

*“very fine people on both sides”*

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

Throughout history, monuments have been erected to act as reminders of sites, events and people. In Canada, many of these commemorative markers reflect one side of history and further Indigenous erasure. This thesis supports my 2018 MFA exhibition titled *“very fine people on both sides”* that interrogates the distribution of understanding and multiple perspectives surrounding monuments and reconciliation. The thesis considers the historical, social, and political positioning of monuments and their relationship to Canada’s engagement within the process of reconciliation. It investigates how monument interventions have been employed by Indigenous artists as a space for reclamation to acknowledge true histories. Through critical discourse analysis and case studies, this thesis investigates how “the monument” is perceived in contemporary timelines as an underpinning for further research into how the creation/prospect of new monuments proposed under the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action can be improved to better reflect Indigenous and Canadian realities.

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--

Grampa - "boy I sure do love you" too

**DEBWEWIN**

for my grandson Klyde, whose world I hope to leave a better place

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) released its findings on Indian Residential school systems whose sole purpose was to assimilate Indigenous children by removing them from their families and home communities to be placed into institutions where they were denied access to their language, culture and nourishment.<sup>1</sup> In 1883, former Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald was supporting Canada's legislation enacted through the Indian Act of 1876 when he presented this statement to the House of Commons:

*When the school is on the reserve and the child lives with its parents, who are savage; he is surrounded by savages, and though he may learn to read and write his habits, and training and mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write. It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men.<sup>2</sup>*

The TRC's findings were outlined in a six volume Final Report concluding with a National 94 Calls to Action. From 2009 to 2014,<sup>3</sup> the Commission travelled from coast to coast gathering and recording stories from Indian residential school (IRS) survivors, their families, as well as those who worked within the walls of these institutions.<sup>4</sup> It is

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<sup>1</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Volume One: Summary*, vol. 1, 6 vols. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2015), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. (Library and Archives Canada, 2015), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report*, Preface.

estimated that at least 150,000 Indigenous children passed through the system and many never saw home again.<sup>5</sup>

My direct relationship to this legacy is through my grandfather, Thomas Couchie, an Anishinaabe man who attended residential school at St. Peter Claver School for Boys in Spanish, Ontario. He returned home as a changed person who was no longer able to speak Anishinaabemowin fluently. As a child, I heard my grandfather's tales about the "different" school he attended and often his stories were of beatings he'd received for speaking Ojibwe as well as one quasi-infamous escape attempt made with his cousin Lawrence. Upon reflection, I realized there may have been many stories that my grandfather kept from me since I don't recall ever hearing any good stories or positive thoughts attributed to his time at the school. I know this because since my grandfather's death, my father has recounted many of his stories that were missing from my memory. Ten months and two days before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established,<sup>6</sup> my grandfather died from an illness stemming from tuberculosis. I often wonder what he would think about the fact that his stories could be joined by thousands of others who brought their testimony to the attention of people across the country and worldwide. It became important for me to ensure my grandfather's truth and stories live on in a good way because of my love and respect for him and since he never saw the TRC resolutions come to light.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>6</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "About the Commission," Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), accessed January 27, 2018, <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=39>.



Shortly after I won a large-scale public art commission in Barrie Ontario, Nipissing First Nation Chief Scott McLeod approached me about the possibility of creating a residential school monument for survivors from our community. I began to think about the weight and responsibilities that accompanied such a task, knowing that my grandfather, aunts, uncles, neighbors and extended community members would need to be represented in this prospective commemoration. It led me to think about other residential school monuments proposed through the TRC Calls to Action and how they would also carry a heavy burden.

Five of the TRC's resulting 94 Calls to Action<sup>7</sup> cited under the sections titled "Commemoration" and "Missing Children and Burial Information" focus upon the creation of monuments intended to commemorate the location of residential schools and honour those survivors and the children who were lost.

These specific calls state:

*74) We call upon the federal government to work with the churches and Aboriginal community leaders to inform the families of children who died at residential schools of the child's burial location, and to respond to families' wishes for appropriate commemoration ceremonies and markers, and reburial in home communities where requested.*<sup>8</sup>

*75) We call upon the federal government to work with provincial, territorial, and municipal governments, churches, Aboriginal communities, former residential school students and current landowners to develop and implement strategies and procedures for the ongoing identification, documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries or other sites at which residential school children were buried. This is to include the provision of*

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<sup>8</sup> Truth and Reconciliation, Final Report, 333.

*appropriate memorial ceremonies and commemorative markers to honour the deceased.*<sup>9</sup>

*79)(iii) Developing and implementing a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada's history.*<sup>10</sup>

*81) We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Survivors and their organization, and other parties to the Settlement Agreement, to commission and install a publicly accessible, highly visible, Residential Schools National Monument in the city of Ottawa to honour Survivors and all the children who were lost to their families and communities.*<sup>11</sup>

*82) We call upon provincial and territorial governments, in collaboration with Survivors and their organizations, and other parties to the Settlement Agreement, to commission and install a publicly accessible, highly visible, Residential Schools Monument in each capital city to honour Survivors and all the children who were lost to their families and communities.*<sup>12</sup>

The TRC's final report maintains, "Reconciliation is going to take hard work.

People of all walks of life and at all levels of society will need to be willingly engaged."<sup>13</sup>

This declaration recognizes the process of reconciliation to affect societal change. The TRC Calls to Action are laid out with the intention to be implemented through: personal, group, community, federal, provincial, territorial government and national action.<sup>14</sup> The commission identified core problems within Canadian societal and government structures and the subsequent Calls to Action exist to implement systemic changes to policies and practices in place that discriminate against and harm Indigenous people. As a result,

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9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 334.

11 Ibid., 334-35

12 Ibid., 335.

13 Ibid., 316.

14 Ibid.

Canadians were tasked to quickly “reconcile.” Commitments to working with Indigenous peoples were swiftly produced such as the Government of Ontario’s “The Journey Together: Ontario’s Commitment to Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples” in 2016<sup>15</sup> and Universities Canada’s 13 “Principles on Indigenous Education” released in June 2015.<sup>16</sup>

In many instances, a number of institutionally and privately funded TRC-based projects were initiated, prematurely, and have left many Indigenous people feeling silenced, alienated and sometimes frustrated with the ways in which “reconciliation” rolled out. The Canada Council for the Arts rapidly produced the *{Re}conciliation* project funding in partnership with the J.W. McConnell Family Foundation and The Circle on Philanthropy and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. A jury selection approved ten projects by May 2015, in anticipation of the official release of the Calls to Action.<sup>17</sup> Two subsequent rounds of *{Re}conciliation* competitions approved sixteen more projects before the initiative ended in June 2016.

While some projects and organizations ensure they are responsible and accountable to the communities they aim to reconcile with, others skip this due diligence. The resulting consequences of these oversights result in projects spiraling out of control and in doing so their original intent is lost. Instead, they impact and affect Indigenous people in ways that hurt them emotionally, economically, politically and socially.

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15 “The Journey Together: Ontario’s Commitment to Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples,” Ontario.ca, May 26, 2016, <https://www.ontario.ca/page/journey-together-ontarios-commitment-reconciliation-indigenous-peoples>.

16 “Universities Canada Principles on Indigenous Education,” Universities Canada (blog), June 29, 2015, <https://www.univcan.ca/media-room/media-releases/universities-canada-principles-on-indigenous-education/>.

17 “{Re}conciliation,” Canada Council for the Arts, accessed March 21, 2018, <http://canadacouncil.ca/initiatives/reconciliation>.

Another high-profile program addressing reconciliation was introduced by Gord Downie, lead singer for renowned Canadian rock band The Tragically Hip, who released the truth and reconciliation inspired project *The Secret Path*. This initiative also produced the Downie Wenjack Fund, an organization he founded to raise money for future reconciliation projects. *The Secret Path* is a storybook, song and animated film informing Canadians about the story of Chanie Wenjack, an Anishinaabe boy whose escape from residential school resulted in his untimely death on his attempted journey home.

This specific residential school story has embraced the reconciliation narrative and has to some extent overridden the stories of thousands of other survivors through the unofficial “branding” of Wenjack by Gord Downie’s brother Mike, and author Joseph Boyden. Boyden wrote in Maclean’s, “Mike Downie, the brother of the Tragically Hip’s singer Gord Downie, found an article written in this very magazine way back in 1967, he introduced it to Gord, and then Gord to me.”<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that Mike Downie actually came upon the Wenjack story after hearing a 2012 CBC Radio documentary created by Jody Porter.<sup>19</sup> Following Mike Downie’s relaying of the story, Gord produced *The Secret Path* and Boyden wrote a novella titled *Wenjack*.

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph Boyden, “How Chanie Wenjack Chose Joseph Boyden,” Macleans, October 21, 2016, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/how-chanie-wenjack-chose-joseph-boyden/>.

<sup>19</sup> Jody Porter, “Meet the Journalist Who Inspired Gord Downie and Joseph Boyden to Write about Chanie Wenjack,” CBC News, October 21, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/ian-adams-gord-downie-1.3813737>.

Boyden used his influence to push the Wenjack story into the Indigenous arts community.<sup>20</sup> In anticipation for the launch of his novella, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Chanie's death, Boyden approached A Tribe Called Red to include his spoken word about Chanie Wenjack in their 2016 *We Are the Hallucination* album. On television and online, Historica Canada produced one of their public "Heritage Minutes" about the Wenjack story and included Boyden as narrator.<sup>21</sup> A special event held during ImagineNative's 2016 film festival called "A Night for Chanie" was framed around Boyden's reading of *Wenjack* followed by a short film titled *SNIP*, directed by Terril Calder and written and narrated by Joseph Boyden.<sup>22</sup>

This mining of a single residential school narrative can present itself as an open and shut case by which Canadians come to understand only one aspect of residential school legacies. It misses thousands of other stories that delve into the complexity of this history. Further, *The Secret Path* narrative relegates the issue to the past without recognizing the current systemic issues offered in the TRC Calls to Action. This move away from the TRC is demonstrated by the exclusion of links to, and information about, the Calls to Action on *The Secret Path/Downie Wenjack* website.<sup>23</sup> The site does,

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20 At this time, Joseph Boyden was considered to be "Indigenous" though his exact background had been shifting for years and was beginning to be heavily questioned. In December 2016, Boyden's fraudulent Indigenous identity was exposed on Twitter by Robert Jago. The events surrounding Wenjack take place prior to this exposure, leaving many who trusted Boyden feeling deceived.

21 "Chanie Wenjack," Historica Canada, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/heritage-minutes/chanie-wenjack>.

22 ImagineNative, "ImagineNative Filmfest 2016 Catalog," 2016, [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5711573b044262398e3acb85/t/58013bb2e58c62fb5d69b244/1476475843830/iN2016\\_catalog\\_v1.30wcovers.compressed.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5711573b044262398e3acb85/t/58013bb2e58c62fb5d69b244/1476475843830/iN2016_catalog_v1.30wcovers.compressed.pdf).

23 "The Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund," The Gord Downie & Chanie Wenjack Fund, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.downiewenjack.ca>.

however, include a “Merchandise” section where one can buy pins, hats and apparel branded with Gord Downie’s iconic hat, used as the logo for the Downie Wenjack Fund. This marketing effort raises concerns and questions surrounding how Canadians are “performing” reconciliation. Downie Wenjack Fund products look more like concert apparel rather than representing residential school legacies.

In its mandate, the Downie Wenjack Fund seeks to implement *The Secret Path* as the go-to curriculum resource on residential schools. Teach Like Gord, an online group started by a “pair of Hip-loving teachers,”<sup>24</sup> takes this further and conflates the idolization of Downie with residential school history. This action continues in spite of frustration voiced by many Indigenous people online, frustrations ignored by Teach Like Gord participants. These actions, framed as reconciliation, continue to suppress Indigenous voices as well as the work of Indigenous artists who have also written books, songs and films about their own family’s residential school stories.

Canada’s Prime Minister and his cabinet suggest that one of the goals for reconciliation is to build new Nation to Nation dialogue. Through this centuries-old proposed policy, Canadians are encouraged to speak on behalf of themselves AND Indigenous people. This is problematic because it reinforces the habits of the dominant narrative, pushing Indigenous people to submit to one-sided and controlled reconciliation.

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24 CTV News Staff, “Pair of Hip-Loving Teachers Urge Colleagues to ‘Teach like Gord,’” CTV News, October 21, 2017, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/pair-of-hip-loving-teachers-urge-colleagues-to-teach-like-gord-1.3643174>.

As a prime example of this, the Liberal government allocated five million dollars in the 2018 federal budget to the Downie Wenjack Fund with “the goal of helping Canada’s reconciliation efforts with Indigenous people.”<sup>25</sup> This allocation becomes root cause for an



Figure 1 Screenshot of a February 28, 2018 tweet from Anishinaabe musician and artist Melody McKiver in response to 2018 federal budget announcement. (image shared with Melody’s permission)

emblem of reconciliation that can lead to superficial positions in acquiring grants or opportunities to move reconciliation forward.

Downie’s project has become divisive, even within Indigenous communities. A 2016 Vice online article identified Indigenous artists and leaders reflecting upon the positive aspects of the project in support of Downie’s privileged celebrity platform to highlight the history of residential schools.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, a number of Indigenous artists, writers and scholars from across the country viewed the project through a more critical lens and questioned the “white saviour” platform. Their concerns examined how this branding could shift and refocus the primary intentions of the TRC reconciliation process. The TRC reminds us “Commemoration should not put closure to the history and

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25 CBC News, “Downie-Wenjack Fund Receives \$5M in 2018 Federal Budget,” CBC News, February 27, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/wenjack-fund-2018-budget-1.4554500>.

26 Joshua Kloke, “Indigenous Artists Tell Us How They Feel About Gord Downie’s Activism,” Vice, October 13, 2016, [https://www.vice.com/en\\_ca/article/nnkmg7/indigenous-artists-tell-us-how-they-feel-about-gord-downies-activism](https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/nnkmg7/indigenous-artists-tell-us-how-they-feel-about-gord-downies-activism).

legacy of the residential schools. Rather, it must invite citizens into a dialogue about a contentious past and why this history still matters today.”<sup>27</sup>

Anishinaabe scholar Hayden King’s thoughts following his attendance at *The Secret Path* concert in Ottawa were summed up in a blog post he titled “The Secret Path, Reconciliation & Not-Reconciliation.” King describes the event as being “utterly devastating but at times also contrived.”<sup>28</sup> Though he mentions Downie’s intentions are good he also noted,

*After the music and the film and the short video, Gord Downie’s brother Mike came on stage to introduce all the people who made the project possible (including an advertisement for the corporate sponsors, energy and rail companies among them). Recognizing the contributions gave way to an uncomfortable editorializing of the show. It was proclaimed that we all just took our first giant step towards genuine reconciliation. For me, this reflected a sense of self-importance, which betrayed the spirit of much that came before it. The decision to determine and articulate what is and is not reconciliation belongs to survivors.<sup>29</sup>*

King’s discomfort with *The Secret Path* event has also separately been raised as a general point of concern about the reconciliation process by Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Simpson. She states in her book *Dancing On Our Turtle’s Back*, “If reconciliation is focused only on residential schools rather than the broader set of relationships that generated policies, legislation and practices aimed at assimilation and political genocide, then there is a risk that reconciliation will ‘level the playing field’ in the eyes of

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27 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: Reconciliation*, vol. 6, 6 vols. (Montreal & Kingston, London, Chicago: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015) 182.

28 Hayden King, “The Secret Path, Reconciliation & Not-Reconciliation,” Hayden King (blog), October 19, 2016, <https://biidwewidam.com/2016/10/19/the-secret-path-reconciliation-not-reconciliation/>.

29 Ibid.



Canadians.”<sup>30</sup> The concerns raised by King and Simpson have become even more evident in the years since, as more problematic projects have rolled out. What was once seen as a step in a new direction, has instead bolstered the careers of some while leaving Indigenous people facing the same systems of oppression.

### *The Mush Hole Project*

The University of Waterloo’s “Truth and Reconciliation Response Projects”<sup>31</sup> organized *The Mush Hole Project* in September 2016 in collaboration with eleven Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations<sup>32</sup> as a response to their initiative. The project’s objective claimed to “engage with the site of Canada’s first residential school [the Mohawk Institute aka Mush Hole] as a space in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists and scholars can meet and 1) acknowledge the residential school legacy, 2) challenge the concepts of ‘truth’ and ‘reconciliation,’ and 3) practice interdisciplinary art and performative methods of decolonization.”<sup>33</sup> *The Mush Hole Project* brought together a juried selection of multi-disciplinary Indigenous and settler artists to create and perform site-specific installations within the walls and grounds of the Mohawk Institute residential school in Ohswekon/Six Nations, Haudenosaunee territory

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30 Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011), 22.

31 University of Waterloo, “Truth and Reconciliation Response Projects,” Truth and Reconciliation Response Projects, October 1, 2015, <https://uwaterloo.ca/truth-and-reconciliation-response-projects/welcome>.

32 “Collaborators,” Mush Hole Project, accessed March 21, 2018, <http://www.mushholeproject.ca/collaborators/>.

33 University of Waterloo, “The Mush Hole Project - About,” Mush Hole Project, 2016, <http://www.mushholeproject.ca/mush-hole-project/>.

in Ontario. I was one of the selected artists and exhibited *By-products of Assimilation* (2016), a sculptural installation I developed at NSCAD University for my BFA final studio. When I applied to the project, I felt it was a unique opportunity to engage with this history and the site-specificity of the installation space. What I experienced during my participation in the exhibition however, made me critically assess my involvement in future reconciliation projects.

For many who experience intergenerational trauma emerging from the histories of residential schools, attending these sites can be triggering. The opportunity to address the care and well-being for the Indigenous artists participating and entering this site of trauma and violence was not considered and overlooked by the organizers. This key concern was brought forward by a number of Indigenous collaborators because many artists have personal and collective relationships to the residential school legacy. The concerns voiced went unheeded over the two days of installation and throughout the subsequent two days of the exhibition. I can testify to the heavy experience that I mentally and physically faced when entering this former residential school for the first time. Confronted with the cold, institutional architecture of the school subjected upon children like my grandfather for months on end was more than I could bear. I found myself leaving the building many times over the course of installation. Since there was no consideration for counselling, many of the Indigenous artists found comfort in one another and we worked through our shared grief and anger together.

On the opening night, the artists and public witnessed a self-aggrandizing group of non-Indigenous organizers standing on stage alongside prominent local leaders and

politicians who self-congratulated the success of the project. This pretentious behaviour coupled with the absence of recognizing the experiences of the Indigenous artists made it seem as though the primary objective “to acknowledge the residential school legacy,” had been lost. In volume six of the TRC, there’s a chapter dedicated to Public Memory which states, “the core values that lie at the heart of reconciliation” are based on the Seven Grandfather teachings which are: “wisdom, love, respect, courage, humility, honesty and truth.”<sup>34</sup> Few of these values were upheld in *The Mush Hole Project*. The shared experience amongst the artists was best summed up by Ntlaka’pamux and Irish artist Tara Beagan who stated “care for our spirits was neglected in spite of repeated reminders and bids to teach. The invitation yielded strong work, but the thoughtless execution continues to inspire incredulity.”<sup>35</sup>

The TRC recognizes reconciliation achieved through the arts as a method integral to healing. Volume six indicates, “Creative expression supports everyday practices of resistance, healing, and commemoration at individual, community, regional, and national levels. [...] The arts help to restore human dignity and identity in the face of injustice.”<sup>36</sup> Reframed within the context of this thesis and the inherent permanence of monuments and actions associated, the rush to hastily reconcile has the potential to result in poorly thought out commemoration endeavours as demonstrated by *The Mush Hole Project*. This rush towards reconciliation is as equally problematic as are the moves by settler-Canadians to control and dominate the reconciliation agenda.

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34 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools*, 164.

35 Tara Beagan, “Mush Hole - Facebook Conversation,” February 25, 2018, Facebook.

36 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada’s Residential Schools*, 178.

With this experiential and observed evidence gathered from *The Mush Hole Project* and *The Secret Path*, I saw how non-indigenous Canadians can assail and disrupt the process of reconciliation. Well-intentioned people can do harm by taking space where Indigenous people could be better positioned to implement necessary changes in their respective communities. Many settler Canadians are creating their own narrative and in doing so, they displace Indigenous artists, writers and musicians from mainstream conversations surrounding reconciliation.

As the TRC rolled out, my perspectives for this thesis shifted focus in real-time. I began with the intention to focus on monuments proposed through the Calls to Action as a space to claim for Indigenous principles, history and voice. However, the direction of the thesis took on a new trajectory in May 2017 when I suffered a severe break to my leg and ankle that forced me to be immobilized for three months. During this time, I relied on reading, watching TV and keeping an eye on social media feeds to cull information as relevant research. In this short period, two distinct events unfolded on my social media feeds and on broadcast television:

- 1) July 1<sup>st</sup> 2017 (Halifax, Nova Scotia): at the site of the long-contested Cornwallis monument two groups drew national attention when a video of their confrontation went viral on social media. These two groups were: the alt-right organization named the “Proud Boys” and the other, a group of

Indigenous people and allies who were at the site to perform an intervention as an act of protest against the monument.<sup>37</sup>

- 2) August 12, 2017 (Charlottesville, Virginia): A similarly organized, yet physically violent clash occurred between two groups: one, a group of white supremacists who dub themselves “Unite the Right” and the other, a conglomeration of Black activists, antifa & allies. This altercation took place at the Robert E. Lee Confederate monument site in Charlottesville’s Emancipation Park. It resulted in numerous injuries and the death of a woman named Heather Heyer.<sup>38</sup>

During the aforementioned events, the discourse offered via social media users alongside subsequent mainstream media articles, podcasts and blogs, provided differing perspectives worthy of consideration in the TRC’s calls for monuments. These responses provided me with an opportunity to study the conversations concerning monuments and their potential removal. They allowed me to gain a clearer understanding as to how historical monuments fit into a contemporary timeline. I noted that the resistance to monument removal and/or re-contextualization is closely linked to racial ideologies. This understanding provides an indicator as to where people are positioned on the social spectrum of engaging in reconciliation. The power dynamics of monuments as presented

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37 Canadian Press, “No Charges in Halifax ‘Proud Boys’ Incident as Servicemen Return to Duties: Navy,” *The Toronto Star*, August 31, 2017, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/08/31/no-charges-in-halifax-proud-boys-incident-as-servicemen-return-to-duties-navy.html>.

38 Joe Heim, “How a Rally of White Nationalists and Supremacists at the University of Virginia Turned into a ‘Tragic, Tragic Weekend,’” *Washington Post*, August 14, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.

in the case studies of Cornwallis and Robert E. Lee, lie within varying degrees of ideologies that include: 1) nationalism mixed with racism and 2) erasure mixed with oppression, or rather, the struggle to free oneself from oppression.

Current events combined with historical research granted me an opportunity to learn how monuments have been used to erase Indigenous histories and to actively enforce and uphold a dominant narrative. This research leads my understanding of how politics and race have physically converged at sites of monuments and how Indigenous interventions work as counter-monuments and opportunities to educate. This thesis addresses erasure as much as it addresses truth. It sets out to reclaim space in order to refute settler dominated histories and settler dominated reconciliation.

I framed the thesis to address these questions:

- 1) How do monuments and commemoration function as a device used to shape settler, newcomer and visitor perspectives about the lands they occupy, its history and its identity? How does this relate to inter-racial power dynamics and the process of reconciliation?
- 2) How can monuments employed under the TRC Calls to Action be used to embolden and assert Indigenous sovereignty? Can other forms of art take on the function of monuments and contribute to social change in this instance?

## THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT PROJECT

*OCAD University acknowledges the ancestral and traditional territories of the Mississaugas of the New Credit, the Haudenosaunee, the Anishinaabe and the Huron-Wendat, who are the original owners and custodians of the land on which we stand and create.<sup>39</sup>*

Located in Toronto, Ontario, these official words preface most of OCAD University's talks, presentations, exhibitions and events. Land acknowledgment declarations are slowly making their way across the country and are used as a means to recognize the Indigenous territories upon which institutions, such as OCAD, sit. Though some acknowledgements still require research to identify which nations should/should not be included, they're still a gesture of goodwill and protocol that accompany institutions engaging in reconciliation best practices. Outside of these institutions, many Canadians have no exposure to land acknowledgements and go about their daily business disregarding the Indigenous history under their feet. Dr. Natalia Krzyzanowska's work focuses on the politics of contemporary social practices in public spaces,<sup>40</sup> her writing on the semiotics of commemoration in urban spaces notes:

*Apart from strategies of naming (places, squares, streets, etc.) and designing spatial order, commemoration remains the key tool of symbolic power and enacting symbolism and axio-normativity in city spaces. [...] Therein, the salience of monuments and commemorations becomes crucial, also as a tool of creating an identity of a place and providing various tools for its redefinition and re-construction.<sup>41</sup>*

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39 OCAD University, "History - OCAD U," accessed December 14, 2017, <https://www.ocadu.ca/about/history.htm>.

40 "Natalia Krzyzanowska - Institutionen för humaniora, utbildnings- och samhällsvetenskap - Örebro universitet," Örebro Universitet, accessed April 29, 2018, [https://www.oru.se/personal/natalia\\_krzyzanowska](https://www.oru.se/personal/natalia_krzyzanowska).

41 Natalia Krzyzanowska, "The Discourse of Counter-Monuments: Semiotics of Material Commemoration in Contemporary Urban Spaces," *Social Semiotics* 26, no. 5 (2016): 465-66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2015>.

Framed within a Canadian lens, connections can be made as to how monuments and commemorations have been used as a device in forming Canada's national identity. As I will prove in this thesis, those same devices can be used to deconstruct that identity.

### *Land*

In 2017, Canada celebrated its 150<sup>th</sup> birthday which has been interpreted by many as a reminder of existing colonial structures and the continued erasure of Indigenous nations. Across the country, provinces and municipalities planned events and commemorations that were funded in part by half a billion dollars earmarked for the occasion by the federal government.<sup>42</sup> As part of the City of Barrie's 150 celebration the municipality, in partnership with local Rotary Clubs, installed a commemorative *Sesquicentennial Clock* on the same shoreline that once sustained thousands of Wendat and Anishinaabe peoples. A campaign to partially fund this clock offered the public an opportunity to purchase custom engraved paving stones. Once ordered and engraved, these stones were installed into the parkade surrounding the new monument. I used this occasion to intervene in this site and address my thesis work by purchasing of four of these stones.<sup>43</sup> Two of the stones were ordered in English and two in Anishinaabemowin and are engraved as follows:

*Stone #1: THIS LAND RUNS ON ANISHINAABE TIME*

*Stone #2: THIS LAND RUNS ON WENDAT TIME*

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42 Chris Hannay, "Ottawa Spending Half a Billion Dollars for Canada's 150th Anniversary," *Globe and Mail*, January 4, 2017, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/canada-150/ottawa-spending-half-a-billion-dollars-for-canadas-150th-anniversary/article33508942/>.

43 The four engraved stones were scheduled to be installed at the monument site in the Spring of 2018.



*Stone #3: NI WAAMJIGAADEG AKI*

*Stone #4: NI WAAMJIGAADEG DEBWEWIN*

Since I have no knowledge of the Anishinaabe language due to my Grandfather's time at residential school, the translations for stone #3 and #4 were provided to me by Elder Evelyn McLeod and Glenna Beaucage of Nipissing First Nation. *Ni waamjigaadeg aki* translates to "now is the time to see the land" and *ni waamjigaadeg debwewin* means "now is the time to see the truth." Through word-play, the indication of "time" in each stone references the commemorative Clock both in mechanical function, but also in disruption of the sesquicentennial timeline.

Further in this thesis, I outline the function and features of counter-monuments, also known as "anti-monuments." Though I hesitate to call the stones installed in *Land* a counter-monument, I still refer to this intervention as a *partial* counter-monument based on Krzyżanowska's writing:

*Counter-monuments are almost always multi-meaningful with the multiplicity of their meanings open to the desired polysemy of interpretations of the counter-monuments' end-receivers. Their resistance or the protest component are further emphasised by the fact that, as such, counter-monuments aim to bring to the fore and critique what is often forgotten, omitted or silenced by the collectivity – especially in relation to its collective history – in the official narratives of the past.<sup>44</sup>*

Taking advantage of the system offered by the City of Barrie and the Rotary Clubs, *Land* incorporates a resistance and/or protest component to this Canada 150

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44 Ibid, 471.

monument. The function of the *Sesquicentennial Clock* was to celebrate a settler-based timeline and as Krzyżanowska states, “The practice of erecting/unveiling monuments [...] links past and present as well as helps sustaining the social and political status quo.”<sup>45</sup> By intervening in Barrie’s attempt to maintain the status quo, *Land* quietly disrupts the settler-narrative through the insertion of Indigenous presence. Its intended function is to serve as resistance to Indigenous erasure and as a permanent land acknowledgement.



Figure 2 One of four Certificates of Purchase for the intervention titled *Land*

### *Aki*

The gallery-installation of *Aki* builds upon and references the phrases found in *Land*’s engraved stones. *Aki* informs the words further through materials and mode of display. The materials that make up this installation are: four custom-made plinths, four custom-made acrylic vitrines and smudge ashes saved in a jar.

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45 Ibid, 468.



Figure 3 Gallery installation of *Aki*

On top of the plinths, under clear vitrines, rest the phrases from *Land*, carefully stenciled out of the collected ashes. The ashes themselves are a mixture created from three traditional medicines: cedar, sweetgrass and sage. I opted to use these specific medicines as my knowledge and understanding of their function is that of healing and cleansing. As Anishinaabekwe, I perceive this as washing away the old and starting anew, just as others may see the process of reconciliation. Simpson writes, “We are each responsible for finding our own meanings, for shifting those meanings through time and space, for coming to our own meaningful ways of being in the world.”<sup>46</sup> Through creating

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46 Simpson, *Dancing On Our Turtle’s Back*, 43.

works such as this, I spend time contemplating how I find meaning and reflect upon my world.



Figure 4 NI WAAMJIGAADEG AKI



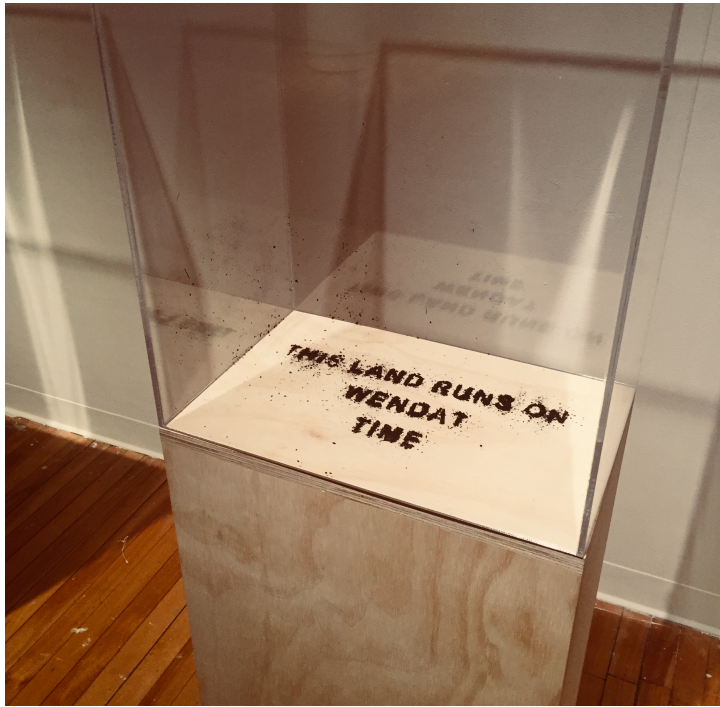


Figure 5 THIS LAND RUNS ON WENDAT TIME



Figure 6 NI WAAMJIGADEEG DEBWEWIN



Figure 7 THIS LAND RUNS ON ANISHINAABE TIME

As I created the words from ashes, I thought about the preciousness of land and language, one that was lost to me through my grandfather's residential school experience. The decision to display this work, on plinths, under the protection of clear vitrines spoke as much to the value of these delicate words in material form as it does to Anishinaabemowin, one of many Indigenous languages endangered through residential school policy.

The process of creating *Aki* is delicate and requires time, patience, a steady hand and breath. These slow-making procedures are meditative and an essential part of my practice. In *The Mush Hole Project's* installation titled *By-Products of Assimilation* (pictured in Figure 8 with a segment of the artist statement), the process of creating is equally as important to informing the work produced.

*“I begin by deconstructing new sleeping bags, removing their outer shells. The process is meticulous, calculated, and measured. By “skinning” these sleeping bags, I remove their protective cover, exposing the vulnerable material inside to the outside world. I take away their intended function, imposing my will to change what they are. An attempt is then made to reconstruct the baffles and overall structure of the exposed by-product, stitching it back together with cotton twine and beadwork. I attempt to reconcile the damage inflicted through using what is left. It is through this process that I explore the concept and reality of reconciliation.”*



Figure 8 *By-Products of Assimilation* (2016) Altered sleeping bags, glass beads, cotton twine, installation shot from *The Mush Hole Project*, September 16-18, 2016

Though creating these works are slow and time-consuming they grant space for reflection. This allows me to engage with the personal connections I have, not only to the forms produced, but also their context.

Simpson writes, “All Nishnaabeg people are theorists in the sense that they hold responsibilities to making meaning for their own creation and their own life.”<sup>47</sup> In the wooden plinths found in *Aki* as well as with many of my other wood-based sculptures, I opt to leave the woodgrain unpainted and unfinished. The decision to adhere to this aesthetic stem both from my appreciation for the materials in their natural state, as well as the connection I make to my grandfather’s work. Prior to his death, my grandfather spent years in his woodshop creating small-scale wooden canoe sculptures for each member of our family. After his passing, we discovered a box full of unfinished canoes, some hand

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47 Ibid.



carved, others pieced together and jigged with precision – all of them left in a natural, unfinished state. This box of canoes travelled with me for years and became a source of inspiration for other works because of their raw forms and natural aesthetic. Though this choice to leave materials in their raw forms is personal and won't be read by the viewer, they are how I “make meaning” in my own life.

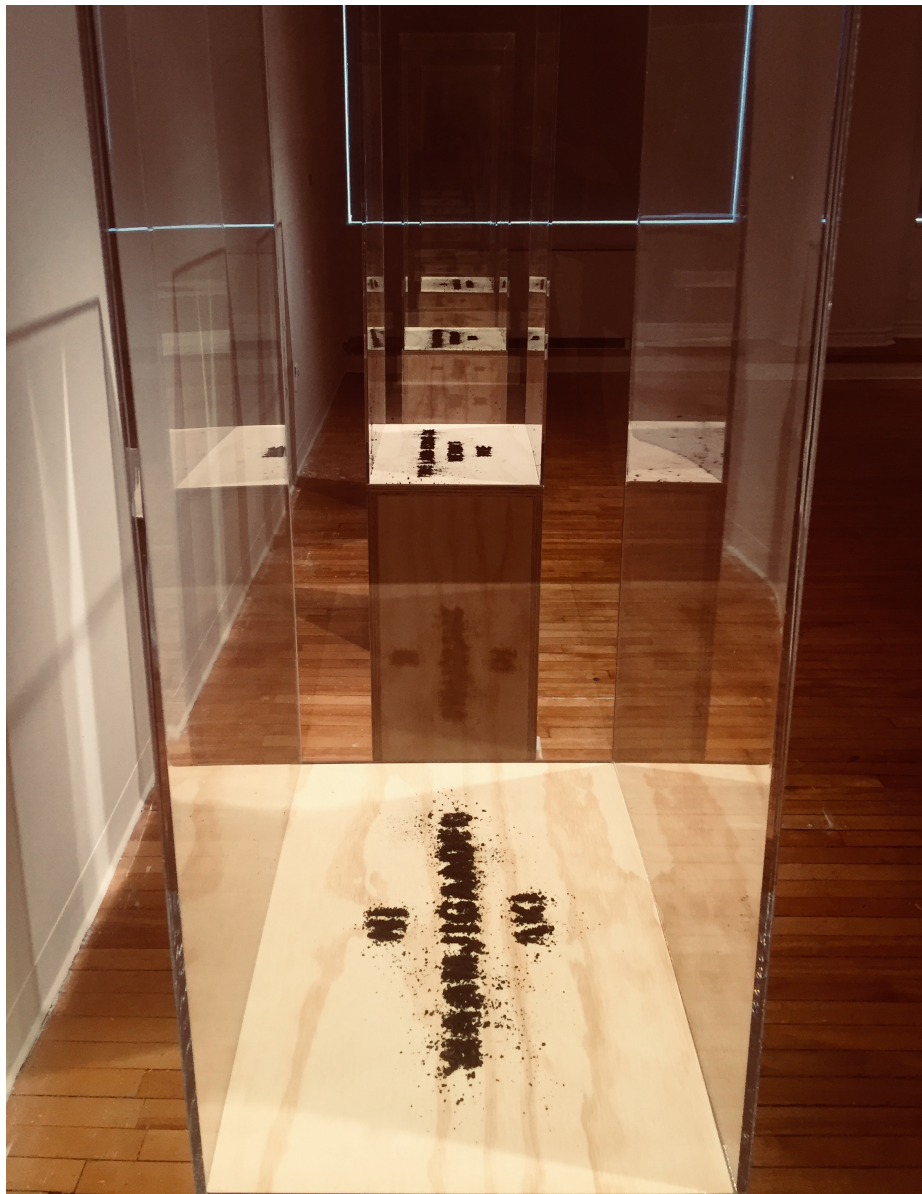


Figure 9 Gallery installation of *Aki* - side view



For the thesis exhibition of “*very fine people on both sides*” an additional outdoor component to the *Aki* project was created using five plastic laser-cut stencils. Using these stencils and red spray chalk, I took the opportunity to place land acknowledgements outside, into the public view, by painting the sidewalks surrounding the gallery. In addition to the four original acknowledgments found in *Land* and *Aki*, a fifth stencil “THIS LAND RUNS ON HAUDENOSAUNEE TIME” was added to reflect the territory on which the OCAD University’s Graduate Gallery sits. At the time of my thesis exhibition, a massive April ice storm was in the forecast. Knowing this impending weather would eventually wash away the sidewalk stencils, I improvised and adapted to the storm by stenciling the inside windows that line both sides of the gallery.



Figure 10 Sidewalk installation of *Aki*



Figure 11 OCAD Grad Gallery window installation of *Aki*

## METHODOLOGY

In order to move forward with the trajectory used in *Land*, I adhere to the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This methodology speaks directly to the following two facets:

- 1) the historical power-dynamics that were and still are at play which erase and hide Indigenous presence and wrongs committed by settler governments, such as residential schools and;
- 2) the current, and at times divisive, discourse found on social media feeds and in mainstream media's concern for problematic monuments, and the process of renaming buildings, roads and places under a reconciliatory lens.

The authors of "Critical Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric and Composition" explain the principles of CDA as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.<sup>48</sup>

CDA methodology "attend[s] to both textual details and social structures and how their combined use can facilitate studies of inequality, ethics, higher education, critical pedagogy, news media, and institutional practices."<sup>49</sup>

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48 Thomas Huckin, Jennifer Andrus, and Jennifer Clary-Lemon, "Critical Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric and Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 64, no. 1 (September 2012): 108.

49 Ibid, 112.

This methodology mirrors my own use of Twitter as a way to engage in like-minded and oppositional conversation with people throughout the world. CDA has also been employed within this thesis as a way to generate art. I joined Twitter nine years ago. Though the platform took some acclimation due to its original one-hundred-and-forty-character limit, I quickly learned that Twitter is a tool used to receive news in real-time, often before mainstream media has reported it. In “Towards a Sociological Understanding of Social Media: Theorizing Twitter”, author Dhiraj Murthy states, “I Tweet, Therefore I Am.”<sup>50</sup> Murthy suggests that “we are perhaps getting more truthful portrayals of some sides of people, which were previously kept in the private sphere.”<sup>51</sup> Analyzing tweets provides a basis for understanding the nature by which people present themselves, their opinions and values on Twitter. The platform also democratizes the sharing of information, whereby Murthy states, “An argument can be made that, within Western society itself, Twitter and other microblogging sites do indeed represent a significant ‘demotic turn’ (i.e. ordinary people are able to break ‘news’, produce media content, or voice their opinions publicly).”<sup>52</sup> The strength of this Twitter-based democratization of information has been employed time and time again by Indigenous users, also known as “Native Twitter.” The collective organizing of Idle No More and Standing Rock are inarguable testaments to the strength of the platform for Indigenous users. Native Twitter often reaches across the country in virtual ways, to offer support, guidance and aid in

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50 Dhiraj Murthy, “Towards a Sociological Understanding of Social Media: Theorizing Twitter,” *Sociology* 46, no. 6 (December 2012): 1062.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid, 1064.

times of crisis. It functions as an online community comprised of many First Nations, Métis and Inuit alongside Indigenous nations from across North America and the world.

Tweets are thoughts submitted into a digital stream that never rests. They are composed of no more than two hundred and eighty characters meant to be carefully constructed for maximum effect. In many ways, Twitter and Facebook can pose problems for democratic nations such as Canada and the US because information cannot be controlled. Information pathways are openly shared, though can be censored by Twitter if they deem a user is in violation of their Terms of Use policies. Still, the vast number of people tweeting separately or collectively about one issue can change the direction of political motivation, influence the resignation of prominent leaders and garner the media's attention to issues that would otherwise go unnoticed.

It's important to recognize that Twitter can be a positive space, a space where reconciliation can take place through education and dialogue. On the other-hand the platform can also be used to spread misinformation. This has garnered much attention as many reflect upon social media's role in proliferating the spread of "fake news" used to sway elections. In their writing on this topic, Gwen Bouvier states "Twitter, in particular, has been pinpointed as the fastest and most critical campaign tool for reaching and mobilising people, for gathering data and responding to public reactions."<sup>53</sup> I will illustrate later in this document that Twitter is also being used to disseminate alt-right and

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53 Gwen Bouvier, "What Is a Discourse Approach to Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Other Social Media: Connecting with Other Academic Fields?," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 10, no. 2 (2015): , <https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2015.1042381>, 157-58.

neo-Nazi ideologies. Both Twitter and Facebook, in fact, are utilized to “recruit, as well as radicalise protestors and militants,”<sup>54</sup> into factions classified as hate groups.

### How CDA was applied

Through the methodology of critical discourse analysis, I categorized differing viewpoints on issues related to monument removal. The first category recognizes offensive monuments should disappear as a means to correct and reconcile settler-dominated histories. The second proposes problematic monuments should either be moved into museum settings where they can be shown with the correct historical context or, have the didactic plaques updated or, be positioned beside new works to illustrate truthful histories. The third suggests that removing the monuments will erase history and the fourth assert that monuments should remain in their place and continue to be honoured. Once I categorized these viewpoints I used them to lead my research under the following topics: counter-monuments, interventions, re-contextualization and removal.

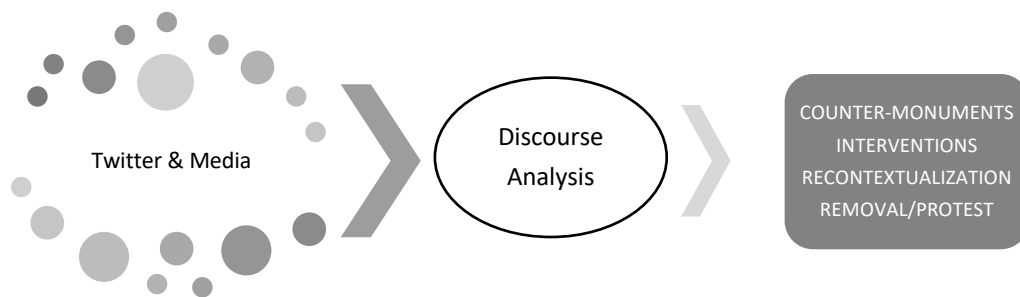


Figure 12 How Critical Discourse Analysis was applied

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54 Ibid, 158.

Each of these topics were investigated further via case studies, scholarly and peer-reviewed journal articles, historical research, and current and past mainstream media articles. This research not only inspired my art-making experiments and investigations, it also informed and supported the works created as part of this thesis.

## Chapter 2: Case Studies as Literature Review

### COUNTER-MONUMENTS

One of the ways deconstruction or reframing of national identity can take place is through the implementation of “counter-monuments.” As described by Sabrina Deturk, “counter-monuments can be read as complicating the act of remembering. Whereas traditional monument, such as those to the fallen soldiers of World War I, might be seen as providing a discrete, tidy space of memory and commemoration, the counter-monument is messy, challenging and provokes its viewers.”<sup>55</sup> Krzyżanowska furthers this conversation when she states that counter-monuments “re-enact discourses of memory that were rejected, omitted or outright silenced by the (urban/local/national) collectivity and make virtue of what would otherwise be deemed difficult or inconvenient past.”<sup>56</sup> If the function of counter-monuments is to resurface or, in Canada’s case, *surface* “inconvenient” histories, then it would seem that the creation of counter-monuments, through public art and other means of creative intervention, is a way in which Indigenous artists in particular, can open a door for Canadians to rethink their position on these lands.

#### *Ogimaa Mikana*

In response and support of the Idle No More movement, Anishinaabe artist Susan Blight (Couchiching First Nation) and scholar Hayden King (Beausoleil First Nation)

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<sup>55</sup> Sabrina Deturk, “Memory of Absence: Contemporary Counter-Monuments,” *Art & the Public Sphere* 6, no. 1+2 (2017): 83, [https://doi.org/10.1286/aps.6.1-2.81\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1286/aps.6.1-2.81_1).

<sup>56</sup> Krzyżanowska, 471.



developed the *Ogimaa Mikana Project*.<sup>57</sup> The collaborative project began as site-specific DIY interventions through the creation of street signs and plaques to acknowledge the original names and histories of place. Their newly created markers were then placed over existing Toronto street signs and historic plaques in a guerilla-style intervention.<sup>58</sup> Access to public arts funding allowed the project to grow and the artists to think bigger. What followed were a series of five billboards installed throughout Ontario acting as interventions of place, events and people. As an example, the City of Thunder Bay's Mount McKay is known to the Anishinaabeg as the place where the Thunderbirds land, long before settlers arrived and renamed it.<sup>59</sup> A subsequently installed billboard, or counter-monument named *Animikii-waajw* (place where the Thunderbirds land), addressed the erasure that had occurred through the process of settler renaming. It brought the original history of the mountain into public conscious.

Through the project's highly visible on-site interventions, the public recognition of these billboard counter-monuments offered local residents and visitors the opportunity to acknowledge the history of the lands they occupy. The billboards were presented in Anishinaabemowin and linked with the hashtag #OgimaaMikana. This hashtag provides tech-savvy viewers a path to follow to retrieve more information on social media platforms. This coded understanding supports the work and relates well to another of

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57 It should be noted that the *Ogimaa Mikana* project served as inspiration for my earlier work in the City of Barrie intervention titled *Land*

58 Susan Blight, "Land Claims: Raise a Flag Pennant Workshop with an Artist Talk by Susan Blight" (Toronto, December 2, 2017), <https://www2.ocadu.ca/event/land-claims-raise-a-flag-pennant-workshop-with-an-artist-talk-by-susan-blight>.

59 Blight, "Land Claims".

Krzyżanowska's points, "Counter-monuments' aim is to,[...] resist: not only the legitimation of power central to the monument but also its often instrumental approach to the artist as the one creating and encoding the commemorated meanings."<sup>60</sup> Lastly, in returning to Krzyżanowska's understanding of counter-monuments and urban environments, a connection can be drawn between her writing and *Ogimaa Mikana's* earlier street sign interventions. In 2016, the City of Toronto approved the implementation of new street signs bearing their Anishinaabe place names in partnership with *Ogimaa Mikana* and a local Business Improvement Association.<sup>61</sup> These street signs have become a permanent fixture in the City of Toronto. Krzyżanowska asserts, "in whatever way they enter the public consciousness and imagination, once they do so, the counter-monuments usually become a stable and indeed a persistent element of the city's collective consciousness of the local collectivity and society."<sup>62</sup>

### **RE-CONTEXTUALIZING MONUMENT**

The photographic series of monument interventions produced by Onandaga photographer Jeff Thomas, compliments and enters the discussion of monument removals and re-contextualization. More, I focus here on the erasure of the history of a specific monument's re-contextualization through Thomas' series titled *Seize the Space*. Thomas' work in *Seize the Space* involves continual performance and photographic interventions

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60 Krzyżanowska, 471.

61 CBC News, "New Street Signs Put Toronto's Indigenous History Front and Centre," CBC News, accessed December 15, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/new-street-signs-put-toronto-s-indigenous-history-front-and-centre-1.3771548>.

62 Krzyżanowska, 471.

with Ottawa's now re-contextualized Samuel de Champlain monument. To begin, the history of this monument and the subsequent actions taken to correct it must be examined.

In 1915, artist Hamilton MacCarthy was commissioned to produce Ottawa's Samuel de Champlain statue to recognize one of Canada's first "explorers."<sup>63</sup> In 1918, MacCarthy created a bronze sculpture of a kneeling "Indian," originally envisioned to be seen kneeling in a canoe. The group funding the sculpture however, ran out of money needed to fabricate the canoe and as a result only the "Indian Scout" was placed on the pedestal at the base of Champlain's monument.<sup>64</sup> In the 1990's the Assembly of First Nations protested the subservient placement of the Indian Scout in relation to Samuel de Champlain, and successfully lobbied for it to be removed from the monument.<sup>65</sup> The "Indian" sculpture was renamed *Anishinabe Scout* and now sits in Major's Hill Park, a short distance away from its original home.<sup>66</sup> The sculpture's relocation left behind an empty platform which Thomas activated throughout his practice.

### *Seize the Space*

For his first *Seize the Space* photographic interventions, Thomas photographed artist and curator, Greg Hill posing with Hill's cereal box canoe at the base of the Champlain sculpture. As a performative work, Hill portaged the canoe across the street to

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63 Canadian Heritage, "Samuel de Champlain Statue," Government of Canada, September 27, 2017, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/art-monuments/monuments/samuel-champlain.html>.

64 CBC News, "Aboriginal Artists in Ottawa Want Traditional Name for 'Scout' Statue," CBC News, August 23, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/aboriginal-artists-in-ottawa-want-traditional-name-for-scout-statue-1.1344927>.

65 *ibid.*

66 *ibid.*

the *Anishinabe Scout* and placed it at his feet.<sup>67</sup> Hill's performance was documented by Thomas through his camera and subsequently posted to his website. Thomas' website has become an archive, one of a few online reference points outlining the true history of the relationship between the Samuel de Champlain monument and *Anishinabe Scout*.

In an article for *Indian and Cowboy*, artist Joi T. Arcand interviewed Thomas about his thoughts on the potential removal of the Cornwallis monument in Halifax. Thomas' response was, "My first reaction to the removal was, yes. But like the vacant platform where the Indian Scout resided, very few people remember what had been there. Now people sit on the platform and enjoy the majestic view of Parliament Hill. And the Indian Scout sits just across the street, out of sight and out of mind."<sup>68</sup> He adds that, "There is no plaque at the Champlain site addressing the removal of the Indian figure. That is a very unfortunate error."<sup>69</sup> This missing piece of history becomes even more evident when one tries to search for the history of this monument re-contextualization online.

Even the Government of Canada's website has omitted this important history. On the webpage dedicated to the Samuel de Champlain monument the only information provided is: the statue's location, who Champlain was and why/when the statue was created. The only oddity pointed out is that "Champlain certainly knew how to use an

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67 Jeff Thomas, "Champlain Series – 2000-2011 Jeff Thomas Urban Iroquois," Jeff Thomas, accessed December 15, 2017, <http://jeff-thomas.ca/2014/06/champlain-2000-2005/>.

68 Joi T. Arcand, "Changing the Visual Landscape: Colonialism, Survival & Seizing Space," *Indian & Cowboy*, July 31, 2017, <http://indianandcowboy.ca/2017/07/31/changing-the-visual-landscape-colonialism-survival-seizing-space/>.

69 Ibid.

astrolabe — an old navigational instrument — but the sculptor did not. Champlain is depicted holding it upside down!”<sup>70</sup> To demonstrate the effect of this erasure further, an Ottawa Citizen Canada 150 article titled, “Capital Facts: The one oddity about the Samuel de Champlain statue” also only mentions the upside-down navigational instrument.<sup>71</sup>

As with much of Canada’s history, the facts surrounding this partial monument removal lacks truth in its contextualization. This further illustrates a selective history offered to the “dominant” settler society. To counter this, Thomas’ work documents the truth of this monument’s history. He’s made up for Canada’s omission of fact by employing photography and continued performative strategies to monumentalize this event. Photographic interventions like Thomas’ can even be seen as counter-monuments, and as monuments themselves. Within the discussion of TRC-based monuments, this case study provides a strong argument for “reconciliation” monuments to be presented in the correct context. To ensure that monuments created under TRC do not allow Canada to overlook and/or continue to white-wash their own histories.

The histories taught in schools and through nationalist Euro-western propaganda denies an Indigenous presence within the commemorative landscape. The omitted presence is a gaping hole that has buried violent pasts and oppressive policies imposed upon Indigenous peoples. These facts and truths are key to understanding realities experienced today. As Canadians begin to look back, many have started to consider the issue of what to do with problematic monuments and sites of commemoration. This, in

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70 Canadian Heritage, “Samuel de Champlain statue”.

71 Rachel Dale, “Capital Facts: The One Oddity about the Samuel de Champlain Statue,” The Ottawa Citizen, January 15, 2017, <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/capital-facts-the-one-oddy-about-the-samuel-de-champlain-statue>.

spite of the fact that Indigenous peoples have been drenching monuments in red paint and active protest for decades.

## MONUMENT REMOVALS

Throughout history, monuments to rulers, politicians and wartime heroes have been erected and torn down by subsequent governing bodies. While looking at the history of monument removals, one must acknowledge that their destruction is used as a tool to display social and political supremacy. This not only reinforces the symbolic dominance wielded by monuments, but it also can be understood as a paradigm for shifting power structures. For example, during the French Revolution, the monument to Louis XIV (fig 1.) was torn down by the new ruling class.<sup>72</sup> In 1871, the *Colonne Vendôme*, featuring a statue of Napoléon at the top was toppled during the Paris Commune.<sup>73</sup> In more contemporary times, the shifts of regime changes and transition of power have also seen the toppling of Hitler

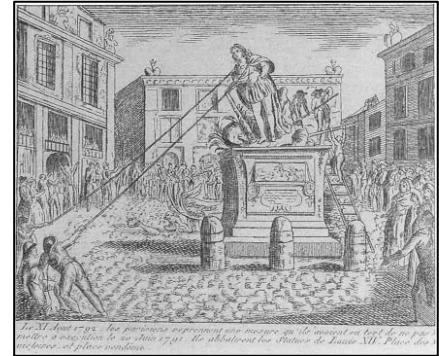


Figure 13 Monument removal of Louis XIV



Figure 14 Toppling of the *Colonne Vendôme*

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72 Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "Judgements of Paris," in *Paris As Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth Century City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 198,

<https://publishing.edlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft296nb17v&chunk.id=d0e4425&toc.depth=1&brand=ucpress>.

73 Ibid, 199.

monuments in Germany, and Saddam Hussein's 2003 statue removal in Baghdad.<sup>74</sup> In Canada, if we are looking for signs of reconciliation, it's possible that we can look to the removal of monuments as a precursor - a shift in the right direction, even if only symbolic.

### *The Edward Cornwallis Monument*

Central to my interest in the discourse about what to do with "offensive" colonial monuments were the protests, actions and conversations dominating my social media feeds for the entire duration of my thesis studies. Perhaps the truest test connecting reconciliation with monument happened in Halifax and centered on the monument of Edward Cornwallis who, though touted as the City's founder, also committed genocide. In 1756, Cornwallis initiated a scalping proclamation upon Mi'kmaq men, women and children which has yet to be repealed<sup>75</sup>. Mi'kmaw Elder Daniel Paul has since been leading the fight to have the monument removed and to have Cornwallis' name wiped from other locations, such as the Cornwallis River.<sup>76</sup>

Though the Cornwallis monument has been the site of protest and actions calling for its removal for years, on Canada Day 2017 it also became a site that saw an increasingly bold alt-right base come forth. The Proud Boys, describe themselves as "a

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74 YouTube, "Saddam Hussein Statue Toppled in Baghdad, April 2003 - Video," *The Guardian*, March 9, 2013, sec. World news, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2013/mar/09/saddam-hussein-statue-toppled-baghdad-april-2003-video>.

75 Alexander Quon, "Mi'kmaq Elder Calls for Revocation of Scalping Proclamation," Global News, February 2, 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4003961/mikmaq-elder-scalping-proclamation/>.

76 Daniel Paul, "Governor Edward Cornwallis," Daniel N. Paul, accessed February 28, 2018, <http://www.danielpaul.com/GovernorEdwardCornwallis.html>.

men's organization founded in 2016 by Vice Media co-founder Gavin McInnes. McInnes has described the Proud Boys as a pro-Western fraternal organization for men who refuse to apologize for creating the modern world; aka Western Chauvinists."<sup>77</sup> The Proud Boys official website operates its comments feed through a Facebook plug-in. This means that users are logged into their Facebook accounts in order to comment on the website's blog posts and pages. Additionally, at the time of this writing there are at least sixty-seven separate Proud Boys Facebook pages with thousands of members worldwide. There are several provincial charters spread throughout Canada. It's clear that Facebook's social media engines are employed by this alt-right organization to recruit, organize and communicate.

In June 2017, my Facebook feed picked up on a Mi'kmaq based protest at the Cornwallis monument scheduled for Canada Day. The Facebook event gained a small following and, by my assessment, most likely would have gone relatively unnoticed outside of the local community of activists, allies and media. What eventually became apparent was that the event had caught the eye of at least one Proud Boy member who passed the information on. This emboldened a group of five men, now known as the "Halifax 5," to attend the event where they harassed the protestors whom the Halifax 5 claimed were "disrespecting" Cornwallis.<sup>78</sup> An uploaded video of the altercation went

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<sup>77</sup> "Who Are The Proud Boys?," Proud Boy Magazine (blog), August 24, 2017, <http://officialproudboys.com/proud-boys/whoaretheproudboys/>.

<sup>78</sup> CBC Radio, "Who Are the Proud Boys Who Disrupted an Indigenous Event on Canada Day?," CBC Radio, July 4, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-tuesday-edition-1.4189447/who-are-the-proud-boys-who-disrupted-an-indigenous-event-on-canada-day-1.4189450>.



viral on both Facebook and Twitter and the Cornwallis site suddenly became a hotbed of mainstream media news.

Three things came out of this action and subsequent reaction: the first was that the true history of Cornwallis was made public after the protest forced the media to cover the action, and the monument, in full. As so often happens “work” performed by Indigenous peoples becomes the factor by which Canadians are educated, how Canadians learn the true history of the land and the nation’s prominent figures. A monument that enacted erasure of Mi’kmaq histories, now became a site of Mi’kmaq reclamation.

The second was that this becomes evidence as to the alt-right’s appropriation of social media, now being used a tool to stage counteractions. That social media is being employed by hate groups in the same ways that bolstered Idle No More and Standing Rock. In Halifax, previously intangible online discourse between two sides manifested itself in a physical form at this monument site. The monument itself becoming the symbolic object of Indigenous oppression and erasure and at the same time, supremacist nationalism and colonialism.

The third and somewhat ironic final result of this situation was that the amplification of this protest caused by the Proud Boys, triggered Halifax’s City Council to finally have to address the monument. This, after city councillors and Mayor had completely rejected a proposal brought to Council a year earlier. That rejected proposal had called for a simple debate to decide what to do with Cornwallis landmarks.”<sup>79</sup> With

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79 Anjali Patil, “Cornwallis Statue to Be Removed from Halifax Park,” CBC News, January 30, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-statue-to-be-removed-from-halifax-park-1.4510565>.

the issue forced onto the table once again, a staff report was delivered to Council advising that the site had become a protest flashpoint.<sup>80</sup> The report stated, “Given probable increased volatility due to the passage of time since the last protest [...], the protests may be less peaceful than protests of July 2017 and represent a significant risk for damage to the statue, conflicts among protestors and counter-protestors and personal injury.”<sup>81</sup>

On January 30, 2018, Halifax City Council convened and within an hour and a vote of 12-4,<sup>82</sup> Council made the decision to remove the statue.<sup>83</sup> Of this Halifax Mayor Mike Savage said, “The Cornwallis statue has become a powerful symbol,[...] I believe its continued presence on a pedestal in the middle of a city park is an impediment to sustained progress and forging productive, respectful and lasting relationships with the Mi’kmaq in the spirit of truth and reconciliation.”<sup>84</sup> The following day Native Twitter and Facebook were alight with photos uploaded by Mi’kmaq activists and allies who attended the site in celebration, to watch the Cornwallis monument finally come down.

## MONUMENT INTERVENTIONS

While interventions can take the form of protests, they can also be embodied and taken on in other means such as through performances by artists and curators like Erin

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80 CBC News, “Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis” (City of Halifax, January 30, 2018), <http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/4361546-Commemoration-of-Edward-Cornwallis.html>.

81 Ibid.

82 Brett Bundale, “Halifax Council Votes to Immediately Remove Cornwallis Statue from Downtown Park,” *The Toronto Star*, January 30, 2018, sec. Canada, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2018/01/30/halifax-council-votes-to-immediately-remove-cornwallis-statue-from-downtown-park.html>.

83 It should be noted that the Cornwallis monument was removed so it could be placed in storage until the City could reach a final decision about its future.

84 Ibid.

Sutherland, David Garneau and Raven Davis. In a 2015 Briarpatch magazine review of curator Erin Sutherland's *Talkin' Back to Johnny Mac* performance series, the author provides an account of Métis artist, David Garneau's work titled *Dear John; Louis David Riel*. His work was carried out both as a performance piece and a Sir John A. MacDonald monument intervention.<sup>85</sup> Of Sutherland and Garneau's interventions, cultural studies professor Laura Murray states, "Because colonialism has so much to do with the erasure of Indigenous presence, performance art can bring a feeling of belonging to a space."<sup>86</sup>

Intervention via performance art is another medium that can speak to the same concepts and discourse belonging to counter-monuments. There is a physicality to the erasure of history that is carried out via life-size, and sometimes larger than life-size monuments of historical figures. When Indigenous artists physically engage with those bronze and stone statues with their presence and bodies, they, in effect, counter the dominance of statues with their own. In many ways, by interacting with the lifeless effigies, the artists revive those long dead historical figures and force them into the present, to confront the Indigenous peoples they once sought to destroy.

### *The Decelebration of Canada 150*

In 2017, Anishinaabe artist Raven Davis performed a series of site and monument interventions titled *The Decelebration of Canada 150*. They used this as an opportunity

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85 Jane Kirby, "Talkin' Back to Johnny Mac," Briarpatch Magazine, May 11, 2015

<https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/talkin-back-to-johnny-mac>.

86 Ibid.

“to critique and expose the myth of the confederation of Canada and the discourse and erasure of: Indigenous people, Indigenous sovereignty and Indigenous history in Halifax and Canada.”<sup>87</sup> For the performance, Davis wore a wig, caped themselves with a Canadian flag and donned a face mask bearing an upside-down maple leaf. For the duration of the performance, Davis was tied to the Cornwallis monument and asked audiences to “consider how the civil and orderly spectacle of Halifax’s and Canada’s history and built-environment are bound up in a violent colonial history,”<sup>88</sup> As a symbolic gesture of this consideration, Raven provided a kneeling pew for those who chose to contemplate, and a table of eggs so those angered at the performance could use the eggs as a means to actively demonstrate it.<sup>89</sup>

Through this intervention, an underlying reading recognizes Davis’ body bound to a violent figure, exposing their vulnerability in the face of potential threats – and yet, they show their defiance. Connected to this potential for ongoing settler violence is the assertion that the Canada 150 commemoration also contributes to ongoing Indigenous erasure. Max Haiven’s reviews of the work state, “Here, Davis insists, they are interested in transforming the audience into the performer. In this way, Davis points towards colonialism as not merely an over-and-done history, but a living series of performances of which settlers are typically unaware.”<sup>90</sup> Davis not only uses their body as a monument

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87 “The Decelebration of Canada 150,” Mayworks Halifax, accessed December 15, 2017, <http://mayworkshalifax.ca/event/decelebration-canada-150/2017-04-29/>.

88 Max Haiven, “Beyond the Violence of Colonial Civility: The Art of Raven Davis,” May 12, 2017, [https://maxhaiven.files.wordpress.com/2017/05/haiven\\_civilactionandart\\_layout.pdf](https://maxhaiven.files.wordpress.com/2017/05/haiven_civilactionandart_layout.pdf).

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

intervention, but also as a vessel to unsettle and potentially offend those who've normalized a country built on Indigenous erasure.

Indigenous bodies are sites of resistance similar to the interventions carried out by the *Ogimaa Mikana* project. In *Arts of Engagement*, Tahltan Nation artist, Peter Morin states, "The body is a resonant chamber, a place for the articulation and amplification of many experiences. Colonization has interrupted this resonance. It has interrupted indigenous knowledge production and history. Our indigenous bodies have retained, despite countless years of contact with the colonial project, a strong ability to articulate its connection to indigenous history."<sup>91</sup> Connecting Morin's words with the previously mentioned case studies brought an aspect to monument interventions I'd previously not considered. Indigenous bodies have survived in spite of attempted erasure, and thus *are*, in and of themselves, the perfect counter-monument.

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<sup>91</sup> Peter Morin, "This Is What Happens When We Perform Memory of the Land," in *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action In and Beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, ed. Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2016), 71.

## Chapter 3: Creating New Histories

### THE EMANCIPATE PROJECT

#### *Emancipate*

*Emancipate (transitive verb): to free from restraint, control, or the power of another; especially: to free from bondage*<sup>92</sup>

The Emancipate Project was developed as a way to explore the connection between permanent monument interventions, such as those carried out in *Land*, and performative monument interventions. Building upon Raven Davis' previous interventions, our collaborative work took place at the site of Charlottesville, Virginia's contentious Robert E. Lee monument. This monument faces the same controversial scrutiny as the Cornwallis monument in Halifax and many other Confederate monuments spread out through the United States. Petitions to remove the Robert E. Lee monument have also received race-based backlash and I will elaborate on this further in the next section of this project.

For the first iteration of The Emancipate Project, a photographic body of work was created titled *Emancipate*. In this work, Davis uses their body to interact with the monument to Robert E. Lee. In many ways they directly act as counter-monument, even if only memorialized via digital photography. Davis' adaptation to the site in this body of work must be acknowledged. When we arrived at Emancipation Park our intention was to

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<sup>92</sup> Merriam Webster, "Definition of EMANCIPATE," Merriam-Webster, accessed March 18, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/emancipate>.

create a filmed performance piece, one that we discussed in the weeks leading up to our trip to Virginia. After a short survey of the park earlier in the day, Davis developed an idea for an unplanned second project based on their response to the site. Upon surveying the layout of the park formerly dedicated to General Lee, Davis encountered and employed a concrete “plinth” of unknown use or origin to perform “as monument” in conversation with the Confederate statue. Through a series of six poses photographed for documentation, Davis and I worked together to create this piece titled *Emancipate*. Though Davis constructed the poses, I directed small modifications from behind the camera, taking advantage of the wind, light and angles to capture Davis’ inventive process. Davis uses their body in gestures that are both statuesque and physically responsive to colonial oppression. Davis’ body becomes the “resonant chamber” described by Morin, a tool used to counter the narratives of erasure conveyed by this colonial statue. This unplanned second body of work gave Davis the opportunity to create work for one of their own upcoming exhibitions. As a result, The Emancipate Project became a reciprocal body of work for both Raven and myself.



Figure 15 *Emancipate* with Raven Davis in conversation with Robert E. Lee





Figure 16 *Emancipate* with Raven Davis performing as monument (front view)

## *Emancipation*

*Emancipation (noun): the process of giving people social or political freedom and rights.*<sup>93</sup>

In another event similar to Halifax, Charlottesville became the site of a confrontation that began online and manifested itself at the site of the Robert E. Lee monument. This demonstration happened shortly after the Halifax clash, on August 12, 2017 and involved a group of neo-nazi and alt-right protestors coming together to “Unite The Right.” This group gathered to protest the proposed removal of the Robert E. Lee monument in Emancipation Park.

A now infamous tiki-torch rally was held the night prior and directed the attention of social media and mainstream media feeds towards a planned rally and protest scheduled to take place the following day. As a group of alt-right and neo-nazis marched together carrying tiki-torches, the online reactions of many were of shock and amazement. The world watched a group emboldened by a President who panders to white supremacy, openly and proudly chant phrases such as “one people, one nation, end immigration” and Nazi slogans such as “seig heil” and “blood and soil.”<sup>94</sup>

The following day brought clashes and protests between groups of people whom the media segregated as “the left” and/or “antifa” and “the alt-right” and/or “white supremacists.” These physical clashes eventually dispersed, but not before 32-year-old

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93 Cambridge University Press, “Emancipation | Definition,” Cambridge Dictionary, accessed March 20, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/emancipation>.

94 Paul P. Murphy, “White Nationalists Use Tiki Torches to Light up Charlottesville March,” CNN, August 14, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/us/white-nationalists-tiki-torch-march-trnd/index.html>.

Heather Heyer was killed after a car crashed into a group of counter-protestors of which she was part.<sup>95</sup> When questioned about the incident, President Trump defended the white supremacists stating, “You had many people in that group other than neo-Nazis and white nationalists,[...]The press has treated them absolutely unfairly.”<sup>96</sup> Trump followed up with “You also had some *very fine people on both sides*.”<sup>97</sup>

The use of social media as a way to spread hated-based propaganda has grown larger since the election of President Donald Trump whose own use of Twitter reinforces fear and hatred toward minorities and immigrants. This is a problem that’s moved into the Canadian political sphere. Many Conservative politicians, including Residential School truther Lynn Beyak, cite Trump’s oft repeated “fake news” claims when they seek to discredit mainstream media sources. In a 2012 article written for *Science News*, Rachel Ehrenberg writes, “Campaigns and their supporters use the platform to spread messages, connect with like-minded people and garner votes. But along with shared news and engaging discussions come lies, propaganda and spin. Though the strategic spread of misinformation is as old as elections themselves, the Internet Age has changed the game.”<sup>98</sup> In this, Ehrenberg also points out that tweets disseminating misinformation

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95 Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Brian M. Rosenthal, “Man Charged After White Nationalist Rally in Charlottesville Ends in Deadly Violence,” *The New York Times*, August 12, 2017, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/12/us/charlottesville-protest-white-nationalist.html>.

96 Rosie Gray, “Trump Defends White-Nationalist Protesters: ‘Some Very Fine People on Both Sides,’” *The Atlantic*, August 15, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/trump-defends-white-nationalist-protesters-some-very-fine-people-on-both-sides/537012/>.

97 Ibid.

98 Rachel Ehrenberg, “Social Media Sway: Worries over Political Misinformation on Twitter Attract Scientists’ Attention,” *Science News* 182, no. 8 (October 20, 2012): 22.

spread faster and further than the tweets sent out in correction.<sup>99</sup> When you couple this up with political leaders who employ social media as a tool, the ability to use what Law Professor Ian Haney López dubs “dog whistle politics” becomes even more problematic. It becomes prohibitive in asserting the rights of marginalized communities as well as in the push towards reconciliation. This can be illustrated further through López’s writing in *Dog Whistle Politics*, “The complex jiu-jitsu of racial dog whistling lies at the center of a new way of talking about race that constantly emphasizes racial divisions, heatedly denies that it does any such thing, and then presents itself as a target of self-serving charges of racism.”<sup>100</sup> What he says of the target audience is that “some voters clearly perceive a message of racial resentment and react positively to it; *politician W is with us and against those minorities*, they may say to themselves.”<sup>101</sup>

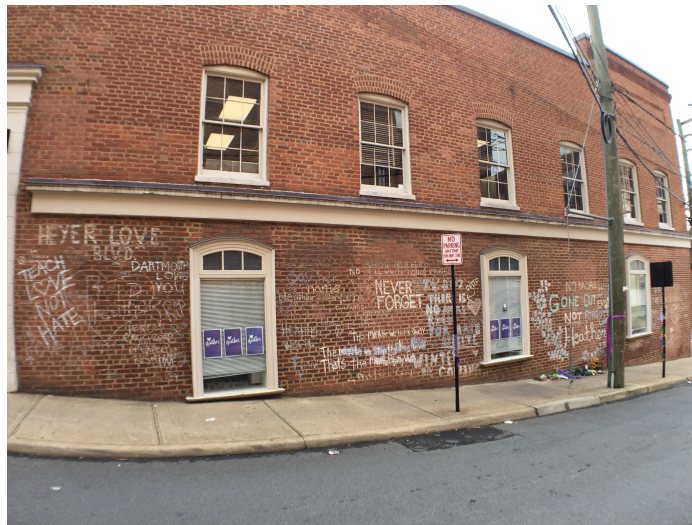


Figure 17 Charlottesville, Virginia - chalk commemorations to Heather Heyer cover the buildings on both sides of street at the site where she was killed. (March 2018)

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99 Ibid, 25.

100 Ian Haney López, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism & Wrecked the Middle Class*, 1st ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 4-5.

101 Ibid, 5.



In March 2018, I visited the site where Heather Heyer was killed. I noted that even seven months after her death, the commemoration continues. The buildings lining the street are marked with messages for her and for the cause that she died for. Even in some of the chalk markings, one can still see how divisive discourse continues to play out in memorialization. I noted a section of wall where someone had written “BLACK LIVES MATTER,” and another had chalked over it with “ALL LIVES MATTER.” This is reflective of the racialized discourse playing out on social media and in the tweets and words of politicians and political pundits.



Figure 18 Heather Heyer memorial site - All Lives Matter chalked over Black Lives Matter slogan





Figure 19 Heather Heyer memorial site - "You magnified her"



Figure 20 Still shot from *Emancipation* footage

In response to the events of August 12 and to speak to the violence that happens at sites of monuments Raven and I created another collaborative piece titled *Emancipation*. This piece was performed by Davis and filmed and edited by myself. Leading up to the creation of this work, Davis and I strategized and re-negotiated this body of work based on my original idea, which was to perform at the Heather Heyer site. Raven felt that making work at the memorial site would focus on Heyer’s death, more than that of the thousands of other Black and Indigenous bodies who had lost their lives. Davis’ assessment of the site specificity was, of course, correct – something I had mistakenly overlooked. After further discussion, we decided to perform the piece at the site of the Robert E. Lee monument instead. In this piece, Davis performs an honour song in front of



the monument with the intention to pay tribute those who've lost their lives in the process of working towards *true* emancipation. For the exhibition viewing of this work, the film of Davis' performance was projected onto the wall in close to life-size proximity. The effect of this large-scale projection allowed the viewer to engage with Raven, but also to engage with the Robert E. Lee monument. The presence of Raven's singing, heard throughout the gallery, complemented the other artworks shown and emphasized the Indigenous interventions to monument that underlie the entire body of the thesis work.



Figure 21 Installation view of *Emancipation*



## THE VOICES PROJECT

### *Monogogy*

Colonialism has had an adverse effect on Indigenous people worldwide, I started thinking about how I could broaden the Indigenous perspectives on monument through online feedback. This consideration stemmed from my *Nuit Blanche* experimental project titled *dehumanization/destabilization* a “graphite and social media experiment” I created in September 2017. Through the use of Twitter’s built-in analytics software, I had the opportunity to further analyze the reach of this project while working on a presentation about the work for a panel titled “Art and Activism” at the Native American Art Studies Association in Tulsa, Oklahoma (October 25-29, 2017).

My work, *dehumanization/destabilization* (2017), was presented in one of *Nuit Blanche*’s satellite exhibitions titled *Tonight’s Special: Bannock, Mille-Feuille and Berries* curated by Jason Baerg and Tak Pham at OCAD University’s Graduate Gallery. This experimental work supported the curatorial intent for the exhibition to conjure “complex discussions of Toronto’s varied cultures and histories reflected in our multicultural community. Through new media experimentation and interactive engagements, the exhibiting artists aestheticize excessive synthetic materials to question our relationship to the surrounding environment.”<sup>102</sup> In this installation, I used a blank wall of my installation space to re-create the repetitious chalkboard writings I had come

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102 “Tonight’s Special: Bannock, Mille-Feuille and Berries,” *Nuit Blanche Toronto*, accessed March 17, 2018, [https://nbto.com/project.html?project\\_id=391](https://nbto.com/project.html?project_id=391).

across in my research for another residential school themed work titled, *10 Little Indians* (2017) graphite, vinyl, sound installation. The writing on the wall read, “dehumanization and destabilization are tools of colonization” and is shown in Figures 22 and 23.

A portion of advertising for Toronto’s *Nuit Blanche* festival relies on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook posts using the pre-designated hashtags #nbTO17 and #NuitBlanche. While the public roams the city, photos of artworks and events pop up with the designated hashtags attached. As part of this project, I started to think about ways to intervene and disrupt the *Nuit Blanche* hashtags, to “hijack” them with my own messages related to the work in the gallery. Rachel Kuo best describes how hashtags operate in her article titled “Racial justice activist hashtags: Counter publics and discourse circulation” where she writes, “Because of their algorithmic construction, hashtags organize, link, and archive conversations and also make conversations more visible by trending them.”<sup>103</sup> Hashtags are further organized on the Twitter platform under the following



Figure 22 Gallery installation shot from *dehumanization/destabilization* (2017)

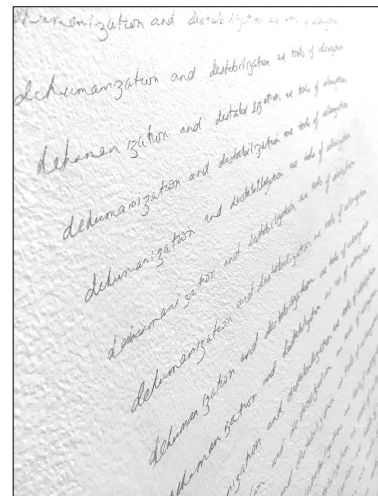


Figure 23 Gallery installation shot from *dehumanization/destabilization* (detail)

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103 Rachel Kuo, “Racial Justice Activist Hashtags: Counterpublics and Discourse Circulation,” *New Media and Society* 20, no. 2 (2018): 495–514, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816663485>.

categories: Top, Latest, People, Photos, Video, News, Broadcasts. For this hashtag hijack experiment, I was only interested in the “Top” and “Latest” categories since those are the two most relevant to my experiment and since the “Top” category is the category users see first when they click on a hashtag.

Beginning at 7:20pm on the opening and continuing every 15-30 minutes until 12:47am, I attempted (mostly successfully in between interruptions) to tweet out the words written on my wall with a variety of accompanying graphics as well as found YouTube videos which best illustrated the intention behind the words. I attached *Nuit Blanche*’s pre-assigned hashtags to these tweets along with the accompanying phrase, “dehumanization and destabilization are tools of colonization.”

Throughout the evening, other Twitter users began retweeting and/or liking these social media posts. Whether they understood that they were participating in an art project or not, I do not know. Intermittently, I took time to check on the hashtags and noted that many times my tweets were trending in the “Top” category. A few weeks later I analyzed the tweets prior to my panel presentation in Tulsa and was surprised to discover that seventeen tweets sent in approximately five and a half hours, I recorded 1,845 engagements (retweets/likes/clicks



Figure 24 Sample tweet (1) from #NuitBlanche hashtag experiment as part of *dehumanization/destabilization*



Figure 25 Sample tweet (2) from #NuitBlanche hashtag experiment as part of *dehumanization/destabilization*

on videos) and from those engagements 32,573 impressions (the number of times the tweets were seen). This social media experiment offered new ideas for pushing artworks to Twitter and gain insight as to how Twitter could be used to create work.

The experimentation done as part of the *Bannock, Mille-Feuille and Berries* exhibition combined with the fact that those tweets were still being engaged with in the following months, led me to think further about the permanence and impermanence of Twitter as a way of recording thoughts, events, happenings. I began to think about how one could use Twitter as a source of Indigenous perspectives on a topic if there were a way to cull them. I also began to think about how online dialogue could be brought back into the gallery to bring Indigenous perspectives on monument, into the thesis exhibition.

*Monugogy*, is an online-to-gallery experimental work created in three parts. The first part is a page hosted on my website<sup>104</sup> explaining the function of my community-led project to those who would be interested in participating. The description frames the reasons for the work, and provides examples of ideas participants can discuss along with



Figure 26 Sample tweet (3) from #NuitBlanche hashtag experiment as part of *dehumanization/destabilization*



Figure 27 Sample tweet (4) from #NuitBlanche hashtag experiment as part of *dehumanization/destabilization*

104 Website URL is <http://www.aylan.ca/monugogy/>

how the work will be used. The objective was to encourage Twitter users to tweet out their commentary and thoughts on monument. Users were asked to attach the #monugogy hashtag to their tweets so as to allow the second part of the project to properly function.

The second section of this project, involved creating a Twitter “bot” which searched Twitter every hour, around the clock, for the #monugogy hashtag. The bot then retweets all tweets with the hashtag into a single timeline, thereby streamlining Indigenous thoughts on monument into one space.



Figure 28 Screenshot of @Monugogy Twitter feed

“Monugogy” is a fictitious word created to ensure a uniqueness that would not capture other tweets unrelated to the project. As Kuo notes, “racial justice hashtags enable a shared understanding of a problematic social condition and mobilize through the circulation of discourse. Hashtags offer discursive frame processes in articulating and circulating observed events and experiences.”<sup>105</sup> Though I didn’t consider #monugogy to be a “racial justice” hashtag, many of the tweets coming from the Indigenous community reflected the frustration over monuments celebrating the accomplishments of settlers, while downplaying/erasing Indigenous histories. So in a sense, #monugogy evolved into a hashtag to bring forth the hegemonic positioning of settlers over Indigenous people by pointing to specific cases of racial injustice. Other #monugogy tweets also reflected upon

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105 Kuo, 497.

land as monument, upon current residential school monuments, upon Indigenous public artworks and upon other ways that stories are monumentalized and used to erase.

The third component is the subsequent gallery video installation piece developed from these responses. The resulting work, shown in its own darkened space, is a 7 minute and 28 second video and audio installation. The soundtrack chosen is a slow-beating and ominous atmospheric track titled *Zero Landscape – Side A*<sup>106</sup> downloaded from an open-source online music library. The visual portion displays each selected tweet and has been synchronized to appear with each significant beat of the audio track. The pace of the video and the tweets shown, is purposefully quickened so as to reflect the swiftness with which Twitter operates. This is especially evident during times of controversy such as Halifax’s Proud Boys incident and the events surrounding the Unite the Right rally. Since *Monugogy* is a permanent Twitter-based repository, viewers interested in reading the dialogue in full can access the feed at their leisure. A Twitter account is not needed to view the feed and a QR-code and URL ([www.twitter.com/monugogy](http://www.twitter.com/monugogy)) was provided alongside the work. To quote Peter Morin, “Reconciliation begins with an acknowledgement of difficult political history. This is not an easy task. It requires vigilance, vigilance against the silencing of Indigenous voices.”<sup>107</sup> *Monugogy*’s online repository and subsequent gallery installation is intended to provide space to redress and resist the silencing of Indigenous voices.

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106 Pollux, “Pollux - Zero Landscape - Side A (Substak Remix),” Free Music Archive, November 8, 2016, [http://freemusicarchive.org/music/Pollux/nx2016-10/nx2016-10B\\_06](http://freemusicarchive.org/music/Pollux/nx2016-10/nx2016-10B_06).

107 Morin, 70.





Figure 29 Installation view of *Monugogy* (Photo Credit: Kristy Boyce)

## *Monugogy II*

In *Monugogy*, the first iteration of “The Voices Project,” the intent to disrupt colonial systems of thoughts on monuments is carried out through the presentation of Indigenous perspectives. *Monugogy II* gathers unsolicited viewpoints collected from various sources about specific monuments found throughout Ontario and Quebec. The first intent for *Monugogy II* is to challenge the talking points that arise whenever the future of problematic monuments are discussed. The second intent for the project is to inform and enlighten viewers as to the history and stories behind many of the monuments they may pass on a regular basis.

*Monugogy II* focuses on twelve monuments, eight found within the City of Toronto and the remainder located in Brantford ON, Orillia ON, Ottawa ON and Montreal PQ. Through conducting research for another studio work, I came across the Virtual Reference Library (VRL) which houses an impressive collection of online historical images, all managed by the Toronto Public Library. Within this collection were an abundance of images of monuments licensed as public domain. Many of these vintage photos captured monuments on their installation day, some as recently as 1969. This caused me to think back to comments made about monument removals “erasing Canada’s history” especially when some monuments have only been around for a relatively short while.

I set out to find out more information about the provenance of some local monuments and in doing so I discovered Google and Tripadvisor allows visitors to post reviews and ratings about monuments and public art. I found these unsolicited viewpoints



fascinating to read, especially when they came from sightseers and tourists visiting the area. This brought me back to thinking about monuments and the ways in which they frame Canada's national identity, much in the same ways that Indigenous commodified objects (dreamcatchers, inuksuit, miniature totem poles) do. In many souvenir shops, these tourist items are offered for purchase alongside postcards highlighting landmarks such as Toronto's CN Tower and even some monuments and statues.



Figure 30 *Monugogy II* - Installation View



Figure 31 *Monugogy II* - Detail

To create *Monugogy II*, eleven images were downloaded from the VRL and one was created using a Google Streetview screenshot (see Figure 33). I used these images to create twelve postcards using references of actual vintage postcards found on the internet. These postcards were displayed on a countertop postcard rack purchased from a retail supply store. The viewers are given the option to take one postcard, the address section has been left blank allowing the artworks to be mailed if one so desired. On the back of each postcard, the viewer can read quotes and information about each monument, all selected from a variety of online sources. These quotes speak to each monument's provenance and/or hidden histories and/or online comments or reviews.

A postcard for a War of 1812 memorial in Toronto, for example, provides a 1964 Toronto Star excerpt that reads, "Neighborhood children romp in front of the War of 1812 memorial in Victoria Memorial Square; perhaps Toronto's most historic and at the same time least known park. Federal government which holds title to land wants rid of it."<sup>108</sup> On a postcard created for the Sir John A. MacDonald monument located in Queen's Park, viewers can read MacDonald's quote about residential schools (the same quote cited at the beginning of this thesis).

In "Witnessing In Camera," writers Naomi Angel and Pauline Wakeham observe, "reconciliation is often conceptualized in terms of shifting dynamics of visibility through which past injustices that were once kept 'out of sight' are brought to the foreground of

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108 Toronto Star, "Image Caption: Neighborhood Children Romp in Front of the War of 1812 Memorial in Victoria Memorial Square," Digital Archive, Toronto Public Library, 1964, [https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDCTSPA\\_0114399F&R=DC-TSPA\\_0114399F&searchPageType=vrl](https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDCTSPA_0114399F&R=DC-TSPA_0114399F&searchPageType=vrl).

national consciousness, thereby ostensibly transforming relations of seeing and being seen between dominant and aggrieved parties.”<sup>109</sup> The postcards in *Monugogy II* look to bring hidden histories of these monuments and the people behind them, to the foreground of the viewers conscious. At the same time, they challenge notions of the monuments themselves, and of their importance to Canadians and Canadian history.

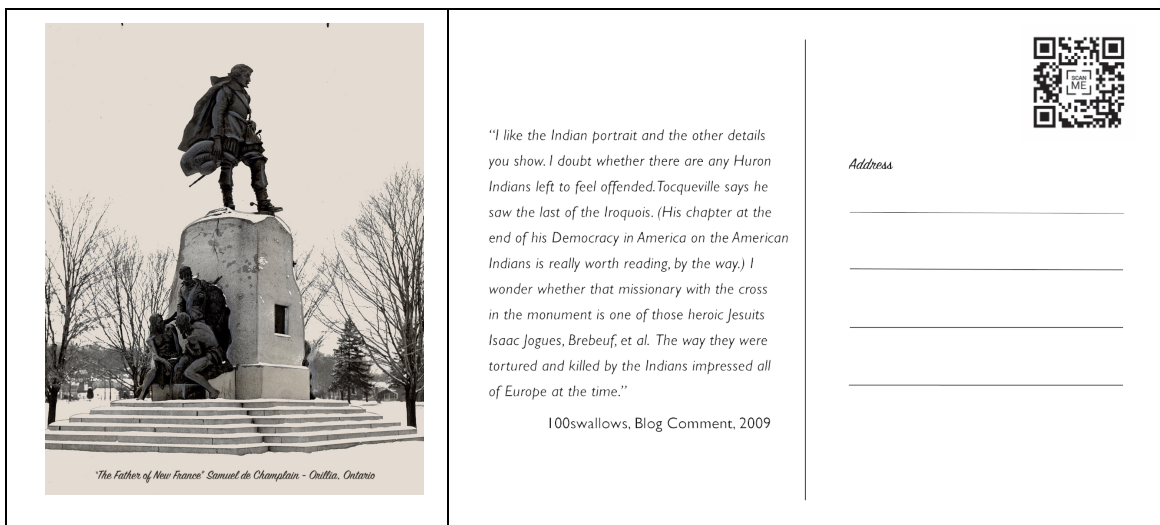


Figure 32 *Monugogy II* Postcard - Samuel de Champlain, Orillia ON - front (left) back (right)

109 Naomi Angel and Pauline Wakeham, “Witnessing In Camera: Photographic Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation,” in *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action In and Beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, ed. Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2016), 93.



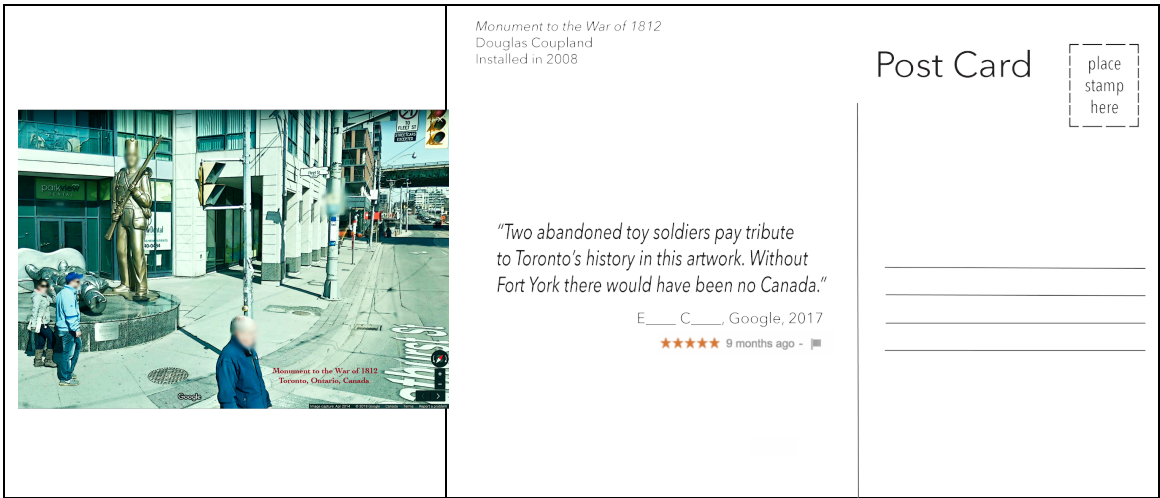


Figure 33 Monugogy II Postcard - Monument to the War of 1812, Toronto ON - front (left) back (right)

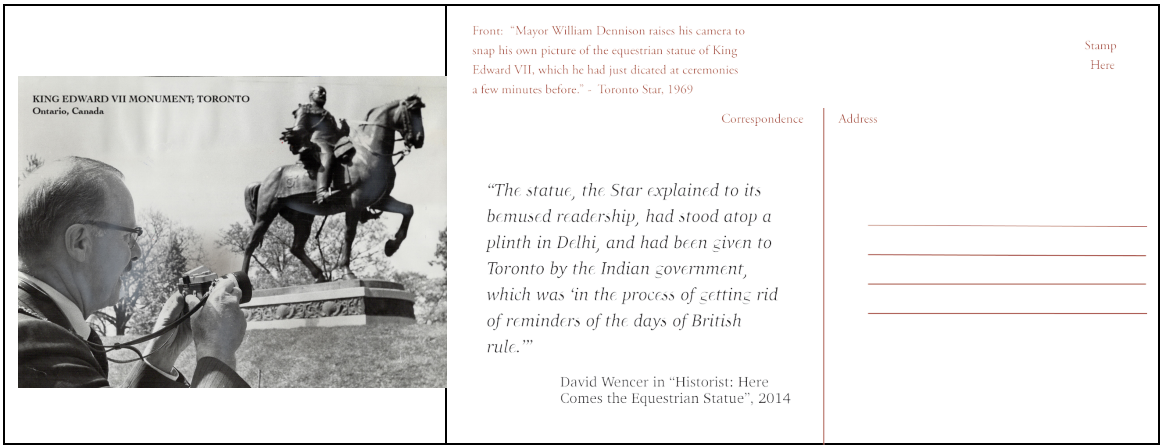


Figure 34 Monugogy II Postcard - King Edward VII Monument, Toronto ON - front (left) back (right)

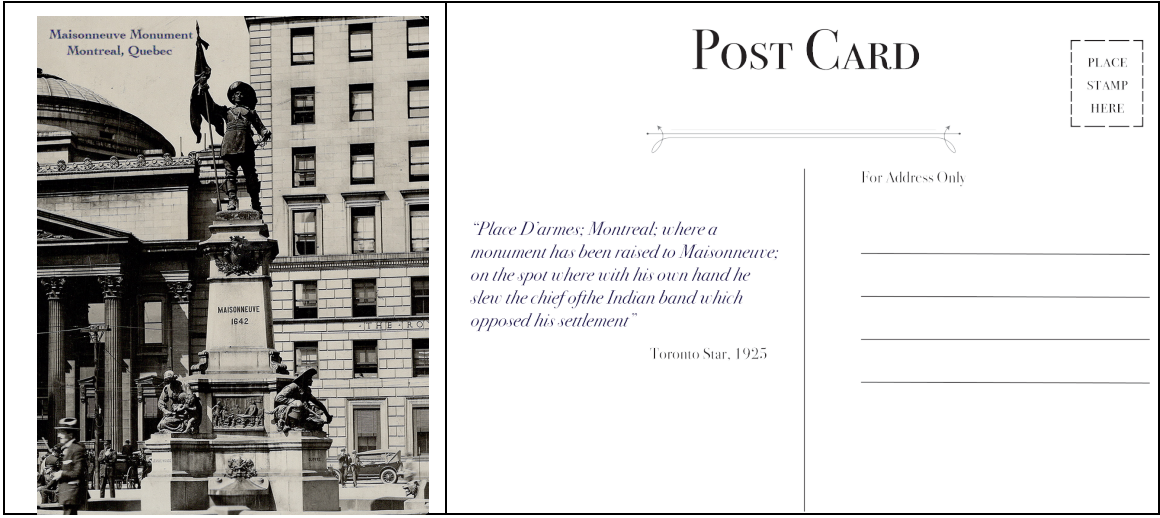


Figure 35 Monugogy II Postcard - Maisonneuve, Montreal PQ - front (left) back (right)

## Chapter 4: Results

- 1) How do monuments and commemoration function as a device used to shape settler, newcomer and visitor perspectives about the lands they occupy, its history and its identity? How does this relate to inter-racial power dynamics and the process of reconciliation?

Through my research and studio investigations leading to the works produced, I've developed a better understanding as to how closely linked the conversations surrounding colonial monument removals are to the willingness to engage in reconciliation.

Reconciliation power dynamics that play out online and, in the media, find their way both physically and symbolically to the sites of monument. Through the same discourse analysis that I employed to parse out the categories of monument discussions, I've also gleaned insight into how closely linked they are in framing conversations of reconciliation versus non-reconciliation. In both, much of the phrasing and dialogue is the same, especially when it comes to how Canada's history is perceived. Earlier in this paper I illustrated how, through discourse analysis, I came to understand the four categories of discussion surrounding monument removals, which were as follows:

- a. Monuments should be removed
- b. Monuments should be re-contextualized
- c. Removing monuments will erase history
- d. Monuments should be left alone (to be honoured as part of Canada's history)

Following this same line of investigation and mode of understanding I've also broken down the positioning of discussions surrounding reconciliation in Canada.

By definition, reconciliation means “the action of reconciling: the state of being reconciled.”<sup>110</sup> Within this definition is the word “reconciling”, which according to Merriam-Webster has several definitions, but the two most closely aligned to ideas of reconciliation in Canada are “to restore to friendship or harmony”<sup>111</sup> and “to cause to submit to or accept something unpleasant.”<sup>112</sup> If one were to observe reconciliation projects, and reconciliation perspectives from a societal level, such as that which is observable in online discourse, one can *begin* to get a sense of how reconciliation is discussed by the general public to gain an understanding about how it is rolling out across the country. This is important because, as Leanne Simpson states, “‘Reconciliation’ is being promoted by the federal government as a ‘new’ way for Canada to relate to Indigenous peoples”<sup>113</sup> I would submit that both of the aforementioned definitions of “reconciling” characterize and delineate both Canadian and Indigenous perceptions of what reconciliation is or what it should be.

In my research into the online discourse surrounding both monuments and reconciliation as well as through my participation and refused participation in proposed reconciliation projects, I’ve come to understand that “reconciliation” has varying degrees by which Canadians are willing to partake.

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110 “Definition of RECONCILIATION,” Merriam-Webster, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reconciliation>.

111 “Definition of RECONCILING,” Merriam-Webster, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reconciling>.

112 *ibid*.

113 Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back*, 21.

On one reconciliation path, lies a segment of the population who are ready to embrace the “feel good” part of reconciliation. To do so without addressing the hard truths about colonialism and residential schools or acknowledging how the intergenerational trauma stemming from those realities continues to affect Indigenous communities today. Simpson describes the type of person who falls into this category as “He just wants to say sorry so he can feel less guilty...”<sup>114</sup> This is the segment of the Canadian population that reflects the “to restore to friendship or harmony” definition of reconciliation. Very often this segment of the population are the ones who follow, defend and uphold projects such as Boyden/Downie’s *The Secret Path* as their salvation. This risks the harm of closing the chapter on reconciliation by placing it in the context of learning about the past and moving on without addressing necessary systemic changes.

On another path, are those who are more critical of reconciliation projects and dialogue, who speak to the return of land and Indigenous sovereignty, who address the systemic issues stemming from residential schools but also see reconciliation as not just “saying sorry for the past” but instead seek to actively address it now. This segment of the divide reflects the “to cause to submit to or accept something unpleasant” definition. Though this group has accepted the truth, they also move forward with a critical lens, Simpson provides an excellent sample of this criticality and asks, “Are we participating in a process that allows the state to co-opt the individual and collective pain and suffering of our people, while also criminalizing the inter-generational impacts of residential schools

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid.



and ignoring the larger neo-assimilation project to which our children are now subjected?”<sup>115</sup>

On the expected opposite end of the spectrum, are those who deny the realities of residential school altogether and those who challenge them. Formerly Conservative Senator Lynn Beyak stated she “was disappointed in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report in that it didn't focus on the good.”<sup>116</sup> In March 2017 she also said “I speak partly for the record, but mostly in memory of the kindly and well-intentioned men and women and their descendants — perhaps some of us here in this chamber — whose remarkable works, good deeds and historical tales in the residential schools go unacknowledged for the most part.”<sup>117</sup> Within this category of anti-truth Canadians we can find layers of white supremacy attempting to cloak itself as free speech but generally presents in phrasing and actions much like the Unite the Right and Proud Boys groups do. I've noted that this group of Canadians have an oft regurgitated revisionist history that places First Nations people as solely responsible for their current situation, alongside claims of non-assimilation or mismanaged funds by corrupt Chiefs. In many ways, this group of Canadians are both anti-truth and anti-reconciliation, they are also often referred to as “Residential School truthers.” When it comes to discussions of monument removal, this group is firmly against it, adhering to the history of Canada that they've always known.

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115 *ibid*, 22.

116 John Paul Tasker, “Tory Senator Wants to Put ‘focus on the Good’ Done by Residential School System,” CBC News, March 8, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/residential-school-system-well-intentioned-conservative-senator-1.4015115>.

117 *Ibid*.

Lastly, there is a fourth path that many Canadians take, either because they are oblivious to these histories or because they are aware of them but choose to not engage on either side of the spectrum. Merriam-Webster defines privilege as “a right or immunity granted as a peculiar benefit, advantage, or favor.”<sup>118</sup> The word “privilege” is often seen as being weaponized and its use can incite anger among those who are seemingly immunized. The immunized don’t have to participate in the social or political discourses and events that marginalized people are unable to overlook. This fourth privileged path, though mainly inactive, is still relevant to positioning the discussion pertaining to the reconciliation agenda and re-educating Canadians about true histories through monument. It’s this portion of the population who still has the potential to have their conscience awakened through monument interventions and protests as these actions can be catalysts for learning and tools for education.

While these categories of reconciliation and monument removal seem distinct, it’s important to understand that there are also varying degrees of outlooks held within each. At any time, for a myriad of reasons, Canadians and Indigenous people can vacillate in between each category, whether it be through education, relationships, or varying degrees of newly found awareness.

Framing these categories of reconciliation is important to understanding the future of monuments in Canada. In returning to Krzyżanowska’s assertion that “commemoration remains the key tool of symbolic power and enacting symbolism and

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118 Merriam Webster, “Definition of PRIVILEGE,” Merriam-Webster, accessed February 27, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/privilege>.

axio-normativity,”<sup>119</sup> and positioning this assertion alongside the violent confrontations in Charlottesville, one can begin to understand how monuments are just as politically and socially relevant to the past as they are to the present. Further, when reflecting on the toppling of monuments as being symbolic to power shifts, then connections to those dynamics can be made within a North American context as Confederate and Colonial monuments come down. This is further reflected in the fact that the voted upon decision to take down Halifax’s Cornwallis monument was framed by those on City Council as being a gesture of reconciliation.

- 2) How can monuments employed under the TRC Calls to Action be used to embolden and assert Indigenous sovereignty? Can other forms of art take on the function of monuments and contribute to social change in this instance?

Through research and case studies I’ve gained a better understanding of how monuments are symbolically used to assert nationhood. I combine this with my case study of *Ogimaa Mikana*, my work in *Land/Aki* and the fact that land acknowledgements have been rolled out in institutions across the country as a way to assert Indigenous presence. It becomes clear that monuments built to recognize Indigenous histories can play a strong role in the process of reconciliation. In an unsolicited comment on Facebook, an acquaintance shared a photo of the Thayendanega (Joseph Brant) monument in Brantford, Ontario and commented that, “I confess I don’t know how Six Nations people feel about it. But passing it frequently as a white kid growing up reminded me of where we are.”<sup>120</sup>

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119 Krzyzanowska, 465.

120 Philip Lefebvre, “Facebook Comment,” Social Media, Facebook, March 22, 2018.

Although this is only one settler-Canadian opinion, it provides a reminder of the power that monuments have in relationship to land and place.

Though researched but was not a case study for this thesis, alternative monuments such as Kwagiulth/Salish artist Carey Newman's *Witness Blanket* which travelled until 2018<sup>121</sup> can also provide national access in lieu of monuments erected in place. The large-scale installation was inspired by a woven blanket and is made out of reclaimed pieces from Residential Schools and "churches, government buildings and traditional and cultural structures including Friendship Centres, band offices, treatment centres and universities, from across Canada."<sup>122</sup> Though the monument no longer travels, an interactive website which displays the installation in its entirety, allows users to click on each item to obtain its history and origin. In many ways, this online site becomes its own commemorative archive of the history of residential schools, a monument itself. This is much like Jeff Thomas' website which holds the history of the *Samuel de Champlain/Anishinaabe Scout* monuments. In conversation with Newman, I was made aware of the fact that a documentary and an Android app are also in progress, (an iPhone app is already running). On Twitter, *The Witness Blanket* has its own account and continues to interact with the public, including tweeting a response for the *Monugogy* project which was included in the video installation.<sup>123</sup>

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121 The Witness Blanket was scheduled to tour until August 2020 but wear and tear sustained to the piece after four years of travel forced the tour's suspension. In a conversation with Newman on March 23, 2018 I was informed that the monument is undergoing a process that will eventually lead to a permanent installation.

122 "Witness Blanket - A National Monument to Recognize the Atrocities of Indian Residential Schools.," Witness Blanket, accessed March 23, 2018, <http://witnessblanket.ca/>.

123 Carey Newman, "Facebook Conversation," March 23, 2018.

The TRC observed that “the commemorations of Indigenous peoples’ experience – both their oppression and their positive contributions to society – that have occurred in many countries, including Canada, have not been state-driven initiatives. Rather, they have been initiated by Indigenous people themselves.”<sup>124</sup> *Ogimaa Mikana* is a public commemoration project with an educational component that required the initiative and efforts of Hayden King and Susan Blight, both Anishinaabe. Sir John A. MacDonald monument interventions such as *Talkin’ Back to Johnny Man* and/or media coverage of vandalism to the statue can serve as teaching tools to educate the public about one of Canada’s more notorious residential school architects. The obvious issue that lies behind this is that performative interventions are transitory. They do not have the permanence inherent to monument, aside from their media, photo and/or film documentation. The other obvious issue is that these interventions and protests require Indigenous people to constantly work to inform and re-contextualize. Regardless, it is through these interventions that the necessary education leading to social change will happen. Indigenous-inspired projects as demonstrated in this thesis challenge the national narrative marketed to Canadians. The works are integral both to acknowledging the history of these lands and reclaiming space erased through Canadian monuments and commemorations.

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124 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada’s Residential Schools*, 189.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

I began this project intent on investigating what monuments created under the TRC Calls to Action could or should look like from an Anishinaabe perspective. It began as a way to give space and voice to Indigenous perspectives which, much like my grandfather's stories, have been silenced for too long. The trajectory changed direction as I adapted to current events and the resulting work serves as a strong underpinning for further research and projects.

The online component of the *Monugogy* project functions as an ongoing open-access repository for Indigenous perspectives on monument. Tweets and viewpoints can continue to be added to, retweeted and shared so long as the Twitter platform continues to function. The *Land* project, once installed, will become a permanent fixture of the Barrie landscape and a response to its Canada 150 monument. It acts as a permanent land acknowledgement and as a permanent monument intervention. *Emancipate/Emancipation* opened up my interdisciplinary practice further through the use of film, performance and photography. The opportunity to work with Raven Davis allow me to understand how collaborations between Indigenous artists can function as sites of reciprocal sharing of knowledge and viewpoints.

The dominant settler voices working to overtake the reconciliation agenda reproduce the same narrative apparatus that resulted in colonial monuments littering the Indigenous landscape in the first place. It is important for Indigenous people to voice opposition and push back on these projects with a critical lens. This includes listening to Indigenous communities affected by monument removal/re-contextualization to

understand how best to proceed. In some cases, Indigenous communities may want to simply re-contextualize monuments while others will demand removal. These discussions must be critically examined on a case by case basis, which is why in this thesis I do not take a stance on removal. I only look to explore the dynamics surrounding the topic and present my research findings and assessments as a means to expand upon monuments and reconciliation.

Public art is part of my practice and this thesis maps a clearer path for me as I navigate through future public art projects, especially those commissioned under reconciliation framework. Though the question of how best to commemorate my grandfather and community's residential school experiences through monument remains unanswered, I now understand the power dynamics accompanying these commemorative objects. Because Survivor stories like my grandfathers were suppressed and silenced for so long, the importance of keeping these histories alive falls upon Indigenous artists commissioned with the task of commemoration - but only if given the chance.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission states that "Heritage sites, monuments, and plaques that celebrate Canada's past are common, but commemorating those aspects of our national history that reveal cultural genocide, human rights violations, racism, and injustice are more problematic."<sup>125</sup> This is why the five Calls to Action for commemoration were created as the Commission "believes that the federal government must do more to ensure that national commemoration of the history and legacy of

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125 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Canada's Residential Schools, 188.

residential schools becomes an integral part of Canadian heritage and national history.”<sup>126</sup>

On March 19, 2018 as I finished this writing, CBC released “Beyond 94” an interactive website tracking the status of each of the TRC’s 94 Calls to Action. To date, none of these five calls for monuments and commemoration have an action plan developed or funds committed, they simply fall into a category labelled...Not Started.<sup>127</sup>

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126 Ibid.

127 CBC, “Beyond 94: Truth and Reconciliation in Canada,” March 19, 2018, accessed March 23, 2018, <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform-single/beyond-94>.



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## APPENDIX A: EXHIBITION DOCUMENTATION



Figure 36 *"very fine people on both sides"* exhibition OCAD U Graduate Gallery Apr 13-16, 2018 - #1





Figure 37 "very fine people on both sides" exhibition OCAD U Graduate Gallery Apr 13-16, 2018 - #2



Figure 38 *"very fine people on both sides"* exhibition OCAD U Graduate Gallery Apr 13-16, 2018 - #3



## APPENDIX B: *MONUGOGY* CONTRIBUTORS

I would like to acknowledge and thank the community of people who took time to contribute to the *Monugogy* Project via Twitter:

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Pollux. "Pollux - Zero Landscape - Side A (Substak Remix)." Free Music Archive, November 8, 2016. [http://freemusicarchive.org/music/Pollux/nx2016-10/nx2016-10B\\_06](http://freemusicarchive.org/music/Pollux/nx2016-10/nx2016-10B_06).

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