing (Faith Partners, a coalition of activists from various local churches, is a prime mover for the vigil): “May the blessing of light be on you, light within, light without.” (Gordon 1997b, p. B.4).

In the first moment, the abstract anthropomorphized columns allow for an impromptu, seemingly meaningless game of hide-and-seek. In the second moment, the CTHR mimics both the National War Memorial which it faces, and in this instance its neighbor—the Knox Presbyterian Church as a place for public gathering and worship. The CTHR both produces a dwelling site, a play structure in this case, and a node in a broader urban conversation.



Figure 22—Column, CTHR. Credit: Davidson, 2010.

In their abstract form, the series of concrete columns and red granite lintel that make up the CTHR seem to challenge the analogy of understanding monuments as stone bodies. At once, the designer Melvin Charney has understood this monument as both a series of anthropomorphic columns, and a house, naming the inside enclosure between the columns the “House of Canada.” However, I would suggest that the monument as both a series of bodies and house is compatible. The relationships between bodies and houses have long been documented and theorized by architects and social scientists. Architects have understood houses as operating like a “second skin” for their inhabitants (Pallasmaa 2005). Juliani Pallasmaa (2005) explains this relationship between bodies and buildings:

It is evident that the architecture of traditional cultures is also essentially connected with the tacit wisdom of the body, instead of being visually and conceptually dominated.

Construction in traditional cultures is guided by the body in the same way that a bird shapes its nest by movements of its body (p. 26).

Others like scholar Bradley Quinn (2003) have considered fashion a form of architecture, clothes to dwell in. The relationship between buildings and bodies has been made manifest by artists like Christo and Jeanne-Claude and Maria Friberg, “Friberg by screen-printing fashion images onto

glass façades, Christo and Jeanne-Claude by wrapping landscapes and architectural landmarks in fabric” (Quinn 2003, p. 144). This relationship has been further developed by contemporary artists and architects that produce “capsule architecture”, tents, domes, inflatable structures. Bradley Quinn (2003) explains that “Intended to be sculptural in form and interactive in scope, these works effectively disenfranchise interior spaces from their architectural confines and use them as vehicles for relational aesthetics” (p. 149). While operating at different scales, fashion and architecture are both interested in the protective enclosure of human bodies.

The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, as both a series of bodies, and a place in which to dwell, has produced, inspired and housed various spectacles and agitations for human rights. However, as a large, imposing structure of concrete and granite, early on the CTHR faced both praise and criticism for its abstract design. In particular, Charney’s use of concrete as a central material has led some to critique the piece as aesthetically displeasing. *Ottawa Citizen* writer Robert Sibley offers both of these critiques: “The concrete is cold and dead to the touch” (2009a, p. A.3) and that “the monument tells you what you’re supposed to think. There’s nothing human with which to connect, nothing visual that might engender identification. Don’t get me wrong. I don’t quarrel with the ideals the monument expresses, but the way in which they are expressed” (ibid)⁵⁴. Despite Sibley’s critiques, the concrete has had specific affective results.

In reference to Peter Eisenmann’s Berlin Holocaust memorial, Rachel Whiteread’s Vienna Holocaust memorial, and the in-progress Ground Zero memorial, Adrian Forty (2005) argues that “Concrete has become the default material for memorials” (p. 75). For Forty, the increased use of concrete as a material for memorial building is interesting considering the material’s historic association with “the obliteration of memory” (p. 75); it is used to literally pave over histories and it has an unapologetic lack of sensuality and uniformity. Forty suggests that its inexpensive cost make concrete a preferable material for large, overwhelming memorial projects and secondly, “forms can be produced in it that would be impossible in stone or bronze” (p. 78). However for Forty, the real strength of concrete is its embodiment of a certain modernity. Concrete disallows marks of craftsmanship creating a loss of the familiar therefore there is also a constant association of concrete with the new. This association with the new in a

⁵⁴ Sibley (2009a), it should be noted, has a singularly narrow vision: “the rows of pillars remind me of a parking garage without a roof. Here and there rectangular placards hang on the concrete slabs that form the monument’s walls. They offer more abstractions — “Rights,” “Dignity,” Equality.” Not that I could read any of them; they were all in various aboriginal languages. I wonder how many of those who visited the monument knew native languages, including aboriginals themselves” (p. A.3).

memorial offers a specific commemorative moment, “Confronted by a concrete memorial, we face an object that advertises the double aspect of modernity—of a journey into a better future, but which at the same time, as a memorial, reverts to a moment of past time” (p. 80). This occurs because of concrete’s “relative indestructibility” suggesting that this new memorial material allows for bigger and longer-lasting monuments. The modernity of concrete positions the CTHR as oppositional to, or as a movement of progress from the bronze figures of the National War Memorial.

The second prong of this modernity argument is that concrete, as a composite material, allows a certain level of anonymity: “the muteness of concrete, making it particularly suited to mental projection and reflection” (Forty 2005, p. 82). In the CTHR, the concrete allows for a material distinction from the NWM down the street, where the NWM is a classical sculpture of granite and bronze, the CTHR is ‘modern’ both in material and in form. However, Charney also insisted, and it is recognizable, that the concrete columns form larger-than-life human figures. What type of specific engagements do these massive concrete bodies allow for? I would suggest that the anonymity and muteness of the concrete means that the monument’s material form offers a highly adaptable, flexible monument, which is reflected in the Tribute’s popularity amongst different activist and community groups.

In its purpose, materiality and form, Enclave departs radically from the CTHR. Enclave is built from the classic monument-building material of granite. The material and discursive elements of Enclave produce specific understandings of femininity and a (re)active challenge to how women are made both literally (through murder) and symbolically (through the language of monuments) absent in Ottawa. Due to material and spatial restrictions, Enclave does not offer the overwhelming presence that the CTHR does⁵⁵. A commitment to radical feminist iconography and language is consistent throughout the design of Enclave. The artist and landscape architect chosen to create the monument’s design: c.j.fleury and Mary Faught renamed themselves the “Agents of Gaia,” which is what the signature reads on the monument. The monument, with a design that echoes through the “markers” the semiotic language of gravestones, and in its ability to produce a space of enclosure, is also both a series of bodies and a site of dwelling.

⁵⁵ The monument’s design was also influenced by the monument’s neighbor—the bust to Argentinian hero Jose de San Martin. While intending to create a structure of imposing presence, the monument’s height was determined by a policy that it not exceed in height the San Jose de Martin bust at the west end, or front of the park (fleury archives. Letter to Lisa (no last name) from c.j. fleury).

Faught and fleury intended to mark violence against women with a large, overwhelming boulder, in the tradition of ‘ancient’ standing stones (c.j. fleury, personal communications, April 6, 2009). They were committed to finding a stone that could stand on its own, without sculpting done to its essential form. Fleury explains,

I really didn't want to cut the stone, have it cut and manipulated... The importance of finding a stone with hips, letting it stand as it was, not needing to be sewn into some warped standard of beauty... or gaze of desire and control, and cutting into its natural form (as cited in CMG 2006, p. 153).

An anthropomorphized and feminized boulder was also chosen to represent a broad range of women, reading ‘hips’ as an essential characteristic of femininity. Fleury continues: “we wanted a stone with hips. ...that was just like, you could tell it was a woman, but it wasn’t this kind of woman or that kind of woman. So that’s the idea of hips.” (c.j. fleury, personal communications, April 6, 2009). In their choice of boulder, fleury and Faught enact very specific, essentialized ideas of what is feminine. A boulder “with hips” contrasts classical monumental impulses towards erecting tall, white shafts. The boulder—an inverted V shape (a symbolic vagina), nestled in an ornamental park further marks this space as ‘feminine.’ These connotations of the feminine are welcoming to some; while to others (women and men) who do not ascribe to these dominant ideals of femininity, the space continues to be one marked by exclusion.

In the space of the shield is the inscription: “To honour and to grieve/ all women/ abused and murdered by men/ envision a world without violence/ where women are respected/ and/ free.” The Cultural Memory Group credits the Women’s Monument Committee for choosing this inscription which boldly inspires dialogue about the gendered dimensions of violence. The inscription’s specific naming of men as perpetrators unsurprisingly lead to debate as some argued that the monument was vilifying men, “Even the artists, who were displeased at not being consulted about the dedication, felt that the wording could be seen to be exclusionary, that it could detract from honouring the women murdered, and through backlash, return the focus to men” (CMG 2006, pp. 156-157). The inscription, like other aspects of the monument’s design and form contribute to producing a space with a very specific memorial intent, radically distinct from the breadth of meaning of the CTHR.



Figure 23—Enclave: The Women’s Monument. Credit: Davidson, 2010.

Accompanying the inscription are waves, spirals, an image of changing moons and female figures. In their artists’ description of the monument, fleury and Faught explained, “We worked with ancient feminine symbols of continuity, renewal, cycles, passage and hope” (fleury archives, Agents of Gaia “Enclave” December 1992, p. 1). These symbols included changing moons to “represent women’s harmony with the universe and speak of the passage of time”. The waves represent, “the cleansing properties of the waters of the Earth, the waters of the Mother... the waters in which humanity is formed” (ibid, p. 1).

The space of the monument was designed to be an open, spiral shaped garden, with the boulder at its hub. Due to space constraints, the design of the spiral was never fully actualized. Spirals are engraved on to the shield. The designers chose spirals because of their heritage as Neolithic signs that suggest new life, death and rebirth. Faught and fleury briefly discuss their choices in symbols for the monument:

These signs from Women’s heritage are engraved here to represent all women, all ages, and all races. The visual design on the stone and on the Earth focuses on the positive ideas of renewal, and the empowering forces that can grow after intolerable acts are committed towards our sisters, mothers and daughters. The symbols, like the rock, will

stand for generations and speak of a time where women and children are respected and thriving (fleury archives, Agents of Gaia “Enclave”, December 1992).

The ancient female symbols also contribute to producing a monument that simultaneously includes and excludes. The symbols appeal to assumed universal ideas of femininity and are symbols that have been or were embraced by radical feminist movements, in particular feminist art in North America since the 1970s (see Gadon 1989, pp. 316-339). However, this type of interpellation has been critiqued by post-structural, queer and postcolonial feminists for assuming essential qualities of women (Weedon 1987, p. 130-131). Coming from this provenance, the symbols produce a monument that encourages identifications based on specific understandings of femininity and womanhood, excluding identifications based on less rigid understandings of femininity. However, this is not to suggest that the possibilities for identification produced at Enclave are misplaced. In an urban context where countless moments for male identification abound, one moment for possible identification based on feminine symbols produces a radical opening in the urban semiotic landscape.

Through the symbols it employs and in its physical presence, “Enclave”: the Women’s Monument presents a number of discursive and material openings and closures. The designers evoke a broad notion of ‘women’s heritage’ which is largely steeped in radical feminist ideology, embracing classic tropes of goddess worship for example. While radical, as a bold statement of ‘feminist’ iconography, the symbols also hail a very particular form of feminism, one that rearticulates specific notions of womanhood. This is both strategic and powerful—a strong statement of a female presence, and a potential form of exclusion. Its title, “Enclave: The Women’s Monument” names the monument in singularity as *the* Women’s monument, foreclosing possibilities for other monuments for or to women, or other means and conditions under which women can not only be mourned, but celebrated. As a physical ‘enclave’ the site was designed as open, accessible, a spiral to be entered, to feel comfortable. This formation also necessarily closes off, produces a space of inside and outside. Closure, in this sense, intimates towards possibilities of a safe place for grieving. Inside Enclave, there is space for candles, figurine angels, and sprinkled tobacco; outside is the site of agitation, protest, rallying cries.

Faught and fleury intended for the space to be welcoming and encouraging of tactile engagement, as they suggest in one public relations document: “Touch the symbols. Visualize change. Make rubbings. Carry the feeling to a wider circle” (cited in CMG 2006, p. 153). Also

incorporated in the design were elements to encourage public engagement, in particular the making of rubbings and the placement of candles and other offerings. Faught and fleury describe their intentions,

The centre of the spiral path is an enclave, a safe space for visitors to touch the “marker”... to ground themselves, their energy & prayer to the meaning of the space. They can visit at any time, make an impression for themselves of the markings on the polished face (fleury archives, “Symbolism Behind the Monument”, n.d).

The original design also included a set of permanent candle holders that did not materialize in the actual monument (fleury archives, “Symbolism Behind the Monument”, n.d.). Through these design decisions, the artists attempted to create a site and an object with which one could dialogue. Seemingly inspired by other ‘counter-monuments’ like Washington’s Vietnam War Veterans’ Memorial where visitors frequently make impressions and leave offerings, the artists envisioned that visitors would have relationships with the materiality of the monument. The Cultural Memory Group (2006) suggests that most feminist monuments are influenced in part by Maya Lin’s monument, in particular through “the use of horizontal rather than vertical lines, an organic relationship to the landscape, an interactive or reflective form and, most notably, the insistent use of names” (p. 22).



Figure 24—Enclave, December 6th 2009. Credit: Davidson

The markers form a semi-circle in which the boulder is at the head. They are a series of small stones of varying sizes, facing different directions, inscribed with names of murdered

Ottawa women:

Thelma Fokuhl

Sherri Lee Guy

Tammy Proulx

Lori Heath

Cornelia Wyss

Sophie Fillion

Karena Janveau

Carrie Mancuso

Vanessa Ritchie

Louise Ellis

Carmen Jeannot

Mary Ann Paquette

Melanie Desroches

Angela Tong

Barbara Teske

Esther Carlisle

Bernita Herron

Lillian Pilon

Sylvie Boucher

Lori Goodfellow

Reva Bowers

Pamella Behrendt

Charmaine Thompson

Rachel Favreau

Patricia Allen

Sharon Mohamed

Joan St. Jean

Melinda Sheppitt

Barbara Lanthier

Micheline Cuerrier

Carole Poulin Begley

Juliet Cuenco

Marie Fernande Levesque

Victoria Debes

Kelli Davis

Fengzhi Huang

Anne Laurin

Jane Doe

Like other feminist memorials, Enclave named the women equally; all of the marker stones, while not identical, were afforded equal levels of prominence. Like the monument's spiral design, the stones offer both discursive and material openings and closures. They are materially similar to gravestones, inscribed with the names of the murdered women, produced from similar, grave-marker granite. In their similarity to grave stones, we can only imagine that this monument is to mourn their violent deaths. However, the markers only have names; they do not include the dates of the lives lived by the women. Without the dates, the stones differ from gravestones, suggesting that this space can be more than or different from a site of mourning. The absence of dates also extends, expands the potential of the lives lived. Fleury suggests that the stones are of different sizes and face different directions to represent the multitude of paths the women's lives were taking and would have taken (CMG 2006, p. 154). The absence of dates implies a future past hoped for futurity for the women mourned.

In 2000, a final marker was installed after which the Committee determined that no new markers could be accommodated in the space, again creating Enclave as a site of closure. While no more markers can be installed, women who were murdered after 2000 are mourned in other ways. At the Dec 6th memorial vigil in 2009, a screen was installed and the names of Ottawa women murdered that year were projected, a mourning activity that responded to the physical closure of Enclave.



Figure 25—“Markers” 2010. Credit: Davidson.

Both the CTHR and Enclave are monuments-as-bodies. In the CTHR, the bodies are larger-than-life, abstract concrete columns. They are modern, docile bodies to be engaged with in numerous ways, concrete in contrast to the bronze military bodies of the NWM. At Enclave, the murdered bodies of Ottawa women are marked by grave-stone like markers. Here, bodies are doubly absent. While the women have been murdered, they are marked by stones with only their names—allowing for imagined futurities, evoking the timeless. The two monuments are both also sites of dwelling. At the CTHR, the concrete columns form a “House of Canada”, a space that is open, aligning with the Canadian myth of liberal tolerance, yearning to be travelled through, and of proposed national importance. The markers at Enclave were designed to form a spiral, a particular articulation of both intimate dwelling and openness.

Unmapping the Monuments

The capacity of the CTHR and Enclave to foster certain relationships to the city is also affected by how the monuments are situated within their urban environments. In this section I explore how the locations of the monument contribute to how they produce spatializations of liberal Canadian ideals at the CTHR and a specific understanding of femininity and feminism at Enclave.

Key to the CTHR’s current prominence is its central urban location on Elgin Street, in front of the former City Hall, the City’s court house, beside the Knox Presbyterian Church, and across from an office complex. Despite being just shy of the official “Confederation Boulevard”,

Committee members were very pleased with the monument's location amidst busy official and everyday life of Ottawa⁵⁶. Roberts (1998) explains, "the site offered a good balance between being situated amongst everyday life and projecting a national orientation" (p. 120). The CTHR, a monument with distinctly international reach in its meaning, is situated amongst distinctly local infrastructure.

The path through the CTHR inspires visitors to become a part of the monument. Like James Young's conception of counter-monuments, the CTHR is designed to inspire particular forms of mobility—both within the monument and within its environment, however the CTHR converses most directly with the National War Memorial directly to its north. This relationship was mobilized early on in the life of the CTHR. In 1991, Voice of Women held a peace march that went from the National War Memorial to the CTHR. The march was to protest the recent Persian Gulf War. The march concluded with an open microphone at the CTHR where women were invited to speak about how they were feeling about the then month-long war in the Persian Gulf ("National women's group" 1991, C.3). The CTHR promotional material describes the relationship between the CTHR and the National War Memorial:

The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights was conceived in relationship to and faces the National War Memorial at the upper end of Elgin Street near the Parliament Buildings. It mirrors the Memorial, but transforms the reflection according to the Biblical passage: "... they shall beat their swords into ploughshares". In creating the Tribute, artist Melvin Charney reinterpreted the War Memorial's bent-over soldiers. They are set free to stand tall as individuals, aspiring to a place among equals, united along a processional way. (CTHR 1990, p. 9)

Charney also describes his design in relation to the National War Memorial: "Instead of a cluster of bronze soldiers fixed high in an archway, it is individuals— alive and walking, passing through an archway, alone or in groups— are at the centre of the Tribute" (as cited in Roberts 1998, p. 54). This design feature has been both celebrated and critiqued by the public. In the *Canadian Jewish News*, the relationship between these two monuments was applauded this way: "When the Tribute is completed, Elgin Street will be a symbolic path to be followed to

⁵⁶ The Committee considered a site at the entrance to the University of Ottawa and a location on Sussex Drive that now houses the Peacekeeper's Memorial, but rejected the spot as an inaccessible traffic island. Finally, they decided on a site on Elgin Street at Lisgar Street (Wilkes personal communications, December 8th 2008).

commemorate the war dead before moving on towards the vision of the right to live in dignity and peace” (Aaron 1989, p. 28). Arts commentator for CBO Morning, Alvina Ruprecht also appreciated the relationship between the two monuments. Speaking of the National War Memorial and Charney’s design Ruprecht noted,

He’s taken those elements apart, he’s reorganized them, he’s given them new shapes, new functions and he’s transformed a monument to death into a monument to life. And he has set those two poles off against each other... Brilliant (as cited in Trueman 1990, p. 86).

Here, a specific teleology between the nation-building experience of World War I represented at the National War Memorial, and the present human-rights endorsing, multicultural Canada represented at the CTHR is articulated. The progression from participation in global military conflicts to the liberal embrace of equality is understood as natural and necessary.

This teleological narrative found opponents in both those who felt the NWM was being misunderstood and in my own reading of this narrative as legitimating both war and a problematically ideological understanding of human rights and multiculturalism. Defendants of the NWM took offense to what they saw as a reduction of the National War Memorial to being a monument only about war and death. These critics suggest that the design of the CTHR doesn’t recognize that the National War Memorial is about grieving death, but it is also about an articulated discourse about the price paid for securing freedom, peace and human rights⁵⁷.

Trueman (1989) writes, “Presumably by toiling to get through the arch, the 22 figures floundering in the bronze mud of Flanders are trying to attain that peace and freedom” (p. 86). From its birth, the CTHR has been understood to offer both a complementary and a dialogic response to the NWM, contributing to a conversation on Elgin Street about war, remembrance, peace and human rights.

The CTHR and the National War Memorial also differ in their physical accessibility to the public. Many groups, including citizens from Poland and the Baltic countries were on many occasions denied opportunities to lay wreaths at the National War Memorial—decisions discussed in Chapter 4. The specific, circumscribed uses of the NWM are contrasted by the more broader usages of the CTHR. There are absolutely no restrictions on the use of CTHR. The CTHR was designed to deliberately speak to the NWM down the street. The monument’s central

⁵⁷ In all the tribute given to the NWM, there is little acknowledgement that the Canadian participation in the many global conflicts was not only about peace, but also about positioning Canada in a specific location in the international political sphere.

path reinforces the monument's motility; visitors are compelled to walk through and engage with the dynamism of the monument's form.

Women's Urgent Action chose the site at Minto Park because, according to committee member Donna Johnson (2000), "it is half-way between the police station and the courthouse, two institutions that were failing to protect women" (p. A.17). Kimberly Lulashnyk (1999) describes the monument's location: "close to but separate from the Law Courts and Parliament Hill tucked into Minto Park on Ottawa's busy Elgin Street, the Monument comments on the need for women to continuously monitor and react to the two fundamental institutions which are sites of patriarchal power and privilege" (p. 35). Minto Park is also only a few blocks away from Ottawa's ceremonial 'Confederation Boulevard' making it within a short walking distance and nearly visible from the National War Memorial. This location allows 'Enclave' to speak to the absence or merely allegorical presence of women in Ottawa's arena of pomp and commemoration.

I understand the monument as paradoxically located strategically between prominent institutions and somehow "tucked" away. These are both properties of the site that are pronounced in the use of the monument⁵⁸. While the monument's location in Minto Park was the result of a strategic move of the Committee, it also placed the monument in a historic region marked by intimacy and domesticity. The tone of Minto Park is qualitatively different from both the pomp of Confederation Square and the urbanity of the CTHR's home. Minto Park was the result of proposals by members of the City's Board of Park Management in 1898; a few members of the Board lived in homes that faced the empty lot. Lumber baron J.R. Booth, the owner of the land, offered to sell the land with the condition that "the property shall be used only for a public park for all time and for no other purposes whatsoever" (Ottawa Public Library, Ottawa Room, vertical files. City of Ottawa, report from Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, June 20, 1986, p. 62). The park was designed to be an ornamental park, with trees and planting beds, "to be enjoyed for its visual appeal rather than for active recreation"

⁵⁸The Women's Monument Committee submitted a proposal with the city to allow for the placement of Enclave in Minto Park in March, 1992. In September, the Department of Recreation and Culture, of the City of Ottawa, recommended that approval be granted. In their executive report, the department detailed the impacts of this approval: "By approving this request the City will be recognizing and supporting community efforts to raise awareness of the issue of women's safety, violence against women and for promoting zero tolerance of violence" (2). The City accepted annual maintenance responsibility for the monument, adding \$200 to their annual budget for this use. (Ottawa Public Library, Ottawa Room. Vertical file: Minto Park. Memo From: Department of Recreation and Culture, September 30, 1992.)

(“Minto Park” 2009, p.4). The buildings surrounding the park were all built between 1892 and 1906, and are representative of turn of the century architecture. As of 1986, the pathway, beds and some of the trees were taken from the original 1898 design (ibid). The park’s sign reads “Established 1899” and a plaque articulates this history. The monument exists, seems to be nestled, within this residential, Edwardian, flower-bed adorned context.

In its domesticity, the space is already felt as suburban and stereotypically feminine in contrast to the highly public, official site of the CTHR. Susan Saegart (1980) has suggested that culturally, “Urban life and men tend to be thought of as more aggressive, assertive, definers of important world events, intellectual, powerful, active, and sometimes dangerous. Women and suburbs share domesticity, repose, closeness to nature, lack of seriousness, mindlessness, and safety” (pp. S96-S97). The space can be understood as feminine and suburban through the garden landscaping. In her study of late nineteenth century impressionist painting by female artists, Griselda Pollock (2000) suggests that despite being outdoors, settings like gardens were also feminized as places of “seclusion and enclosure” (p. 159). The Cultural Memory Group (2006) also demonstrate that monuments to women murdered by men often incorporate trees or other natural objects, reinforcing relationships between the feminine, nature and suburbia (p. 22)⁵⁹.

For both Pollock and Saegart, these gendered, spatial distinctions are convenient fictions that are constantly challenged by women. Saegart (1980) argues that it is suburban men and urban women who are in fact most happy with their living spaces. Pollock (2000) argues that the gendered spatialisations are one of the key myths of modernity, a myth that structures how men and women orient themselves within city and domestic spaces. She writes, “The spaces of femininity are those from which femininity is lived as a positionality in discourse and social practice. They are the product of a lived sense of social locatedness, mobility and visibility, in the social relations of seeing and being seen” (p. 161). The idea of a domesticated urban environment is also complicated by the reality that for many women, the streets are not ephemeral places that are moved through, but are equally sites of work and of dwelling.

While Minto Park allows for the monument’s visibility and is a walking distance to other key monuments and institutions in the region, the monument has not been embraced by Ottawa’s tourism industry. It is neither publicized in National Capital Commission publications, nor is it

⁵⁹ Gardens and nature have also been historically associated with Aboriginality (see Francis 1997).

on the routes of walking or bus tours. This discrepancy has been noted by one of the monument's designers c.j. fleury who still argues that it is a neglected monument in the public imagination, in particular in the tourist branding by such institutions as the National Capital Commission. She states:

It's the silent one that doesn't get written up about in NCC pamphlets, what's that about? ... Why isn't it in any of the tourist things? Half of the people that come to town are female. Why don't people think that people wouldn't want to go there and see that? And lay a flower or say a prayer for somebody they know. Have a moment of safety within those walls of the Enclave (c.j. fleury, personal communications, April 6, 2009).

In discussing the publication of their brochure "Street Smarts", NCC employee Janet McGowan explains that when they decide which monuments and art pieces to include in the brochure they concentrate "on the more important ones or the more interesting ones... And we also just ran out of space. We concentrate on the Confederation Boulevard area" (personal communications, February 19, 2010). Through the absence of Enclave in their promotional material, this monument is officially considered less interesting or significant than the monument to Terry Fox or the Dancing Bear sculpture. Women are made both physically and symbolically invisible.

The public domesticity of Minto Park is challenged during the many animations of the monument. The domesticity of Minto Park is also further problematized during the Clothesline Project—a violence against women information event where participants are encouraged to represent their domestic 'dirty laundry' to the public in the form of t-shirts with anti-violence against women messages. This project will be elaborated on further in the next Chapter.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Enclave and CTHR are both active monuments in Ottawa's urban environment. They are appropriated as both sites of dwelling—enclaves and houses, exterior 'domestic' spaces. They are also, in their abstract forms, anthropomorphized. The concrete columns and the woman-shaped boulder articulate that monuments can be imbued with a certain 'fleshly' quality. This is a quality which simultaneously allows and limits engagements by others. The monuments also both accrue their ability to act through their locations in their urban environment. The CTHR is designed as an undoing or un-tethering of the NWM which is in its

sightline. Enclave, in the historic Minto Park, is simultaneously nestled in a suburban-like park and in close proximity to other institutions to which the monument speaks.

Chapter 9: The Protest March and the Motility of Monuments: Unsettling belonging on Elgin Street.

Armed with a piece of chalk, children can turn public sidewalks into private game boards that block pedestrian traffic. Armed with a can of spray paint, teenagers can turn the wall of public buildings and highway overpasses into private billboards. Armed with society's tacit approval, men can turn allegedly public city streets into a private male jungle where women are excluded or in the words of the poet Marge Piercy, 'stalked like the tame pheasants who are hand-raised and then turned loose for hunters to shoot, an activity called sport' (Weisman 1992, p. 67).

Protest marches are like chalk drawings. They are ephemeral markings on the urban environment that express hope for other ways of living or belonging to the city. While protest marches often embrace a sense of play like chalk drawings, they are also marked by political purpose and a sense of urgency. For feminists (as demonstrated in this Chapter) protest marches are also often responses to collective feelings or understandings of the city as a jungle for male prowling (what the 19th century writers called *flanerie*).

On a recent trip to New York City, over three days of *flanerie*, wandering the streets and taking in the monuments, I was most struck by a monument of sorts on Broadway. Set into the sidewalk are bronze plaques with a single title and a date: "August 27, 1926 Gertrude Ederle, First woman to swim the English Channel", "April 7, 1952 Juliana Queen of the Netherlands and Prince Bernhard", "October 19, 1977 New York Yankees, World Series Champions". Memorialized here are the countless parades of Broadway's history. This sort of monument struck me as an effective way of marking the role of the street in witnessing and acting in the city's many celebrations; it is a commemoration of mass public mobilities through the city. In this Chapter, I posit Elgin Street as Ottawa's Broadway; however, instead of parades to celebrate hockey wins⁶⁰ or first transatlantic flights, the marches on Elgin Street are to protest violence

⁶⁰ During one rare winning streak for the Ottawa Senators, Elgin Street was briefly considered to be a "red mile" of hockey celebrations.

against women, police harassment of sex workers, violence against trans-people, are fund-raising and attention-raising marches for people living with AIDS, or are pro-life and pro-choice agitations. Unlike the monument on Broadway, the marches detailed in this Chapter demonstrate challenges to the dominant spatial narratives of the city. The marches demonstrate that the dominant narratives of Ottawa as the capital city is a site to celebrate Canadian virtues are not immune to challenge.

In Chapter 3, I gave a thorough history of the site of the National War Memorial, Confederation Square, a square that accrues its significance, in part, by being at the head of Elgin Street⁶¹. The main boulevard in Ottawa, Elgin Street is the result of great razing of urban infrastructure, the widening of the northern end of the street, and other developments that began in the 1920s. Elgin Street has been a pivotal arm of the National Capital Commission's (NCC) "Confederation Boulevard" ("Canada's Capital Commemoration Strategic Plan" 2006, p. 5). While the National War Memorial (NWM) fulfills its duty of producing a site of national prominence, two other sites: the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and "Enclave": The Women's Monument disrupt what may have been Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King's singular vision for the capital and for the street. The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights (CTHR) and "Enclave": The Women's Monument (which I will henceforth shorten simply to Enclave), produce spaces on Elgin Street that challenge the seemingly didactic call to patriotism of the NWM.

In this Chapter, I discuss the relationship between flanerie, the protest march and unmapping, through exploring feminist, queer and various other marches that engage CTHR, Enclave or both as means of animating Elgin Street. I argue that through these protest marches and other animations, the affective capacities of the CTHR and Enclave are mobilized, and the pedagogic and other symbolic meanings of Elgin Street are challenged. While (as argued in Chapters 3 and 4) the National War Memorial at Confederation Square produces affective relationships to Canadian nationalism through tropes of imperial nostalgia, the CTHR and Enclave produce different affective ties to Elgin Street. Through these monuments we understand Ottawa as a place of belonging *and* discomfort, a site where women are victims of

⁶¹ The fact that Elgin Street rather than Metcalfe Street- the street which ends facing Parliament Hill, has created a lot of frustration for many urban planners and politicians.

domestic and public violence, a site where queer and transgendered people need to actively produce modes of belonging.

Take Back the Night

Because so many marches visit both Enclave and CTHR, the ethnographic material lent itself to organization into thematic clusters. I begin by exploring the two annual events that begin at Enclave orchestrated by the community group Women's Event Network: the Take Back the Night march and the Clothesline Project. I continue with an exploration of how pro-choice and anti-choice agitations, as well as other rallies in support of safe streets for women and queer populations remake these monumental and urban spaces. I then explore protests of the GLBT and trans communities. This is not a comprehensive study of all rallies and marches that happen in Ottawa. Rather, the protests and rallies that I am detailing suggest how both the monuments and the actors work to produce spaces marked by specific feminist and queer sensibilities.

Many feminist, queer and gender struggle marches tread the short path from CTHR to Enclave. On the evening of September 25, 2009, there was a festive buzz in Minto Park. A crowd of 250 to 300 people mostly women, was mingling. Young women in roller derby gear, university students, older pristinely dressed women and young children all had clappers and horns in hand. Banners were admired and chant sheets were distributed. We waited for the opening speeches and ceremonies for the annual Take Back the Night (TBTN) march. While there is much dancing and yelling, there are few tears. The central pulse of this buzz and celebration is Enclave. A podium had been set up beside the monument. Before the speeches, two Aboriginal women sprinkled tobacco on the stones marking the murdered women.

As the rally began, speakers took to the podium. The speakers paid homage to the recently deceased and much loved Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar, advocated for transgender issues, and spoke out against a new Bill C-484 that proposed stricter penalties for assaulting pregnant women, the "Unborn Victims of Crime Act", understanding the Bill as potentially leading to the erosion of abortion rights. One speaker announced an upcoming rally in the park to protest Bill C-484. In all of these speeches, situated at the monument, no mention of Enclave, or what it stood for was made. However the tone of the speeches, angry but respectful matched the urgency embodied in the monument. As the huge crowd left for the march, a handful of people came to read and study the monument. No one walked on the grass inside the circle suggesting a

sort of reverence for the space. Some people did fulfill the artists' intents and touched the names on the women's markers.

While TBTN has a longer history in Ottawa, since 1992, Enclave has figured centrally to this rally and march. Valerie Collicott, a member of the Women's Event Network, explained that TBTN typically involves thirty minutes of speeches at the site of Enclave, an interactive activity to get marchers enthused, and a march. She explains,

The first years we did TBTN, or the first years I was involved we did sort of this little rectangle. We went up Elgin, down Laurier, down Bank, along Gladstone and back to Elgin- back up to City Hall. But you know what—there was nobody around on that march route. We just felt that we were not being seen, so what's the point? So then we decided, so let's take this march where people are. We wanted to be seen and we wanted to be heard. So we decided to march into the market. So now we go up Elgin Street and we go down Rideau and we do a piece of the market, we can't do all of it. We go up Dalhousie Street, along York usually. And one of the things on York, there are a lot of strip clubs along there right, so we want to go right by where some of these more offensive spots are. And we've tried a couple of different approaches (personal communications, February 4th, 2010).

The march winds past places of sex work. This idea has a provenance. Leslie Weisman (1992) details that many early feminist marches in the United States were planned to march down "porno-strips" in various cities (p. 79). Protest marches are active forms of challenging dominant spatialisations as activists, through their marching, recognize relationships between place, identity, and belonging. Protest marches mark these relationships and attempt to suggest other possible relationships. Through the march, women and allied men argue that women can interact with the city streets as active agents, producing safe spaces, rather than as subjects of exploitation, or women relegated to the domestic realm.

Flanerie and the Protest March

What understandings become available when the feminist and activist protest march is positioned as analogous to, or as a protest for the right to flanerie? In the early 20th century, writings on the city, by taking up Charles Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin and others scholars consistently suggest that women in the city are marked by their sex. That is, if the city is a site of unbridled potential, adventure, and stimulation for men, then women in the city are understood to

be one source of those adventures—representing potential sexual experiences. The flaneur, as imagined by Baudelaire and Benjamin is the single, confident man, strolling, at ease (Tester 1994; Nord 1991). However, some feminist writers suggest that the city is not only a site of sexual victimization and threat for women, but is also a site for forging potential new identities and having adventures. While the flaneur strolled alone, women found their possibilities in the urban crowd. Elizabeth Wilson (2000) explains:

There were women as well as men in the urban crowd. Indeed the crowd was increasingly invested with female characteristics, while retaining its association with criminals and minorities. The threatening masses were described in feminine terms: as hysterical, or, in images of feminine instability and sexuality, as a flood or swamp. Like women, crowds were liable to rush to extremes of emotion... At the heart of the urban labyrinth lurked not the Minotaur, a bull-like male monster, but the female Sphinx, the ‘strangling one’, who was so called because she strangled all those who could not answer her riddle: female sexuality, womanhood out of control, lost nature, loss of identity (p. 151).

Wilson suggests that the crowd has historically allowed women specific opportunities for using urban spaces. She continues to suggest that while the city is masculine in its triumphant architecture, the city is also feminine in its labyrinthine confusion and lack of centre. Crucially, Wilson challenges dominant understandings of men as the natural occupiers of the public realm and women the natural occupiers of the private realm. Women, traditionally denied opportunities to stroll alone at ease in the city streets, take up the streets both in the non-centered, confused, accidental form of “feminine” crowds, but also collectively and defiantly in the various protest marches, adding to the confusion and chaos of the city. The feminist and activist protest march, as a crowd snaking through the city, chaotically gaining and losing members, stopping traffic, adding joy to joyless streets, grieving in otherwise blasé parks, confuses the masculine order and rigidity of the city⁶².

Through protest marches like Take Back the Night, bodies are coordinated to engage with the urban infrastructure, monuments, and each other, remaking the urban, the sites, and the idea of a public. In her study of the physicality of protest, Susan Leigh Foster (2003) suggests that a body in protest is “a vast reservoir of signs and symbols... capable of both persuasion and

⁶² This is not to suggest that crowds and protests marches also don’t do a lot of other things to and in the city, like reinforce male authority or dominant understandings of urban belonging. Hockey riots and patriotic parades, for example enact quite qualitatively different take-over of the city streets.

obstinate recalcitrance” (p. 395). Rejecting understandings of bodies as docile and easily vulnerable to the persuasions of a crowd, Foster suggests that social protest takes place through very specifically planned and embodied choreography. She studies how in the 1960 Greensboro, North Carolina lunch counter sit-ins, black protestors developed specific bodily comportments as part of their protest; sitting up straight, dressing professionally, refusing to laugh or talk back, reading textbooks rather than magazines. She also explores how bodily comportment was choreographed at AIDS activists’ “Die-ins” in the 1980s and 1990s and global justice movement protests in the 1990s, 2000s. She (2003) concludes that the efficacy of the protests comes from a deliberate physical coordination: “It instilled the potential to feel connected as a community of bodies partaking in a common effort. Rather than transcending cultural and historical specificities, these protestors’ practice of nonviolence, instantiated differently in each political setting, built an articulated network of resistance” (p. 410).

A protest march, unlike the disinterested flaner^{ie} of Baudelaire’s male protagonists, is a deliberate take-over of the streets. The route is designed for both maximum and specific visibility. The women marching are to be seen by certain city dwellers, in particular the patrons of strip clubs. The women (and men) walk slowly; however, unlike the stroll of the flaneur walking his tortoise, when the women march, their gait is aggressive, matched by the slogans that are collectively chanted.

At Minto Park, on a September evening 2008, organizers were distributing chant sheets including a variety of bilingual (French/ English) rally cries:

Women/ United/ Will never be defeated!

Hey Mister! Get your hands off my sister!

Yes means yes/ No means no/ However we dress/ Wherever we go.

Take back the night/ the time is near/ we will not be controlled by fear.

Chants predominantly demand safety for women to be able to occupy the streets. However, chants also demand public spaces that are free of homophobia and racism: for example, “Sexist/ rapists/ anti-gay/ don’t you take our night away.” or, “Old/ young/ black/ white/ all unite for women’s rights”. In this moment, the somber tone of *Enclave* with its funereal markers is challenged through the collective, rhythmic chants that hope for a present and future distinct from the violent past that is simultaneously mourned.

Choice, Rights, Access

Since its unveiling, the CTHR has become a central site for both pro-life and pro-choice groups. The annual pro-life “National March for Life” is part of a three-day event, which has been taking place since 1998 to mark the anniversary of the passing of the 1969 bill in Parliament which opened up the legalization of abortion. March 13th, the first night, is marked with a mass, then a candlelight vigil at the CTHR. On the 14th, after another mass and prayer service, the participants gather at Parliament Hill and then march through downtown Ottawa. The third day is a youth conference at a hotel (*Exodus 2009* n.d., n.p). In response to this annual event, pro-choice activists in Ottawa march for choice. In these protests, the meaning of Equality, Dignity, Rights upheld by the concrete columns is imbued with oppositional meanings as both groups adopt the symbol to represent their stance on abortion.

On June 2nd, 2009, I wandered up to the CTHR to attend a vigil to honour Dr. George Tiller, a Kansas doctor who performed abortions, including late-term abortions. After decades of performing abortions (since 1973) in the face of frequent threats on his life, he was fatally shot at his church on May 31st, 2009. The murder was understood as an attack on the pro-choice movement. In Ottawa, pro-choice activists quickly organized a vigil. Upon arriving at the monument that evening, I saw that the monument had already been reproduced as a stage and gallery. Placards were affixed to the concrete beams reading “We are Pro-Choice” and “Dr. George Tiller. We continue on in his honour.” There were also portraits of Tiller and flowers attached to the monument. The ledge of the monument was lined with votive candles. In this moment, the concrete anthropomorphic columns become animated as sympathetic bodies collaborating in a vigil mourning Dr. Tiller’s death and agitating for women’s’ rights over their own bodies.



Figure 26—Dr. Tiller vigil. Credit Davidson, 2009.

Since its founding in 2008, the activist group POWER: Prostitutes of Ottawa/Gatineau: Work, Educate, Resist, has occupied the CTHR annually on December 17th, the International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers. When I attended the vigil and march on December 17th, 2008 I was in a crowd of fifty supporters, many carrying signs with slogans like “sex work is real work,” and red umbrellas. I learned later that the red umbrella is an international symbol of sex worker activists— red chosen because it’s a colour of beauty and the umbrella a symbol of protection from both natural and human attacks (“Red Umbrella Campaigns” 2006, p. 4). The speakers rallied the crowd, discussing police harassment⁶³.

After the speeches and a moment of silence, the crowd marched to the Ottawa Police Station located about a dozen blocks down Elgin Street. Standing across the street from the station we stood chanting “shame, shame.” In this moment, the CTHR facilitated the visible, defiant and deliberate take-over of ceremonial Elgin Street by some of the city’s most vulnerable inhabitants and their allies.

⁶³ Specifically the protesters were challenging the establishment of a nine-person unit that focused on street crime, in particular prostitution. A recent Power publication (n.d.) explains their arguments: In a 2006 study, Ottawa street sex workers spoke of violence at the hands of police as well as a consistent failure of the police to attend to their victimization. Moreover the Ottawa Police services are actively engaged in disseminating misinformation, such as the assertion that sex workers are responsible for the spread of STIs, including HIV. Falsehoods such as these feed police apathy about violence against sex workers (“Power’s Sex Work Fact Sheet, p. 1).

Other feminist protests emerge from specific instances of injustice calling for immediate mobilization. One such incident happened in the summer of 2010. On July 4th, 2010, a woman who had been sexually assaulted was brought to the emergency room of the Ottawa Civic Hospital by police officers to receive a rape kit—the procedure which procures evidence for a criminal case. Women who come to the hospital after being raped also receive the morning-after pill and anti-virals to help ward off STIs. However, on July 4th, none of the specifically trained nurses at the Sexual Assault and Partner Abuse Care Program at the Civic hospital were on duty, as a result, the woman was asked to either return in the morning (and abstain from showering and washing away evidence) or drive to a hospital in the rural town of Renfrew (Taylor 2010, p. A.1). The lack of services for this woman, and what many people understood as the appalling suggestion that she abstain from showering or travel significant distances to obtain services led to local outrage, and a week and half after the incident a rally and protest march had been organized.

When I arrived at the CTHR at noon on July 12th, there was already a crowd of nearly one hundred women and men. Many in the crowd were holding placards responding directly to the recent incident at the Civic Hospital: “Womyn need reliable services,” “Sorry doesn’t change what happened,” “Sexual Assault Support Centre: We ARE Asking for it,” and “Sending womyn home is re-victimizing women.” The frequently reproduced “No Means No” poster had been made into a placard, and two women were holding a bright, colourful PCCO banner (Pro-Choice Coalition of Ottawa). Another placard read: “8 sexual assaults a day is NOT ok” referencing a statistic from the Ottawa Police (Tong 2010, p. 2). People had gathered to the north of the monument; some organizers had used the monument as a place to set up some containers of drinking water. I watched as a man brought his young daughter to talk to the protestors, “I want her to know, I think it’s important for her to know what’s going on here” he tells them.

The rally began when a speaker took the microphone. She insisted that the event was a grassroots event, put together in only a few days, representing that people can be mobilized and do care. The MC insisted that people were listening to women. The speaker recognized and applauded the presence of mainstream media in the audience, encouraging people to share their stories if they felt so compelled (not to be coerced). Many sexual assault workers spoke. A leader from Carleton’s Graduate Students’ Association spoke about the difficulties

of creating a Sexual Assault support centre on campus. Unlike other rallies protesting violence against women, this rally, in response to the Ottawa Civic Hospital incident, was specifically agitating for improved and consistent services for women who experience sexual violence.

The rally at the CTHR led to a short protest march to Enclave, a distance of only a few blocks along Elgin Street, or five minutes. The crowd marched slowly and loudly, performing chants familiar to violence against women activists: “Hey mister, get your hands off my sister” “Whose streets? Our streets!” “La rue, la nuit, les femmes sans peur.” We arrived at Enclave, following the paved, curved path through Minto Park. The crowd continued to chant for a few minutes, facing the monument, before organizers re-commenced speeches. The speeches at Enclave had a different tone from the politically agitated speeches at CTHR. At Enclave, women spoke about their personal experiences with sexual assault. One young woman spoke of her positive experiences with sexual assault support workers. Both Enclave and CTHR offer sites that allowed for the generation of these feminist mobilities, activist moments that produce different narratives of place-making on Elgin Street. Rather than a ceremonial boulevard, through these marches re-produce the space of Elgin Street as a site of exclusion for women, and for sex workers. While the pro-choice and pro-life marches demonstrate the fluidity of meaning of the CTHR.

The Clothesline Project

An annual event that takes place at Minto Park organized by the Women’s Event Network is the Clothesline Project. While the Clothesline Project doesn’t engage specifically with Enclave, its location in Minto Park produces the site as a place of feminist activism. The Clothesline Project works to destabilize the domesticity of Minto Park (see Chapter 8). While Enclave is a site of grieving, the Clothesline Project transforms this site into a place for agitation; working for change. Like the protest marches, the Clothesline Project makes Enclave affectively mobile, as violence against women activists take over the park and flood into the streets.

The Clothesline Project is organized for a weekend day in late May or early June and has been an annual event since the 1990s. It is based on a similar event that began in Cape Cod, Massachusetts in 1990. Inspired by the AIDS Memorial Quilt, visual artist Rachel Carey-Harper imagined that t-shirts, hung on a clothesline, could be an apt and effective way of raising

awareness about violence against women. This is a specifically female form of protest because: “Doing the laundry was always considered women's work and in the days of close-knit neighborhoods women often exchanged information over backyard fences while hanging their clothes out to dry” (“The Clothesline Project: History” n.d, para 3).

When I arrived at Minto Park to participate in the Clothesline Project on May 30, 2010, I was initially struck by the visual impact of the event. The entire west end of the park was fluttering with t-shirts blowing in the breeze, children's t-shirts, adult t-shirts, all colourful with paint, words, portraits. The clotheslines, which crisscrossed the western half of the park, produced an urban laundry labyrinth. Two “entrances” to the park at the west end, had tables with volunteers handing out programs for the event and selling tickets for a raffle.

Collicott explains, “the idea of putting these t-shirts out in public, and of course being at the monument it's a really powerful connection. And we spread out too, from the monument, we try to use as much of the park as we can” (personal communications, February 4th, 2010). Like the TBTN rally and march, the connection to the monument is more implied and symbolic than an actual, material engagement. Enclave offers a serene site of contemplation, a counterpoint to the fair-like atmosphere at the other end of the small park. The “craft and zine fair” included a line-up of five bands that played all day in a set-up just north of the San Jose de Martin bust. The event also included a series of workshops, teaching participants how to garden by sprouting, engage in stencil printing, and make music by beat boxing.

The Clothesline Project has similarities to both the NAMES Project, which is the AIDS Memorial Quilt in the United States, and the Living Healing Quilt Project in Canada, a storytelling quilt that was made during the Truth and Reconciliation Process addressing Aboriginal residential schools in Canada⁶⁴. Kirsty Robertson (2009) discussing the Truth and Reconciliation quilt explains that “Reminiscent of domesticity, tradition, and female labour, quilts have their own history that makes them ideal documents through which to imagine peoples sewn together and unraveled” (p. 95). In one sense, activist quilts shock viewers because the usually domestic, comforting textile is appropriated to express rage and grief. The activist quilts

⁶⁴ However, like the Clothesline Project, Enclave has also been compared to the Aids Memorial Quilt, because of its history as a collaborative art project (Lulashnyk 1999: 37). In an interview, c.j. fleury describes her artistic practice as the beginning of community conversations “I don't want only to make something... in general I want to start the discussion before the thing is made and I want the making of the thing--- the 'OBJECT' -- to be something that just came out through the relation. The conversation made plastic one day” (fleury on Lulashnyk 199, p. 37).

both relied on the participation of many to contribute individual quilted squares. The quilts also travel. In the case of the Living Healing Quilt Project, the quilt was used during the truth and reconciliation process as a storytelling device. There is also a connection, with the NAMES project between the quilt and protest marches. Kirsty Robertson (2009) explains, In an oft-repeated story, AIDS quilt founder Cleve Jones asked those marching in the 1985 annual Harvey Milk memorial parade in San Francisco to carry signs, each printed with the name of someone they knew who had died of AIDS. The signs, pinned to a wall at the end of the parade, resembled a patchwork quilt, creating the kernel of an idea that turned into one of the most well-known memorial projects in the world (p. 96).

The Clothesline Project shares some of the affective and symbolic power of the activist quilts. Laundry is similarly associated with a comfortable, safe and intimate domesticity. However, the messages on the t-shirts challenge assumptions about domestic safety. Some have bold, clear messages like “Violence is not a ‘women’s issue.’ Men can stop violence,” “Women’s rights are human rights” and “It’s not My fault”, “What do we want? Equality. When do we want it? Now.” Other t-shirts have been painted images of crying women, hopeful images of flowers, defiant images of the feminist fist symbol.



Figure 27— “The Clothesline Project” May 2010. Credit: Davidson

The Clothesline Project is also both mobile and the result of public participation. The Clothesline Project works like a collaborative textile exhibition that destabilizes understandings

of the personal, the domestic and the meaning of safety. The Project serves to make mobile the energy and symbolic resources that have been invested in Enclave.

A battle cry for the violence against women movement is “first mourn, and then work for change”. Events like TBTN and the Clothesline Project are both articulations of the movement’s second goal—to work for change. Both of these events are situated at, but less closely tied to Enclave, a space that is dominated by its ontology as a site for mourning. Both of these events represent a spatial take-over of other parts of the city—city streets in the case of TBTN, an afternoon in the park in the case of the Clothesline Project.

Queering Ottawa

There is no gay village in Ottawa, the absence of which Patrizia Gentile (2010) calls “jarring” (p. 208). In 2009, an organization, “The Gay Guerilla Takeover” emerged in response to the lack of queer positive public spaces. The group “takes over” an otherwise predominantly heterosexual night club once a month, using the ‘guerilla’ tactics of showing up en masse, being queer, and refusing to censor themselves (Islas 2009, p. 8). Queer presences in Ottawa take forms that are responsive to Ottawa’s position as the national capital. As the capital city, Ottawa is a site where challenges to homophobic or discriminatory legislation can be made loudly and persuasively on Parliament Hill. However, as Patrizia Gentile has demonstrated, queer space has historically been heavily policed in Ottawa as government bodies worked to produce sanitized and heteronormative city spaces. Gentile (2010) explains, “Important constraints on the development of these social-sexual spaces included the policing of gay sex in the city, the national security campaigns themselves, the social organization of housing, the regulation of bars and establishments, as well as the character of the city as the seat of Canada’s capital” (p. 194). Despite histories of policing in the guise of national security campaigns, Gentile details that from then 1950s to the 1970s, many central spaces like the Chateau Laurier, the Lord Elgin Hotel, Major’s Hill Park and the former Union Station were common gay cruising zones (p. 196). In this way, like women, queer people in Ottawa occupy “paradoxical space” (Rose 1993). Historically queer people simultaneously occupied central places in Ottawa however this occupation was hidden and ephemeral. Today, ephemeral, yet visible queer presences are mobilized through and around the CTHR and Enclave.

At the beginning of my fieldwork I found a poster affixed to an announcement board in a local café advertising “Dyke March 2008”. The poster announced that a rally and march were to begin at 2pm at the Human Rights Monument, and at 3pm, a Queer Family Picnic and Concert were to be held at Minto Park (the location of Enclave). The poster listed the musical guests and spoken word artists that were going to perform. The colourful poster included a collage of images of women of various sizes, some topless, kissing, waving pride flags, dancing and flexing their biceps. The text at the poster’s bottom read, “Take to the streets. Stand up for queer women’s rights. Celebrate our lives and our families”. The poster did not mention ‘Enclave’ explicitly, but in detailing a march route beginning at the CTHR and ending at Minto Park, the poster described this common activist route. The poster for Dyke March 2008 and the event itself offered a vibrant, dynamic contrast to the somber tones and impetus for Enclave. In this rally, the mourning and anger generated by violence against women are met by strength and celebration in life. This contrast of meeting violence and death with vibrancy and life is strikingly different than popular engagements with the National War Memorial, where gatherings have become consistently and uniformly somber (see Chapter 5).

The CTHR has been a frequent site of agitation, mourning and celebration for Ottawa’s GLBT and ally community. In 1994, the Ontario Government was in the process of passing Bill 167, a bill that would give same-sex couples the rights to receive spousal support and to adopt children. While one Catholic Church, St. Patrick’s gave their parishioners’ advice on how to petition their MPPs to denounce the bill, a group of United, Anglican and Lutheran congregations met at the CTHR to support the Bill (Davis- Barron 1994, p. B.1). The annual AIDS Walk for Life, a candlelight walk and vigil that happens every September, starts at Marion Dewar Plaza in front of City Hall, stops at the CTHR, and continues through Ottawa’s downtown and past Parliament (“Aids Walk for Life” n.d., n.p.).

Both CTHR and Enclave have also been included in Ottawa’s Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR). The TDOR is both a day of mourning as members of the community highlight and mourn the tragic murders of trans people, and a day of celebration, when members of the community commemorate strides that have been made in trans-acceptance, increased services to trans-people, etc. In 2010, the TDOR was significant because the trans community was celebrating the reading of Bill C-389, an act to amend the Canadian Human Rights Act and Canadian Criminal Code to include “gender identity” and “gender expression” as fundamental

human rights (the Bill was passed the following February). The Day also marked the first time that Ottawa Police services were going to be actively involved as the TDOR flag was raised at the police station. The Day of Remembrance included the flag-raising, a march to Parliament Hill, and a vigil at the CTHR in the evening. Because some didn't feel comfortable meeting at the police station, due to historic bad experiences with police harassment, an alternative march starting spot was arranged at Minto Park (Fagan 2010, para 1). Readers may, by now, have come to recognize that there is a well-paved parade or protest march route in Ottawa; during the TDOR the police station, the women's monument at Minto Park, Parliament Hill and then CTHR for an evening vigil are all marked as sites of commemorative or rallying significance.

Conclusion

Mid-way through my fieldwork in Ottawa, I joined many other Ottawa women in being shocked and disgusted by a new series of advertisements that were plastered on many Ottawa bus stops. The ads featured young, pregnant women with glum facial expressions. At first glance, I assumed the ads were for Planned Parenthood, or maybe a pro-life organization. The accompanying text revealed an entirely different agenda. In 'rock and roll' font the ads read: "Lock up your daughters, the Gods of Rock are now in Ottawa." The advertisements were for the radio station Virgin Radio. A feminist protest against the advertisements ensued as women argued that the ads not only condoned the sexual exploitation of young women but employed this exploitation as a source of humour. Shortly after the advertisements emerged, in February 2009, university student Laura Sparling launched a campaign demanding their removal. She wrote in a letter to the editor,

The ads support the notion of women as property that can and should be supervised, controlled, and even locked up. They suggest that controlling women is the solution to teen pregnancy. They imply that women are not educated enough to make informed decisions about sexual health. And besides being a slap in the face of all women, the ads are also insulting to men as they portray men as potential sexual predators. Lastly, these ads reinforce the idea that all good music is produced by men rather than including 'goddesses of rock' (Sparling 2009, p. A.19).

She continued with an online petition that led to the removal of the advertisements just a few weeks later (Drudi & Kennedy 2009, p. C.8)

Confronted by at least three of these ads on my walk from my Centretown house to Elgin Street, I was also struck by how these advertisements produced sexist gender ideals in the urban space that contrasted the active protests that took place on Elgin Street. Advertisements placed at bus stops to be confronted by pedestrians and drivers in vehicles, are distinct from magazine or television ads. Because they are situated in public spaces and in sites of urban mobility (at bus stops), the billboards produced instruction for young women on how to belong in the city. A pedestrian or bus user, regardless of their gender, is constantly instructed that women, particularly young women, would be safer off the streets. Second, the advertisements hail the fathers of young women, reinforcing ideas of female passivity and urban ineptitude. Third, the injunction to “lock up” young women stresses female lack of control over their own sexuality, and their incapacity to negotiate urban spaces, both the streets in which the ads are posted and the concerts to which they may come in contact with these “rock gods.” Fourth, considering the lack of agency depicted and the women’s gloomy expressions, the assumed coercion of the sexual activity produces representations of sexual violence as ‘humour.’ The “Lock up your daughters” advertisement campaign is, in many ways, an exact contrast to the feminist and activist protests in this Chapter. These many feminist and activist marches and the sexist bus stop ads and the backlash they inspired articulate two ways in which the city is both made and remade, on the ground, and in materially mobile forms.

The CTHR and Enclave are not divorced from their urban contexts. Both of their sites were deliberately chosen to allow for conversation with other sites of significance in Ottawa. Through the various protest marches I have detailed, both Enclave and CTHR become mobile, liquid sites that protestors march to, through, and around. The poignancy of their central message: to stop violence against women, to honour human rights, is realized through the mass footsteps from the monuments to other sites of significance, like the police station, and Parliament Hill. While the monument is fixed materially in place, virtually the affects that are inspired are mobilized throughout the city. Through protest, violence against women, and the persuasive, discursive and material productions of the city streets as masculine are challenged as women, en masse, protest for safer streets for women, improved social services following sexual assaults, and freedom to choose what to do with their bodies. In a similar way, queer and transgendered bodies animate both monuments to challenge strict gender norms and heteronormativity.

Chapter: Conclusion

Ottawa, as Canada's capital city, is a central site for citizens to perform and learn how to be public citizens. Public citizenship is an affective engagement with an 'imagined community.' Ottawa's monuments are central to both tourist and citizen understandings of themselves in relation to Canada as a nation. The National War Memorial and the Scout and Champlain monuments both offer specific understandings of citizenship as a relationship to white, male, 'heroes'. Secord's travels enact a gendered journey through Ottawa's ceremonial spaces. The relationships between Enclave and the CTHR and their urban environments demonstrate ways in which individuals and groups can take-up both monuments and the streets to change ideas of public citizenship. Throughout this dissertation I have demonstrated that monuments are both produced as objects to reinforce dominant narratives of the Canadian nation, and are sites where these very narratives are challenged. This is embodied in the CTHR. The monument operates as a visual nod to Canada's present self-image as a liberal, multicultural nation, an evolution from its birth at WW I embodied in the NWM. However, through protest activities, the monument allows for the de-stabilizing of these very narratives, as activists contend that Canada is less than an open, tolerant nation. Similarly, the Scout and Champlain monuments both create and un-do narratives of white colonial mastery over space, as the two monuments are simultaneously engaged as sites of colonial nostalgia and colonial haunting. The monuments allow activists to argue that colonial formations and attachments are still actively held in contemporary Canada, undoing teleological narratives of Canada's present as a modern, inclusive nation.

In this dissertation, I have been simultaneously working through many possible ways to hold together ideas about affect, belonging, ghosts and bodies in relation to a series of monuments in Ottawa. To think through the relationships between belonging and monuments, I have come to understand monuments as both bodies and sites for ghostly conjuring. These are not incompatible ideas, as bodies are central sites for the generation of memories and the sites where haunting are felt. We feel spooked, rather than know cognitively that we are sharing space with other invisible presences. Understanding monuments as both bodies and sites of social haunting has allowed me to think through how monuments enable rather than conceal the presence of other memories and traumas not represented in their built forms. Theoretically and

methodologically, to maintain an understanding of monuments as motile, dynamic beings, I have pursued the practice of unmapping. In this conclusion, I will line up the concepts that I have been developing: unmapping, stone bodies, haunting, and nostalgia and public citizenship, and offer final remarks on how these concepts have been demonstrated through the monuments in this study. I will then conclude with descriptions of the various projects this dissertation has inspired as a series of prequels and sequels.

Unmapping

It is not a coincidence that the cartographer Sanford Fleming was a key figure involved in the production of the 20th century monument to Samuel de Champlain. Building a monument to a triumphant Champlain in the heart of Ottawa confirms contemporary, colonial understandings of place, history and belonging. The monument affirms both Champlain's and Fleming's authority, as well as the authority of white-settler societies who continue to decide how other bodies can circulate within the city and nation. The monument to Champlain is also where I first developed my interest (or love) of monuments. As an undergraduate student in Ottawa, spending ponderous evenings sitting at the base of Champlain, nothing seemed as fixed or certain as Champlain's presence and the greatness of the city he overlooked.

Maps, like the ones charted by Samuel de Champlain and Sanford Fleming, have offered authoritative understandings of place, understandings that were written through their white, male bodies. However, in the maps they have produced bodies are absent. Unmappings attempt to write bodies back into place-making practices, to make obvious relations of power that have dictated how different modes of belonging are possible within human settlements. Unmappings also engage with the anxieties and inconsistencies inherent in colonial, masculinist mapping practices. This project has involved climbing down from Nepean Point, literally (many times) and figuratively. The journey has been both physically and emotionally laborious. I have been required to reconsider the ways in which my love of Ottawa is structured, to the exclusion of many and in the service of particular notions of public citizenship. If mapping is a masculinist, colonial project, unmapping has the potential to be a feminist, postcolonial engagement. In this dissertation, I have attempted to mobilize this potential.

Unmappings take a street-level perspective on the city and embrace mobility. Unmapping requires different cartographic tools. In this dissertation, I offered and employed what I

understand to be appropriate tools for an unmapping practice. Unmapping has taken shape in this dissertation in two key ways. I unmapped the sites of monuments, exploring how monuments accrue their significance in relationship to the ghosts of place already haunting their homes, and in relation to their surrounding urban infrastructure. Second, I engaged in unmapping walking tours by employing both fictitious guides like a fictionalized Laura Secord, and fictionalized cartographic tools like Champlain's lost and found faulty astrolabe.

These unmappings of Ottawa have also been unmappings of monuments. Like maps, monuments can and have asserted colonial, masculinist narratives of public heroics or public mourning. These unmappings of monuments, in their various forms have all worked to demonstrate the discursive and material motility of monuments. The motility of monuments is affected by the histories of, and relationships to their homes. In Chapter 3, I argued that the provenance of the National War Memorial is haunted by the other histories and aborted potentials of Ottawa's central ceremonial site—Confederation Square. The National War Memorial has become increasingly fixed to this site, a fulfillment of multiple sets of desires to place national grief as central to the iconography of Ottawa. Similarly, the motility of the Scout monument has been directly connected to its original placement at Nepean Point, as discussed in Chapter 5. Given a panoramic view of as-yet-unceded Algonquin lands, the Scout's home of Nepean Point, named after a high-status British bureaucrat, was a place over-saturated with colonial meanings and postcolonial hauntings. After the Scout's removal, his absence highlights the abject invisibility of Aboriginal peoples in Ottawa.

In Chapter 8, I explored how Enclave and the CTHR are both informed by the history and location of their homes. In its singularity, Enclave contains a series of material and discursive inclusions and exclusions. Specifically, I suggest that Minto Park is both highly accessible, between key sites of power making (the court houses, police station, Parliament), and is 'tucked away' in a cozy, landscaped park. Minto Park is feminine in contrast to the busy, urban, masculine locations of the NWM and the CTHR. The urban location of the CTHR, a series of columns that is simultaneously bodies and a house, is also a porous urban environment. While Enclave is a site of multiple exclusions, a site of very specific meanings, CTHR is a site of endless openness. These features of CTHR are borne through its location, on Elgin Street, its size, form, and central design feature of a path.

I offered a synthesis of unmapping and narrative ethnography in Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 6 and 7, the cartographer is replaced by the modern figure of the flaneur or flaneuse. With Laura Secord and the imagined, broken astrolabe of Champlain, I have presented narrative ethnographic accounts of Ottawa's built environment from feminist and postcolonial perspectives. I have attempted, within the range of my own limited perspective to demonstrate ways in which unmappings can attend to forgotten, haunting and piercingly painful moments in the built environment. Unmapping colonialism as a descendent of white-settlers wielding a cumbersome inheritance—the astrolabe, I attempted to see, map, explore, what Champlain and his descendents did not see. In this unmapping, I witnessed how Aboriginality is produced as an accessory within a broader narrative of Canada's teleological development as a 'modern nation' in the many allegorical Aboriginal figures and in the moments of commodified Aboriginality exemplified by the transplanted totem poles. This astrolabe also led me to the few moments of symbolic 'repair' or rupture, sites where Aboriginal leaders like Joseph Brant and Aboriginal veterans have been recognized, and leaders like Constant Penency and Poundmaker are ignored. I was also drawn to recognize how the history of Ottawa as Algonquin lands is ignored.

In Chapter 9, Laura Secord allows us to experience a flaneuse-like unmapping of Ottawa's built environment. Through Secord's stroll, we come to understand how belonging in Ottawa is produced as a gendered experience. While men are heroes, women are either unreachable allegories for goodness—angels, or similarly mute allegories for other qualities sitting at the base of monuments to men. Like the unmapping of Aboriginality, this walking tour is also punctured by a few moments of full personhood for women, specifically in the "Women are Persons!" monument.

This strategy of offering fluid unmappings throughout the city is again pursued in Chapter 8 where I develop an understanding of the protest march as a form of defiant flanerier through a study of the relationships between Enclave and the CTHR.

In Chapter 2, I argue that unmapping is a practice that allows both artists and scholars to undo the pervasive place and meaning-making work of traditional mapping practices. Unmapping artists stage interventions in the built environment to make visible invisible histories and populations. Throughout the studies in this dissertation, through methods of archival research (Chapters 3 and 5), narrative ethnography (Chapters 6 and 9) and participant

observation (Chapter 8), I have demonstrated both what scholarly unmapping practices can do and how unmapping illuminates the motility of monuments.

Stone Bodies

Why are there so many figurative statues? Susan Hart (2006) offer this explanation for the popularity of bronze portrait statues: “One may relate the ongoing popularity of naturalistic figurative sculpture to a number of factors: it is a familiar type of monument; it is legible—readily understood and approachable: it is easy to identify with” (7). While I agree with Hart’s assessment, and a political economy of monument building in Ottawa would also reveal that many monument funders request figurative monuments for precisely these reasons, I would also suggest that the popularity of figurative sculpture inspires particular responses because of the affective capacities of placing human-like figures in urban environments. Defacing acts like urination and graffiti have a specific charge when directed towards human-like figures. However, I have also argued that other monuments act as bodies in how they stand-in for or represent other absent bodies abstractly. Monuments operate through a specific fleshiness, an ability to simultaneously embody certain memories and produce specific public spaces. They are also things-with-lives. Monuments compel certain responses through their abilities to haunt.

By positing monuments-as-bodies I have complicated dichotomous understanding of monuments as either existing within a culture’s *lieu de memoire*, archival, dead and silent, or as counter-monuments, active and visible. In Chapter 1, I detailed the many ways in which bodies and monuments are analogous: monuments are often cast from and take the representational form of human bodies, both are central to the production of social spaces, and both are the conduits for the generation of personal and collective memories. Thinking about monuments-as-bodies not just repositions monuments, but also alerts our attention to the assemblages which produce memories and place: the materiality of the monument, the site of the monument, the visitors to the monument, the collected debris, and the ideological and discursive readings of the monument, the un-thought, and the felt. In this dissertation, I suggested that the life-forces that animate monuments are hauntings, various memories, from various times, pulling the past into the present and the future, hauntings that shock, chill, and comfort.

How did this conceptualization of monuments succeed in the context of Ottawa? In Chapters 6 and 7, the narrative ethnographies, through walking tours, the ability to be

interpolated was structured in part by representational force of monuments-as-bodies, in particular bodies with faces. Secord strolled the city attempting to find possibilities for connection, female figures that were not dressed in anachronistic togas. Similarly, in Chapter 6 I noted how the Aboriginal artist Jeff Thomas finds the allegorical Aboriginal figures etched into buildings both disturbing and somewhat comforting as familiar faces. In contrast, in Chapter 5, I detail how the body of the Aboriginal Scout through his accessibility and unthreatening materiality, engendered the emergence of local forms of colonial nostalgia. Finally, in Chapter 7, I detail how the monuments Enclave and the CTHR, two more contemporary and more abstract monuments are still produced as collections of bodies, representations which structure visitor engagement.

As bodies, monuments can be understood as disturbing many ontological categories; they are neither situated entirely in the past, nor are they wholly present. The arresting materiality of monuments (they shock in their immense size, inflexibility, assemblage of concrete, granite, bronze, steel), animated by and understood through tangled memories and desires, and situated in public spaces, produce a particular form of fleshiness.

Hauntings, Colonial Nostalgia and Public Citizenship

I understand monuments as affectively-charged urban objects in how they are taken up as sites of social haunting. In Chapter 1, I detail the historic and varied relationships between trauma, ghosts and monuments, suggesting that many monuments attempt to produce a space where visitors can meditate on what can't be represented, historic horrors, unimaginable loss, etc. I argue that even monuments that don't consider social traumas within their design or agenda, can, through time, offer a place for meditating on social traumas, engaging with what is unrepresentable. These possibilities are made possible, or are manifest with the appearance of the social ghost. Ghostly hauntings are felt at moments like the outrage surrounding the defacement of monuments (in Chapter 4), or the removal of monuments (Chapter 5), or in the memory of other histories of place and other possibilities for remembrance (Chapters 3 & 4). Ghosts are also conjured by weary publics anxious that certain reverences are not being headed. This can be understood through the case of the "Vigil" at the NWM in Chapter 4.

Ghosts signal other possibilities for belonging within cities. Nostalgia is a compelling, affective mode of belonging. While ghosts represent memories and histories that have been suppressed, public nostalgia represents a longing for previously endorsed modes of belonging that seem to be waning. Both social ghosts and nostalgia articulate public understandings of loss. Throughout my research, at different moments, I witnessed both imperial and colonial nostalgia. While different articulations of the same logic, I identified imperial nostalgia as the nostalgic return of imperial emblems and attachments—a renewed embrace of popular royalism. Colonial nostalgia is an articulation of comfort and hominess with Canada’s colonial heritage including racist understandings of Aboriginal peoples. Colonial nostalgia ties certain monuments to their problematic origins, disallows postcolonial interventions, and is often articulated at anger towards understandings of ‘political correctness.’ Articulations of colonial nostalgia are what bind the Aboriginal Scout to its anachronistic birth and subservient home, while imperial nostalgia continues to suture (and limit) the NWM to its original commemorative purpose. Finally, these modes of engagement with monuments—conjuring ghosts, articulating nostalgia for past ‘uncomplicated’ knowledge of colonial geographies, are all modes of articulating public citizenship.

Prequels and Sequels

Throughout this dissertation research, I have been tempted to pursue many tangential projects. I was required to resist the temptation of many seductive ghosts, lines of questioning and beckoning stories. I could have, for example pursued the lives of Ottawa monuments from the conservator’s perspective; the ethics of polishing off green rust—is this akin to the fraud of cosmetic surgery? I was also very drawn into the persistent haunting of Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King—a historic figure that I feel a kinship with, considering his consistent interest in monument-building and his practice of communing with ghosts. In this final section of the conclusion, I outline some of the projects that have been inspired by this dissertation project.

In a prequel project, I take a step back from this dissertation research and produce a series of ‘monument maps’ of Ottawa. These maps represent what this dissertation research is undoing. In my initial enthusiasm for this dissertation research, I had wrongly assumed that this project had been already done. However, it seems that there has not been a thorough mapping

and semiotic analysis of the monument maps of Ottawa. This project would be an unpacking of Appendices one—the chart of the 74 (and growing) Ottawa monuments.

I would present the monuments spatially, as a series of monument tours. In order to reconcile a tension between presenting the monuments chronologically and presenting the monuments spatially, I would organize this project into two sections. In the first section: “Planning the Building ‘Monument City’” I would outline the history of the National Capital Region and the planning practices which have produced the region as the nation’s capital. In this section I hint towards a chronological history of monument building. In the second section I would offer three walking tours and one driving/ biking tour of Ottawa, spatially presenting a map of Ottawa monuments as they exist today. What these two sections bring into relief are a series of ghost monuments, which will be discussed in the project’s conclusion. In this project, I would be able to pursue another moment in monuments’ lives- their deaths and afterlives.

This would be both a spatial and temporal mapping; the most appropriate method of charting a history of monuments in a city. This mapping is marked by a continued conflation of times, because commemorations rarely follow neatly the moment they are commemorating. For example, 1915 sees the commemoration of both Samuel de Champlain’s 1615 arrival to Ottawa, and the unveiling of a plaque to Colonel John By— the chief engineer of the Rideau Canal constructed in 1826-1832. In 2001, within a block of each other, the ‘Tomb of the Unknown Soldier’ was unveiled at the foot of the National War Memorial, a soldier from World War One, at the same time, a grand monument to the five women who fought for women to be able to be appointed to the senate in 1931 was unveiled on Parliament Hill. These monuments marked not only two different subject matters, but two different historic periods. This project also offers a context for understanding the environment in which the four monuments central to this dissertation operate; producing what might be considered a prequel to this dissertation work.

I also would like to engage in a political economy of Ottawa monuments, a project I have titled, “Twenty Years of Monument Building in the Capital: An Institutional Ethnography.” This project offers an instructive prequel asking, how, logistically, do monuments get imagined, funded, designed and built? In this project, I would study the design process of the thirty four monuments commissioned, built and unveiled in the National Capital Region from 1990-2010. Various institutional bodies are engaged in and responsible for monument building in the capital regions. Public Works and Government Services Canada (PWGSC) is the federal government

ministry that is the most involved in the design, construction and placement of some monuments in the National Capital including: all of the monuments on Parliament Hill, the National War Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the Canadian Phalanx and the figures of Truth and Justice. Both the City of Ottawa and the City of Gatineau have their own programs for designing and placing commemorations. The City of Ottawa's monuments include the statue of Terry Fox and the Northwest Rebellion monument. The City of Gatineau is responsible for the majority of statues in Gatineau, including the monument to the city's founder Philemon Wright, the city's "Monument to Peace and Remembrance" and a bust of artist Jean P. Dallaire. Various other institutional bodies have produced commemorations in the National Capital Region. For example, the Department of National Defense is a co-owner of "Reconciliation: Peacekeeping Monument," while the Commonwealth War Graves Commission is co-owner of the Commonwealth Air Forces Memorial. The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and "Enclave: The Women's Monument" are both the result of community initiatives. Often various institutional bodies are engaged in working on the same monument project. There are also a variety of ways that design processes unfold. Designers can be appointed, or submit to variously orchestrated design competitions. Based on archival data as well as interviews with key informants I would explore the ways in which these various governing bodies manage monument design competitions. I suggest that despite the various interests involved, the rather homogenous design competition methods have an impact on the quality, breadth and ultimate impact of monuments in Canada's National Capital Region.

As discussed in Chapter 5, despite the prominence of the National War Memorial, and the memorial Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, in 1919 there was a proposal to build a memorial hall on Nepean Point, and another proposal to build a women's memorial hall on Sussex Drive. In 1950, Jacques Greber dedicated his plan for the capital as a memorial to the Canadian war losses of World War 2, effectively, if symbolically, making the whole city a war memorial. In 2010, there were proposals to 'repatriate' the Canadian National Vimy Memorial from France to Ottawa. While I have been arguing that the meaning of Confederation Square has been actively and successfully produced as a specifically memorial site, in this proposed project, I would unmap the ways in which other monuments and moments in Ottawa's built environment contribute to Greber's idea of making the entire city a site of war remembrance. As an unmapping, I am interested in tracking how both normative and disruptive understandings of war

memory and history are produced in the capital. I am specifically interested in how war and nationhood are wed in the city of Ottawa. Ottawa's 'place-myth' (Shields 1991) has effectively become a city of war remembrance. How does the active production of a Canadian 'urban Flanders' express again WW1 as an un-reconciled national trauma? What elements in the urban fabric disrupt this idea?

As a departure from the other unmapping tours, in this tour I am interested in how monuments operate as only one node in a complex geography of remembrance. As such, this tour includes ephemeral remembrance moments like festivals and other aspects of the built environment like public art, cemeteries and memorial buildings. I would approach this tour as a pilgrimage. Jonathan Vance (1997) explains that immediately after WW1, there was a boom in battlefield tourism; in the summer of 1919, 60, 000 tourists visited the battlefields (p. 57). In this unmapping, I want to explore how, if we look closely other war memories emerge, and Ottawa has not become simply a Canadian Flanders.

Finally, another sequel beckons from Chapters 5 and 6 (Unmapping Aboriginality). I conclude Chapter 5 and begin Chapter 6, by exploring how the photography of Jeff Thomas works as an unmapping of Aboriginality in urban North American more generally and in Ottawa specifically. In Chapter 6, I focus, in part on the mobilities of the 20th century Department of Indian Affairs bureaucrat Duncan Campbell Scott, and the migration of certain icons of Aboriginality to Ottawa in particular, totem poles, to express how discourses of Aboriginality have been reliant on both the movements of white-settlers, Aboriginal bodies and ideas. In this sequel, I develop this thesis by following Jeff Thomas' photographic project "A Study of Indian-ness." In this project, Thomas engages the photography of 19th century photographer Edward Curtis, in particular his totalizing summation of First Nations people which was published as, "The North American Indian."

Final Thoughts

Where are the politics in this project? It's not enough to say there are racist statues here, or that Ottawa's monuments are unrepresentatively male. These critiques are met with scorns that the critic is 'overly politically correct'. It's also not enough to say that historically monument-making practices have produced an exclusive landscape of white, male history-

makers. This analysis leads to damning of the past. In this dissertation, I have demonstrated that the past (the colonial past, the misogynist past) as it is represented in monuments, continue to produce present understandings of gender, race, sexuality and belonging in the city. Monuments enable certain hauntings. Monuments enable haunting of painful pasts that long to be forgotten, the pasts of colonial violence, specifically. Monuments are also engaged as sites to conjure strategically significant ghosts. At the NWM, the Battle of Vimy Ridge, the deaths of certain young, largely white, Anglo-Celtic men, are mourned as a mode of nation building.

In Ottawa, monuments tell visitors less what to think, remember, or know about Canada, and more about how to feel as Canadians. We are to mourn at the NWM, embrace our progress at the CTHR, champion colonialism and nostalgically cherish “cigar store Indians” at the Scout and Champlain monuments. We are to embrace liberal feminist progress on Parliament Hill with the “Women are Persons!” monument and, the dominant spatial narrative allows us to somehow not notice Enclave: the Women’s Monument. However, affective relationships to place, the dynamic monuments themselves, and the travels of visitors, pedestrians, activists, place-makers, flaneurs/euses all prevent a clear acceptance of this dominant spatial narrative. Instead, through these dynamic animations, each monument is exposed as its other. The CTHR and Enclave simultaneously seam up and un-do narratives of Canadian liberalism and ideals of the feminine and feminism. The Scout and Champlain monuments through their placement, design and lives demonstrate the precariousness of colonial logic and the co-dependent relationship between discourses of white mastery and the colonial other. While the allegorical figures, the women and the Aboriginal men, subtly reinforce that white masculinist colonialism was and is not possible without the subordination of the other. This is an ‘other’ that is unruly, dangerous, bravely unclothed in the Ottawa climate. While the woman-as-Canada failed to offer Laura Secord a symbolic mirror, she does offer a threat. And the Aboriginal men carved into the Justice building next to Parliament offer Jeffrey Thomas an uncanny sense of being-at-home in an alien city space.

I would like to conclude by returning to the sculpture of the lion and the unicorn. In Ottawa, their presence is both strange and familiar, the perfect beginning for a sociological inquiry. They remind visitors with subtle persuasion that they are visiting the capital of a white-settler society. The ubiquitous emblem of popular royalism becomes charming, magical and intimate. For Canadians, these figures of the lion and the unicorn are special because of their

Canadian-ness; they make Canadians distinct from Americans, and with the lion clutching a maple leaf, distinct from Britons. The national capital city is the site to produce these distinctions, a sense of an imagined community, a healthy nationalism. Ottawa is successful at inculcating a sense of community (it seems like every other block there are 13 flags representing each province and territory). In Ottawa's monuments a dominant spatial narrative of Canada as an unapologetic white-settler society, pro-royals, multicultural, liberal yet stubbornly unwilling to engage in difficult conversations, discourse is produced. However, because, as I have demonstrated, monuments are alive, this discourse and the affects it imbues are challenged with every hack-sawed lion's paw, un-tethered Aboriginal Scout monument, Elgin Street protest march and vigil. The affects resulting from these engagements with monuments produce a shattering like a broken mirror, reflecting old pains and new nostalgias.

Appendix 1: Chart of Monuments

This is a chart of monuments in the National Capital Region, listed by date of unveiling, date of construction in parentheses, *= not original location

1885	Georges Etienne Cartier	Parliament Hill
1888	North-West Rebellion Monument	City Hall Park*
1889	Father Joseph Eugene Guigues	Notre Dame Basilica
1889	J.H Tabaret	University of Ottawa*
1895	John A. Macdonald	Parliament Hill
1901	Alexander MacKenzie	Parliament Hill
1901	Queen Victoria	Parliament Hill
1902	Boer War Memorial	Confederation Park*
1905	Henry Albert Harper Memorial (Sir Galahad)	Wellington Street
1913	George Brown	Parliament Hill
1914	Baldwin-Lafontaine	Parliament Hill
1915	Samuel de Champlain	Nepean Point
1920	Canadian Phalanx	National Art Gallery
1922	Thomas D'Arcy McGee	Parliament Hill
1922	Anishinabe Scout	Major's Hill Park*
1922 (1985)	Westboro War Memorial	between Byron Ave & Richmond Road ⁶⁵
1924	Mayor Harold Fisher	Ottawa Civic Hospital
1926	Jean de Brebeuf	Gatineau
1927	Sir Wilfrid Laurier	Parliament Hill
1939	National War Memorial	Confederation Square
1940	Sir Arthur Doughty	National Archives*
1945	Archbishop Joseph Thomas Duhamel	Notre Dame Basilica
1950	Philemon Wright	Gatineau
1957	Robert Borden	Parliament Hill
1959	Commonwealth Air Forces Monument	Green Island

⁶⁵ See Hale (2009)

1959	Artillerymens' Memorial	
1961	Canloan ⁶⁶	Sussex Drive/ Green Island
1964	Polish Home Army Ex-Servicemen's Memorial	Confederation Park
1965	The Gatineau Cenotaph	Rue Notre Dame
1968	William Lyon MacKenzie King	Parliament Hill
1970 (1912-1920)	Truth and Justice	Supreme Court
1971	Colonel John By	Major's Hill Park
1972	Canadian Phalanx	Memorial Arch*
1973	Jose de San Martin	Minto Park
1976	Louis St. Laurent	Supreme Court
1980	Iran Memorial	
1983	Terry Fox	Wellington Street*
1986	John Diefenbaker	Parliament Hill
1988	Simon Bolivar	Dalhousie Street
1988	"Share the Flame" Olympic Monument	Lansdowne Park
1990	Lester B. Pearson	Parliament Hill
1990	Canadian Tribute to Human Rights	Elgin Street
1991	Pope John Paul II	Gatineau
1992	Queen Elizabeth 2	Parliament Hill
1992	"Reconciliation"	Sussex Drive
1992	"Never Again War: Monument to Peace and Remembrance	Gatineau
1992	"Enclave:" The Women's Monument	Minto Park
1992	Andrew Gault	Confederation Square
1992	Korean War Memorial	MacKenzie King Bridge
1994	Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial ⁶⁷	Parliament Hill
1995	Vietnam Monument	Preston Street
1995	Vanier War Memorial	Marier Ave and Montfort Street
1996	Monument to Hull's Portuguese Community	Gatineau
2000	Tomb of the Unknown Soldier	National War Memorial

⁶⁶ <http://www.war-experience.org/canloan/>

⁶⁷ <http://www.cacp.ca/memorial/index/history>

2001	Aboriginal War Veterans' Memorial	Confederation Park
2001	"Women are Persons" Monument	Parliament Hill
2001	Maurice Richard	Laurier Street, Gatineau
2001	Jean Dallaire bust	Gatineau
2001	Father Louis-Étienne Delille Reboul	Gatineau
2001	Monument to Canadian Aid Workers	Rideau Falls Park
2001	MacKenzie-Papineau Monument	Green Island
2002	Man with 2 Hats	Dow's Lake
2002	The Korean War Memorial	MacKenzie King Bridge
2004	Samuel de Champlain	Gatineau
2004	Irish Canal Builders	Rideau Canal at Entrance Bay
2004	Dorothy O'Connell Monument	City Hall
2005	Elizabeth Bruyere	Beechwood Cemetery
2006	Valiants Memorial	Confederation Square
2006	Hungarian Monument	Green Island
2008	Dey's Arena Monument	Bay St. and Gladstone Ave.
2008	Air India Memorial	Commissioner's Park
2008	Felix Leclerc	University of Ottawa
2009	Firefighters' Memorial	Ottawa City Hall
2009	Hong Kong Memorial	Sussex Dr and King Edward Ave
2010	Oscar Peterson	Elgin Street (outside of National Arts Centre)
2011	National Naval Monument	LeBreton Flats

Totem Poles

1946	Kwakiutl pole	Rideau Hall
1960	Kwakiutl pole	Boy Scouts' Headquarters (1345 Baseline Road)
1971	Kwakiutl pole	Confederation Park
1985	Gitskan pole	Victoria Island
1993	unknown	George Street, Byward Market

References

Aaron, R. (1989, November 23). "Ottawa Jewish community aids human rights project"
Canadian Jewish News.

A Capital in the Making: Reflections of the Past, Visions of the Future. (1998). Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

Aboriginal Experiences in the Heart of Ottawa. Retrieved on May 10, 2010 from
<http://www.aboriginalexperiences.com/groups.html>

Aids Walk for Life. Retrieved from: www.aidswalkottawa.ca

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

An Invitation to Participate in The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights from the Board of Directors of the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights Inc. (1990). Ottawa: The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights.

Apel, D. (2002). *Memory effects: the Holocaust and the art of secondary witnessing*. Newark: Rutgers University Press.

Aubry, J. (1996, October 7). Sculptor's family vows to fight NCC: Descendants say Indian statue reflects harmony. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. D.2

Beale, Nancy. (1986, September 30). Human Rights Monument Chosen. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. E7.

Bell, M. (1997). The ghosts of place. *Theory and Society* 26, 813-836.

- Bell, S. (2010, November 10). Remembering First Nations veterans; From Boer War to Afghanistan, Aborigines have played large roles in Canada's military efforts. *Slave River Journal*. p. 19
- Bellamy, R. (2001). The Architecture of Government. In J. Keshen and N. St-Onge (Eds.), *Ottawa: Making a Capital*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1969/1989). "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. Schocken Books: New York.
- Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: a political ecology of things*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Best, P. (1982, April 28). Famed Argentine hero 'lives' on in Ottawa. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. 58.
- Blomley, N. (2004). *Unsettling the City: urban land and the politics of property*. New York: Routledge.
- Blyth, M. (1998). Two new world wilderness texts: re-reading the Writing That Conquers [L'Amerique historique & The Champlain Monument]. *Journal of Canadian Studies* Summer.
- Bold, C., R. Knowles and B. Leach (2002). Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Counter-memory: The Case of Marianne's Park. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(1).
- Bond, C. (1963). *Statues and Monuments in Ottawa and Hull*. Ottawa: National Capital Commission.
- Bowen, G. (1996, October 13) Removing the statue. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. A.15
- Boym, S (2002). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

- Brado, E. (1991). *Brado's Guide to Ottawa: A Cultural and Historical Companion*. Kingston: Quarry Press.
- Brault, L. (1981). *The Mile of History*. Ottawa: National Capital Commission.
- Brown, D. (1996, October 3). Statue an insult to *Champlain* the scientist. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. C.3
- Buchanan, C. (1989, December 30). 'People's project' tribute to rights; Plan to honor Solidarity became universal monument. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. A.11
- Buckley, B. (n.d) *Gift of Freedom: How Ottawa welcomed the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees*. Renfrew: General Store Publishing House.
- Buck-Morss, S. (1986). The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering. *New German Critique*. (Fall). pp. 99-139.
- Buckner, P. (2005). "The Last Great Royal Tour: Queen Elizabeth's 1959 Tour to Canada" In P. Buckner (Ed.), *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- (2006). "The Invention of Tradition?: The Royal Tours of 1860 and 1901 to Canada" In C. Coates (Ed.), *Majesty in Canada: essays on the roles of royalty*. Toronto: The Dundurn Group.
- Buffam, B. (2010). 'Bright Lights and Dark Knights': Racial Publics and the Juridical Mourning of Gun Violence in Toronto. In R.S. Bray and D. Dalton (Eds.), *Law, Text, Culture*. 13. pp. 55-79.
- Burk, A. (2007). Slow Conversations. *West Coast Line* 53.

Byward Market. By Ward Market Business Improvement Area (2010). Retrieved from:
<http://www.byward-market.com/about/history.htm>

Bytown Museum (2010). Retrieved from:
http://www.bytownmuseum.com/EN/culture_growth.html

Campbell, J. (2007, March 19). Red Ensign campaigners want old flag to fly at Vimy ceremony
The Ottawa Citizen. p. A1

Campbell, J. (2000, February 9). Dead woman's name to be taken off memorial: Women's
 committee to remove name but won't change policy. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. D1

Canada's Capital Commemoration Strategic Plan (2006) Ottawa: National Capital
 Commission

Canada's Historic Places. Retrieved from: <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=8443>

Canada's Nursing Sisters (1997, December 22). Veterans Affairs Canada. Retrieved from
<http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/sub.cfm?source=history/other/nursing/sisterhist2>

Canadian Museum of Civilization (2010). Public exhibition text.

Canadian Symbols at Parliament (2007). Ottawa: Library of Parliament.

Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, The. (1990, September). Ottawa: The Canadian Tribute to
 Human Rights.

Cannadine, D. (1983). "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy
 and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977" In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds.),
The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital (n.d.) Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

Carter, Sarah (1997). *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Caruth, C. (1995). *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Cassidy, A. (2001, July 2). Aboriginal Memorial has racist overtones. *The Ottawa Citizen* p. A. 11

Coates, C. and C. Morgan (2002). *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Champlain's Indian found (1967, March 16 Tuesday). *The Ottawa Citizen*

Champlain Monument At Orillia, The. (1925). The Committee of the Monument.

Chan, C. (2008, May 15) "Human Right Torch Relay Welcomed in Ottawa" *Epoch Times*.

Che Guevara tribute destroyed (2007). *Msnbc.com* Retrieved from:
http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21384205/ns/world_news-venezuela/t/guevara-monument-venezuela-destroyed/ October 19.

Close Up: A Self-Guided Walking Tour (2001) National Capital Commission: Ottawa.

Clothesline Project, The (2010). Retrieved from: <http://www.clotheslineproject.org/>

Clavette, K. (n.d). "1919 Not only in Winnipeg" unpublished manuscript.

- Connerton, P. (1989). *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, M. Tall sculpture and park redesign planned for Nepean Point. (2010, January 21). *Ottawa Citizen*. (*Designing Ottawa*).
- Copps, Shiela (2009, August 17). State of women's equality in Canada still sometimes very discouraging: The 'Famous Five,' who guaranteed that half the population can sit in the Senate were nation builders, says Copps. *The Hill Times*.
- Creswell, T. (1999). Embodiment, Power and the Politics of Mobility: The Case of Female Tramps and Hobos. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 24(2) pp. 175-192.
- Cryderman, K. (2000, October 30) Rename downtown square, group says: Change Confederation to Memorial Square in tribute to fallen, committee insists *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. D.1.
- Cultural Memory Group, The (2006). *Remembering Women Murdered By Men*. Toronto: Sumach Press.
- (2007). The Montreal Mural. *West Coast Line* 53.
- Davis-Barron, S. Churches take different stands on same-sex bill. (1994, June 6). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. B.1
- Dawn, L. (2006). *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- De Certeau, M. (1993). Walking in the City. In S. During (Ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.

- Del Casino, V. J. and S. P. Hanna. (2003). Mapping Identities, Reading Maps: The Politics of Representation in Bangkok's Sex Tourism Industry. In V. J. Del Casino and S. P. Hanna (Eds.), *Mapping Tourism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Denzin, N. (1997) Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- DeWalt, K. and B. DeWalt (2011). *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. New York: Alta Mira Press.
- Devoy, D. Residents urge pause on Gandhi *statue* construction. (2009, June 12) *East Ottawa Star*. p. 6
- Discover the Hill Outdoor Self-Guided Booklet* (n.d.) Ottawa: National Capital Commission.
- Drolet, D. (1995, July 18). Veterans fear skateboarders scarring National War Memorial; Conflict arises each summer as weather warms; *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. D.4
- Drudi, C. & B. Kennedy (2009, February 18) Virgin Radio drops 'lock-up-daughter' ads; Hundreds signed petition opposing campaign *The Ottawa Citizen* p. C.8
- Dunkley, Wayne. Share My World. Retrieved from: www.sharemyworld.net
- Dunn, (1963, April 1). Champlain Monument vandals end up as April fools *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. 3
- Editorial. (1982, Sunday May 29). *The Ottawa Citizen*
- Exodus 2009* (2009). brochure.

Fagan, Noreen (2010, November 19). Police presence divides Ottawa's trans communities: NEWS / Trans Day of Remembrance will start at police headquarters – and Minto Park. *The Ottawa Citizen*.

Famous Five Foundation (2010). Retrieved from: <http://www.famous5.ca/about.html>

Francis, D. (1992) *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.

Franck, K. and L. Paxson (2007). Transforming Public Space into Sites of Mourning and Free Expression. In K. Franck and Q. Stevens (Eds.), *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foote, K. (2003). *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Forest, B and Johnson, J. (2002). Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet- Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 92, No. 3, pp. 524-547.

Forty, Adrian. (2005). Concrete and Memory. In Mark Crinson (Ed.), *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the modern city*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foster, S. (2003). Choreographies of Protest. *Theatre Journal*. 55(3) pp. 395-412.

Foucault, M. (1998). Different Spaces. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984 Volume 2: Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* New York: New Press.

Gadon, E. (1989) *The Once and Future Goddess*. New York: Harper Collins.

Galloway, G. .(2010, April 9) Thousands commemorate Vimy Ridge Day in Ottawa. *Globe and Mail*.

Gardam, C. J. (1982). *The National War Memorial*. Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada.

Gentile, Patrizia. (2010). Capital Queers: Social Memory and Queer Place(s) in Cold War Ottawa. In J. Opp and J. Walsh (Eds.), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Gibson, J. (1996, October 12). Political correctness casts eye on Victoria *Times - Colonist*, p. 1

Giles, J. (2004, September 24). New statue tries to show the real Champlain. *Ottawa Citizen*, p. A 17.

Gordon, A. (1997). *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gordon, C. Local vigils nurture the devout. (1997, April 15). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. B.4

“Governor General unveils aboriginal vet memorial” (2001, June 23). *Expositor*, p. A.11

Granzow, K. and. A. Dean. (2007). Artful Politics and Political Art. *West Coast Line* 53.

Gray, K. (January 27 2010). Canadian Art from the Heart. *Ottawa Citizen (The Bulldog blog)*

Green, G. (2000, May 30). The unspoken message of the Unknown Soldier *Ottawa Citizen* p. A.17

Gross, D. (2000). *Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Groves, Tim. The Missing Plaque Project: Changing the way we think about Toronto's history.

Retrieved from: <http://missingplaque.tao.ca/posters.html>

Guernsey, T. 1986. *Statues of Parliament Hill*. Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

Gwyn, S. 1984. *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Greber, Jacques (1948). *Plan for the National Capital: Preliminary Report*. Ottawa: National Capital Planning Service.

"Guevara Monument in Venezuela destroyed" (2007, October 19) *MSNBC.com*. Retrieved From http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21384205/ns/world_news-venezuela/t/guevara-monument-venezuela-destroyed/

Gyton, G. (1999). *A Place for Canadians: The Story of the National Capital Commission*. Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

Hale, J. (2008, November 6). Monumental Mystery. *Kitchissippi Times*.

Hart, S.E. (2005, Summer). Lurking in the Bushes: Ottawa's Anishinabe Scout *Espace*. 72: pp. 14-17.

(2006) *Heroes for a New Millennium, 2006* [*Héros pour un nouveau millenaire*].

Paper presented at: Universities Art Association of Canada Annual Conference Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, November 2-4, 2006. Retrieved from: <http://www.ccca.ca/c/writing/h/hart/hart001t.html>

(2008) *Sculpting a Canadian Hero*. Canadian Theses. Concordia University, Department of Art History.

- Haskins, E. and J. DeRose. (2003). Memory, Visibility, and Public Space: Reflections on Commemoration(s) of 9/11. *Space and Culture*. 6 (4): 377-393.
- Hetherington, K. (2001). Phantasmagoria/ Phantasm Agora: Materialities, Spatialities, and Ghosts. *Space and Culture* (11/12): 24-41.
- Hill, R. (2004). "Jeff Thomas: Working Histories" In *Jeff Thomas: A Study of Indian-ness*. Toronto: Gallery 44 Centre for Contemporary Photography.
- Hirsch, M. (2001). "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory" *The Yale Journal of Criticism*. 14(1), pp. 5-37
- (1996). Past Lives: Postmemories in exile. *Poetics Today* 17(4): 659-86.
- History of Major's Hill Park and Nepean Point*. (1975). Ottawa: National Capital Commission.
- Hjartarson, Paul (2005). Virgin land, the settler-invader subject, and cultural nationalism: Gendered landscape in the cultural construction of Canadian national identity. In L. Dowler, J. Carubia, and B. Szczygiel (Eds.), *Gender and Landscape*. New York: Routledge.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1983) "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holt, D. and C. Thompson. (2004). "Man-of-Action Heroes: The Pursuit of Heroic Masculinity in Everyday Consumption" *Journal of Consumer Research* 31(2), 425- 440.
- Hudson, (2008). "Mapping Jeff Thomas" In *Drive By: A Road Trip with Jeff Thomas* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada.

Hume, Christopher (1996, October 13). Is removing Indian statue tampering with history?
Toronto Star, p. A. 18.

Huyssen, Andreas. (1993). Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age. *Yale Journal of Criticism* 6(2).

2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

“I Married the Eiffel Tower” (2008, May 28) *The Independent*. Retrieved from
<http://www.independent.co.uk/extras/sunday-review/living/i-married-the-eiffel-tower-832519.html>

Invitation to Participate in the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights, An (1990) Ottawa: The Board of Directors of The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights.

Islas, Veronica (2009, July/ August). Bring your own gay bar: Ottawa’s Gay Guerilla Takeover turns any bar queer-friendly *This Magazine*. p. 8

Jackson, Wendy. (1973, April 14). Russell House, Sparks-Elgin, 1898. *The Ottawa Journal*.

Jacobs, J. (1996). *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism in the city*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, P. (2008). *An Acre of Time*. Chelsea: Chelsea Books.

Johnson, G. (2005). “The Last Gasp of Empire: The 1964 Flag Debate Revisited” In Phillip Buckner (Ed.), *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Johnson, Donna. (2000, March 3). Sisters of slaughter: Why innocent women killed by violent men cannot be forgotten *Ottawa Citizen*, p. A.17

Johnston, R. and M. Ripmeester. (2009). Awake anon the tales of valour: the career of a war memorial in St. Catherines, Ontario. *The Canadian Geographer*. 53 (4), 404-426

Julier, Laura (1994, December). "Private Texts and Social Activism: Reading the Clothesline Project" *English Education* 26 (4), 249-259.

Kennedy, B. NCC to look at ways to protect sites from vandals. (2008, July 23). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. C2

King George to Unveil National Memorial Sunday Morning. (1939, Tuesday May 16). *The Ottawa Journal*. p.13.

Kirkey, S. Dalai Lama: tolerance, compassion. (1990, October 1). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. E.1

Kuhn, A. (1995). *Family Secrets*. London: Verso.

Lambek, M. (1996). The Past Imperfect: Remembering As Moral Practice. In P. Antze and M. Lambek (Eds.), *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. New York: Routledge.

Lambert, M. Lindsay (2008, May 28). The Tomb is in the wrong place *The Ottawa Citizen* p. A.13

Landsberg, A. (2004). *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Memory in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

(1997). America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy. *New German Critique*. 71, 63-86.

- Landzelius, M. (2003). Commemorative dis(re)membering: erasing heritage, spatializing disinheritance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 21, 195-221.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: an introduction to actor-network theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lauzon, C. (2011). Monumental Interventions: Jeffrey Thomas Seizes Commemorative Space In J.K. Cronin and K. Robertson (Eds.), *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Leblanc, D. (1998, January 17). A passion for the capital's statues: Ian Hammond tells Daniel Leblanc how he enlivens monuments with his photographs. *Ottawa Citizen*. p. E.12
- Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Leger, M. J. (1996). Touring the Ideological Landscape: Ottawa's Peacekeeping Monument. In *Driving the Ceremonial Landscape*. Ottawa: Gallery 101.
- Legg, S. (2005). Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Memoire*. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23: 481-504.
- Levinson, S. (1998). *Written in Stone: Monuments in Changing Societies*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Liss, A. (2000). Artifactual Testimories and the Stagings of Holocaust Memory. In S. Rosenberg, R. Simon and C. Eppert (Eds.), *Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of Historical Trauma*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

- Lulashnyk, K. (1999). *'More People than Materials or Techniques': The Community-Based Public Art of c.j.fleury*. MA Thesis, School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University: Ottawa.
- MacEwan, Cheryl (2008). A very modern ghost: postcolonialism and the politics of enchantment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 26, 29-46.
- MacLeod, I. Ex-peace campers released on bail after Parliament statues damaged. (1985, July 4) *The Ottawa Citizen*.
- Mackenzie, C. (2006, July 5). 'I asked myself what I could do' Concerned Canadian stands on guard at Ottawa's National War Memorial. *Toronto Star*. p. A.06
- Mackey, E. (2002) *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- MacKinnon, B. (1992, December 7). A place to mourn the violence: Monument remembers women victims. *Ottawa Citizen*.
- Mahtani, M. (2001). Racial ReMappings: the potential of paradoxical space. *Gender, Place and Culture*. 8 (3), 299-305
- Marcoux, J.-S. (2001). The Refurbishment of Memory. In D. Miller (Ed.), *Home Possessions*. New York: Berg.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. New York: Routledge.
- “McGee, Thomas D’arcy” (2000) In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=38705>

McKenzie, Ruth. (1971). *Laura Secord: the legend and the lady*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart.

McKim, C. (2001, September 8) Monument may be brought up to date. *Packet and Times*. p. 1

McKittrick, Katherine. (2007). "Freedom Is a Secret": The Future Usability of the Underground. In K. McKittrick and C. Woods (Eds.), *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Megelssen, S. (2002). Remapping American-ness: Heritage Production and the Staging of the Native American and the African American as Other in 'Historyland' *National Identities* 4 (2), 162-178

"Minto Park Heritage Conservation District celebrates its 10th anniversary" (2009, February 13) *Centretown Buzz*.

Minton, Eric. (1973, April 14). Remember 'The Russell'? *The Ottawa Journal*. p. 31

(1974) Ottawa: Reflections of the Past. Toronto: Nelson, Foster & Scott Ltd.

Monk, Janice (1992) Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning In Kay Anderson and Fay Gale (Eds.), *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Limited.

Musil, R (1986) Monuments In B. Pike (Ed.), *Robert Musil: Selected Writings* New York: Continuum.

"Mythic Beasts" Canadian Museum of Civilization. Retrieved on January 28, 2010, Retried from <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cmc/mythicbeasts/mythicbeasts12e.shtml#Unicorn>

Nadkarni, M. (2003). The death of socialism and the afterlife of its monuments: Making and marketing the past in Budapest's Statue Park Museum. In K.Hodgkin, S. Sturdy, and S. Radstone (Eds.), *Contested Pasts: Memory and Narrative* London: Routledge

Nash, C. (1993). Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland *Feminist Review*. 44: 39-57.

National Capital Region: Statues, The (1979). Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

“NCC Honours the Champion of the Valiants Memorial” (2008) National Capital Commission: Ottawa. Retrieved from:http://cms.ncc-ccn.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16302-22559-22674-24070-101325&lang=1

National Competition for the design of The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights: Competition Terms and Condition and Project Parameters. (1985, July). Ottawa: The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights.

“National Day of Remembrance” Status of Women Canada. <http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/dates/vaw-vff/index-eng.html>

National women's group plans peace walk. (1991, February 15). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. C3

Nellie McClung to Lecture at Russell (1919, May 13). *Ottawa Journal*, p.16.

Nepean Point (1919, June 12) *Ottawa Journal*, n.p.

Never Give Up! (2010) Retrieved from: <http://www.canadascapital.gc.ca/places-to-visit/public-art/never-give-up-maurice-richard>

Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations* 26: 7-25.

- Nord, D. E. (1991) The Urban Peripatetic: Spectator, Streetwalker, Woman Writer. *Nineteenth-Century Literature*. 46(3): 351-375.
- O'Connor, B. (1996, October 6). A few words more: Don't remove statue. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. A.11
- O'Flanagan, R. (2000, October 23). Women Are Persons monument sparks controversy: Three of the Famous Five have darker side. *Sudbury Star*. p. A.2
- Oikawa, M. (2002). Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory, and the Subject(s) of the 'Internment In S. Razack (Ed.), *Race, Space, and Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, (pp 71-98) Toronto: Between the Lines
- Osborne, B. (1998). Constructing landscapes of power: the George Etienne Cartier monument, Montreal. *Journal of Historical Geography* 24(4): 431-458.
- (2001). Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33(3).
- (2002). Corporeal Politics and the Body Politic: the re-presentation of Louis Riel in Canadian identity. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8(4): 303-322.
- (2004) Constructing national identity in Canada's capital, 1900-2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial. *Journal of Historical Geography* 30: 618-642.
- Osborne, S. (2004). Monuments and Memories. *Canadian Geographic*. p. 47
- Ottawa Workers' Heritage Tour*. (2009). Ottawa Workers' Heritage Centre: Ottawa.
- Pallasmaa, J. (2005). *The Eyes of the Skin*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

- Parkin, D. (1999). Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement. *Journal of Material Culture* 4(3): 303-320.
- Parks Canada (2005). Directory of Designations of National Historic Significance of Canada. Retrieved on April 1, 2009 from http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/lhn-n_nhs/page3_E.asp?locateinp=Ottawa&nhsprov=allprov&nhschoice=alldesig&list4=Generate+List
- Peters, S. (2006). *The Social World Reversed: Towards a Sociology of Activist Community Arts Practices*. MA Thesis, Carleton University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology: Ottawa.
- Phillips, R. (1997). *Mapping Men and Empire: a geography of adventure*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, R. & M. Phillips (2005). Double Take: Contesting Time, Place, and Nation in the First Peoples Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization *American Anthropologist*. 107 (4): 694-704.
- Pile, S. (2005). *Real Cities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Pink, S. (2007). *Doing Visual Ethnography*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- “Polish groups not allowed to lay wreath”. (1989, September 18). *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. A.6
- Pollock, G. (2000) Excerpts from ‘Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity’ In Jane Rendall, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (Eds.), *Gender Space Architecture* New York: Routledge.

Potter, M. (2008, November 3) Public roll call for Canada's war dead 'War doesn't just stop at a certain date'; 9,700 names projected each night on buildings from London to Ottawa.
Toronto Star, p. L.1

“Power’s Sex Work Fact Sheet” (n.d.) Retrieved on May 21, 2009, from
<http://www.powerottawa.ca/Ottawa%20sex%20work%20fact%20sheet%20.pdf>

Pratt, G. (1998). Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation. In R. Fincher and J. M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Cities of Difference*. New York and London: The Guilford Press.

“Premier Tells Why Connaught Place Was Chosen” (1925, July 1). *Ottawa Evening Journal*

Prentice, M. (2003, October 24) Artists to compete to design *monument* to Canada's war heroes..
The Ottawa Citizen p. F.3

Quinn, B. (2003). *The Fashion of Architecture*. Berg.

Radstone, S. a. K. Hodgkins. (2003). Introduction. In S. Radstone and K. Hodgkins (Eds.),
Regimes of Memory London and New York: Routledge

Rapoport, A. (1993). On the Nature of Capitals and Their Physical Expression. In J. Taylor, J. Lengellé and C. Andrew (Eds.), *Capital Cities: International Perspectives*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Razack, S. 2002. When Place Becomes Race. In S. Razack (Ed.), *Race, Space, and Law: Unmapping a White-Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

“Reconsider Columbus Day” (n.d.) <http://www.reconsidercolumbusday.org/>

“Red Umbrella Campaign” (2006, April 25). International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.sexworkeurope.org/en/campaigns-mainmenu-190/red-umbrella-history>

Reid, J. (2005). *The Ottawa Sharpshooters*. Ottawa: The British Isles Family History Society of Greater Ottawa

Renzetti, (2008, November 11). “Queen recognizes Vigil’s ‘deep personal resonance’ *The Globe and Mail*.

Richardson, Laurel (2003). “Writing: A Method of Inquiry” In Y. Lincoln and N. Denzin (Eds.), *Turning points in qualitative research: tying knots in a handkerchief*. Walnut Creek CA: Alta Mira.

Roberts, J. (1998). *Nation-Building and Monumentalization in the Contemporary Capital: The Case of Ottawa-Hull, with particular reference to the peacekeeping monument and the Canadian Tribute to Human Rights*. Canadian Theses Carleton University, Department of Geography.

Robertson, K. (2009). Threads of Hope: The Living Healing Quilt Project. *English Studies in Canada*. 35(1): 85-107.

Rock, B. (2004). *Mandela’s Sash*, APTN, Radio-Canada

Roderick, Ian. (1998). Habitable Spaces. *Space and Culture*. 1 (1): 1-4.

Rogers, Dave. (1991, August 15). Timing of rights monument cleanup coincidental, supporters say. *Ottawa Citizen*. p. B3.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Rosenberg, S. (2000). Standing in a Circle of Stone: Rupturing the Binds of Emblematic Memory. In S. Rosenberg, Roger I. Simon, Claudia Eppert (Eds.), *Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of Historical Trauma*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Rudin, R. (2003). *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rupert, J. (2008, July 4). Metal thefts create hole lot of trouble; Disappearing manhole covers blamed on high scrap prices. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. F.1
- Saegart, Susan (1980). Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarized Ideas, Contradictory Realities. *Signs*. 5(3): S96-111
- Said, E. (1994). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schneider, Howard. (1996, December 7)The View From There: What's next, the beaver?; *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. B.5
- Sculpture Walks: Sculptures and monuments in the National Capital* (1985). Ottawa: National Capital Commission.
- “Sculpting Canada's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier” (2003). Monte Vista Enterprises Ltd.
- Shaw, N. (1996). Virtual Nation: A Plan for Canada's Capital City. *Driving the Ceremonial Landscape*. Ottawa, Gallery 101.
- Sher, E. (1990, June 19). Native Tongues: Aboriginal languages have deeper roots in Canada than French or English, but they're in danger. *The Globe and Mail*. p. A.17

Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London and New York: Routledge.

(2003). *The Virtual New York*: Routledge.

Shipley, R. (1987). *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials*. Toronto: NC P Press.

Simon, R. (2005). *The Touch of the Past*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Sibley, Robert (2009a, August 12). Concrete reasoning: In my mind, a statue shouldn't tell you what to think. *The Ottawa Citizen* p. A. 3

(2009b, July 29) These persons ought to move down the street. *The Ottawa Citizen*

(2009c, August 9) Long to reign over us; Monuments celebrate happy, glorious ties between crown and city. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. A.6

(2009c, August 17) A river and its city; On Nepean Point, a collision of history and geography. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. B.3

Simpson, P. (2010, February 5). Roxy Paine, Nepean Point, and the National Gallery. *Ottawa Citizen (The Big Beat)*

Small, S. (1992, November 8). Tradition Carved in Stone; Human rights message chiselled on plaques in 24 native languages. *The Ottawa Citizen*. p. A.6

Smith, D. (1999) *Writing the Social: Critique, theory, and investigations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sparling, L. (2009, February 1) Virgin Radio ads give slap in face for women
The Ottawa Citizen. p. A.15

Spelman, E. (2008) Repair and the Scaffold of Memory. In Phil Steinberg and Rob Shields (Eds.), *What is a City? Rethinking the Urban after Katrina*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press.

Spinster, S. (2011, March 20). The People in My Neighbourhood [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://solitaryspinster.wordpress.com/category/my-city/>

Stewart, K. (2007) *Ordinary Affects*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stoler, A. 2002. Colonial Archives and the Acts of Governance. *Archival Science* 2: 87-109

Street SmArt: A guide to art on the streets of Canada's Capital Region. (2007-2008) Ottawa: National Capital Commission.

Sturken, M. (1997). *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the Aids Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

(2007). *Tourists of History*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Szpunar, P. (2010). Monuments, mundanity and memory: Altering 'place' and 'space' at the National War Memorial (Canada) *Memory Studies*. 3(4): 379-394.

Sztejn, A. (2011, January 27). Stanley Cup *monument* planned for downtown core *The East Ottawa Star*. p. 6

Taussig, M. (1999). *Defacement*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

(1993). *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge.

- Taylor, J. (1986). *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers.
- Taylor, J. (1988). *About Canada: The Face of the National Capital*. Ministry of Supply and Services Canada: Ottawa.
- Taylor, L (2010, July 7). Sexual Assault victim sent to Renfrew: Critics outraged over lack of specialized service at Ottawa Hospital. *The Ottawa Citizen*.
- Taylor, D. (2003). *The Archive and the Repertoire*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Teelucksingh, C. (Ed.) (2006) *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Tenszen, M. (2001, September 14). Agency admits *monument* gaffe: It was slow to respond to rewording. *Packet and Times*. p. 3.
- Tester, K. (1994) Introduction In K. Tester (Ed.), *The Flaneur* Routledge: London.
- “Then... and now”. (1973, April 14). *The Ottawa Journal*. n.p.
- Thomas, J. (2001) Scouting for Indians In *Artspace: Artist Run Centre*. Retrieved from www.artspace-arc.org/exhibits/scouting_for_indians/scouting.htm
- (2004) Intersection In *Jeff Thomas: A Study of Indian-ness*. Gallery 44 Centre for Contemporary Photography: Toronto.
- Thomson, A. (2008, November 11). War memorial security questioned; Predawn dispute unsettles visitor at 1914-1918 Vigil *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. C.1

- Till, K. (2005). *The New Berlin: Memories, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Titley, Brian (1986) *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Project History. (2001, April). Vista Knowledge Services: Ottawa
- Tong, Tracey. (2010, July 14). Protest backs assault victims. *Metro News Ottawa*. p.2.
- Tong, Tracey. (2009, November 26). Day of Remembrance for Montreal Massacre. *Metro News*.
- Tribute to the Founder of City: Monument to Col. By is Unveiled at an Impressive Ceremony (1926, August 17). *Ottawa Journal*.
- Trueman, P. (1990, October 17). A Very Canadian Tribute to the Dalai Lama. *The Whig – Standard*. p. 1
- Trueman, P. Collective Hypocrisy. (1989/1990, December/January) *Ottawa Magazine*.
- Valiants Memorial, The*. (2010). National Capital Commission. Retrieved on... From http://www.canadascapital.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16297-24563-24548-69225&lang=1
- Valiants Memorial, The Retrieved from: <http://www.valiants.ca/English/Brant.html>
- Vance, J. F. (1997). *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Veterans Affairs Canada (2003). National Day of Remembrance of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

Retrieved from:

<http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/general/sub.cfm?source=department/press/viewrelease&id=211>

Walker, Harry. (1973, April 14). Sparks and Elgin. *The Ottawa Journal*.

Warner, M. (1996). *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. London: Vintage.

Whelan, Y. 2002/2003. Decoding Symbolic Spaces of Dublin: A Photographic Essay. *Canadian Association of Irish Studies*. 28/29: 46-73.

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist Practice & Poststructuralist Theory*. Blackwell Publishing: Malden.

Weisman, L. (1992). *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

“White Poppies” White Poppies for a Culture of Peace. Retrieved on December 18, 2009, from. <http://www.ppu.org.uk/whitepoppy/white-news.html>

White poppy emblems anger Edmonton veterans (2006, November 8). CBC News.

Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/edmonton/story/2006/11/08/white-poppy.html>

Wilson, Elizabeth (2000) Into the Labyrinth In Jane Rendall, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (Eds.), *Gender Space Architecture* New York: Routledge.

Woods, A. *Ottawa Citizen* 60% want guard at war memorial: Tories considering sentry after summer urination incident. (2006, November 3) p. A.1

Woods, S. E. (1980). *Ottawa: The Capital of Canada*. Toronto: Doubleday.

Woollacott, A. (2000). The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-Century London. *Signs*. 25(3): 761-787.

Wolff, J. (1994). The artist and the *flaneur*: Rodin, Rilke and Gwen John in Paris. In K. Tester (Ed.), *The Flaneur*. Routledge: New York.

Why not use to advantage Parliament Hill's fine lawns? (1955, May 28). *The Ottawa Journal*. Ottawa

Yeo, M. (1991) Murdered by Misogyny *Canadian Woman Studies* 12 (1): 8-11.

Young, J. E. (1993). *The Texture of Memory*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Yundt, H. (2010, December 19). When Truth is Stranger than Fiction: The Capital that Sits on Another Nations Land *Spacing Ottawa* [Web log post] Retrieved from <http://spacingottawa.ca/2010/12/19/when-truth-is-stranger-than-fiction-the-capital-that-sits-on-another-nations-land/>

Zabjek, A. (2006, July 5). Special law needed to protect *memorial*, MP argues. *The Ottawa Citizen*. pg. A.1.