

**Sculpting a Canadian Hero:  
Shifting Concepts of National Identity  
In Ottawa's Core Area Commemorations**

**Susan Elizabeth Hart**

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## ABSTRACT

### **Sculpting a Canadian Hero: Shifting Concepts of National Identity In Ottawa's Core Area Commemorations**

Susan Elizabeth Hart, Ph.D.  
Concordia University, 2008

The topic of collective memory or identity, as manifested in public commemorative monuments, offers rich possibilities for theoretical and analytical study. This thesis investigates the ongoing construction of national identity through a selection of major public monuments in what is referred to by the National Capital Commission as the “core area” of Canada’s capital, an area defined by Confederation Boulevard. The figurative monuments studied include, but are not limited to, those located on Parliament Hill as well as monuments along Confederation Boulevard such as *The Response* (National War Memorial), *Reconciliation* (Peacekeeping Monument), the *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument*, and *Terry Fox*. Beginning with the first monument erected on Parliament Hill in 1885, and ending with the most recent additions in the new millennium, the thesis chronologically traces the identity-building process at work in the monuments through the overall theme of heroes, with specific themes of ethnicity and gender interwoven throughout the chapters. Using the monuments as primary sources, and drawing on insights from a number of deconstructive approaches, among them psychoanalytic and gender theory, I question and analyze the national identity-building process in order to assess how conceptions of “Canadianness” may have shifted over time. I conclude that although there appears to be a shift toward a more inclusive or diverse representation of Canadian identity in recent years, the underlying ideology has not changed significantly.

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**Sculpting a Canadian Hero:  
Shifting Concepts of National Identity  
In Ottawa's Core Area Commemorations**

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# Introduction

## The Research Problem

The topic of collective memory or identity, as manifested in public commemorative monuments, offers rich possibilities for theoretical and analytical study. I propose an investigation of the construction of national identity through a selection of major public monuments in what is referred to by the National Capital Commission as the “core area” of Canada’s capital, an area bounded by Confederation Boulevard (see map, fig. 1). The monuments studied will include, but will not be limited to, those located on Parliament Hill as well as monuments along Confederation Boulevard such as *The Response* (National War Memorial), *Reconciliation* (Peacekeeping Monument), the *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument*, and *Terry Fox*. The thesis will chronologically trace the identity-building process at work in the monuments through the overall idea of the hero with specific themes of ethnicity and gender interwoven throughout the chapters.

I am proceeding from the premise that monuments are a largely overlooked resource in the study of identity construction, a view also held by John Bodnar and Nuala Johnson. In his 1994 essay “Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland,” Bodnar writes that historians have seldom examined the subject of publicly constructed memory in modern America, and he offers a case study of public commemoration in Cleveland over the past century to demonstrate that the city moved through three distinct stages of commemoration marked by a shifting balance of power

between official and vernacular cultural interests.<sup>1</sup> Nuala Johnson also writes, in “Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism,” that monuments are an underutilized resource in the study of how national identity is imagined and structured symbolically, and takes as a case study the Charles Parnell monument in Dublin.<sup>2</sup>

This area of study is not totally neglected in Canada. Indeed, over the past decade cultural geographer Brian S. Osborne has considered the issue of Canadian identity in a number of journal articles, one of which focuses on monuments. In his 1998 essay, “Constructing Landscapes of Power: The George Etienne Cartier Monument, Montreal,” Osborne explores how the Cartier monument complex has become a “dynamic site of meaning” since its erection in 1919.<sup>3</sup> As well, in an essay for the Musée du Québec’s *Louis-Philippe Hébert* 2001 exhibition catalogue, Denis Martin examines how the commemorative statues that adorn the façade of the Hôtel du Parlement in Quebec City were conceived as “secular saints” in order to exploit French-Canadian collective memory for patriotic and religious purposes.<sup>4</sup> However, the authors mentioned thus far explore the topic of commemoration and collective memory in localized or provincial case studies, and do not situate their narratives within a larger national context. Using the Ottawa monuments as primary sources, and drawing on insights from a number of deconstructive approaches, among them psychoanalytic and gender theory, I will critically question and analyze this aspect of national identity-building in order to assess how conceptions of “Canadianness” may have shifted over time.

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<sup>1</sup> John Bodnar, “Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 74-89.

<sup>2</sup> Nuala Johnson, “Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism,” *Society and Space* 13.1 (1995): 51-65.

<sup>3</sup> Brian S. Osborne, “Constructing Landscapes of Power: The George Etienne Cartier Monument, Montreal,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 24.4 (1998): 431-458

<sup>4</sup> Denis Martin, “Les héros de la patrie. La façade de l’Hôtel du Parlement,” in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, eds Daniel Drouin and Yves Lacasse (Québec: Musée du Québec, 2001), 136-143.

As the national capital of Canada, it is Ottawa's responsibility to transmit and reinforce a sense of civic and national pride as well as collective values through a variety of means such as holidays, festivals, coins, architecture and commemorative monuments. Unlike older national capitals such as Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Paris and Washington, which participated in large-scale rebuilding during the late nineteenth century in order to bolster their self-esteem,<sup>5</sup> Ottawa was only just beginning to consider how it might begin to represent itself as a national capital at that time. The National Capital Commission (NCC), the agency responsible for the development of Ottawa as a capital city, underlines the importance of commemorations in its 1988 publication *Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital*. The study demonstrates "how memorials can be organized to reinforce the emerging structure of the centre of the National Capital, with particular reference to Confederation Boulevard and Parliament Hill."<sup>6</sup> Without doubt, commemorations are an effective means for capital cities to develop and communicate a strong sense of collective identity.

The notion that monuments construct identity is not new. Since ancient times civilizations have recognized the importance of monuments as markers and makers of a nation's history and identity. In Canada, thirty-one years after Confederation, the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Commons of Canada, observed in his 1898 publication *Canada and its Capital*: "When a country is young, and its history is not yet told in monuments nor typified in ancient architecture, its capital should be adorned in other ways."

According to Edgar, Ottawa's beautiful site and glorious national buildings

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<sup>5</sup> David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c.1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds Eric Hobsbawm and Eric Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 101-164.

<sup>6</sup> du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier, *Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital* (Ottawa: NCC, 1988), i.

“compensate[d] for the absence of monuments of the past.”<sup>7</sup> In the one hundred plus years since Edgar wrote his book, many monuments have been placed on and in the vicinity of Parliament Hill.

John Gillis’s essay on commemorations, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” is pivotal to my own work in terms of definitions, terminology and conceptual framework. In his essay, which serves as an introduction to the anthology *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Gillis offers a broad outline of the history of commemoration in the Western world, breaking it down into three overlapping phases: “the pre-national (before the late eighteenth century), the national (from the American and French revolutions to the 1960s), and the present, post-national phase.”<sup>8</sup> In the pre-national phase only the elite institutionalized memory, no vast bureaucracy of memory had as yet been developed, and popular memory resided in the living memory of ordinary people. According to Gillis, the national phase was marked by a growing nationalization, institutionalization and democratization of memory through the commemoration of eminent people, usually men, of the past. In the post-national phase, Gillis suggests, collective forms of memory have declined - there is a new “plurality of pasts”<sup>9</sup> and a “tendency toward the personalization of memory.”<sup>10</sup> It is possible to recognize these three overlapping phases in the history of commemoration in Canada, but throughout the following chapters I will argue that although there appears to be a shift toward a more inclusive or diverse representation of Canadian identity in the post-national phase, the actual situation may not be so deceptively simple. In this regard, Gillis

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<sup>7</sup> Hon. J. D. Edgar, *Canada and its Capital* (Toronto: Morang, 1898), 2.

<sup>8</sup> John R. Gillis, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed, John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

suggests that monuments are “very effective in concentrating time in space, in providing many people with a sense of common identity no matter how dispersed they may be by class, region, gender, religion, or race,”<sup>11</sup> yet he also makes it clear that memories and identities are shifting constructions. As subjective representations of reality, they constitute a “contested terrain” of public or collective memory and identity.

A number of authors have written about the notion of the “contested terrain” of public or collective memory. In a 1999 essay about competing memories in Germany and Israel, Daniel Levy suggests that the *fin-de-siècle* has brought about an identity crisis in the meaning of the nation and that “[i]ncreasingly, the histories of nations have been problematized and have become the object of commemorative battles.”<sup>12</sup> Although he was writing about recent historiographical disputes and debates in Germany and Israel, and analyzing historiography as a site for the organization of collective memory, Levy’s ideas resonate with my own proposal to analyze commemorative constructions as sites of national identity-building. Closer to home, geographically and thematically, is Alan Gordon’s 2001 publication *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montréal’s Public Memories, 1891-1930*. While Gordon’s book covers a whole spectrum of collective memory or identity makers such as customs, celebrations, historic sites and monuments, his thesis is that public memory - “conceptions of history enshrined in historic sites and public monuments in the streets, parks, and squares of a city” - is contested terrain.<sup>13</sup> Gordon states: “Events and people chosen as subjects for commemoration reveal much about the sense of history of the men and women who

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Levy, “The Future of the Past: Historiographical Disputes and Competing Memories in Germany and Israel,” *History and Theory* 38.1 (1999): 51.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montréal’s Public Memories, 1891-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), xv.

select them, and in this respect, commemoration is closely related to power: it reveals an ongoing contest for hegemony.”<sup>14</sup> Clearly, commemorations are an important element of the identity-building process and, therefore, a critical examination of major monuments in the national capital core area will reveal relationships of power that they create and sustain.

### **Scope and Limitations**

How have Ottawa’s core area monuments constructed and organized national identity for Canadians over the past one hundred years? While this is the major research question under consideration, the thesis will simultaneously address other interrelated and equally important questions. How has this identity changed/shifted over time? Is it possible to detect a pattern in, or give meaning to, these shifts? What do the monuments tell us about beliefs and attitudes about class, gender, and race over time? How do the monuments relate to or participate in other aspects of national identity-building such as architecture and landscape, ritual and ceremony, or the tourist gaze? How do the monuments reveal underlying relations and/or structures of power?

As a national capital, Ottawa is concerned with creating and projecting a distinctive image of Canada and Canadians to those who live in this country and to those who visit from elsewhere. National identity-building in Ottawa involves a complex interweaving of many aspects of urban planning and design, such as architecture and landscape, ceremonies and celebrations, historic sites and monuments. While this thesis takes into account all these aspects of identity-building, it addresses the topic of

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

monuments in particular. I have further refined the broad topic of monuments through geographic and thematic limitations.

As noted above, geographically the thesis addresses monuments on Parliament Hill and on or adjacent to Confederation Boulevard, the system of ceremonial routes which is a key aspect of the 1971 core area plan for Ottawa (see map, fig.1).<sup>15</sup> The goal of the Boulevard is to unify and link the central areas of Hull and Ottawa in order to give particular distinction and identity to the National Capital. The Boulevard consists of what are referred to as nodes and links. The nodes, sites such as the island created at the junction of Elgin and Wellington, function as entry and turning points on the ceremonial ring. In addition to Parliament Hill, these nodes along Confederation Boulevard are the most important sites for commemoration in the core area. Given their crucial role, Parliament Hill and Confederation Boulevard offer the most logical geographic delimitation for the thesis.

Thematically, all the monuments in the thesis address notions of the hero and are therefore concerned with the human figure typology. At a very basic level, figurative sculpture is among the oldest and the most favoured types of commemoration on Parliament Hill, where bronze portrait statues of eminent figures abound.<sup>16</sup> Generally larger than life size, this monument type offers a greater degree of visibility than smaller memorials such as plaques. One may relate the ongoing popularity of naturalistic figurative sculpture to a number of factors: it is a familiar type of monument; it is legible - readily understood and approachable: and it is easy to identify with. While John Hooper's colourful group of figures in Confederation Square, known as *Balancing*

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<sup>15</sup> See du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier *Ceremonial Routes* (Ottawa: NCC, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier, *Capital Commemoration*, 9.

(1981), is a popular Ottawa sculpture, it does not really fit with the notion of hero. This type of outdoor sculpture is regarded by the general public as playful and decorative, while a sculpture such as Hooper's monument to Terry Fox (1983) is perceived as more serious and meaningful: the human figure represented as more realistic, more significant – more heroic. As well, the material used by the artist, laminated painted mahogany for *Balancing* and bronze for *Terry Fox*, also contributes to the overall perception of each monument.

The idea of the hero has been at the heart of commemoration in Ottawa since 1885 when Louis-Philippe Hébert's statue *Sir George Étienne Cartier* became the first monument erected on Parliament Hill. No doubt, twenty years later, heroism was on the minds of those who gathered for the 1905 unveiling of Ernest Wise Keyser's *Sir Galahad*, a tribute to Henry Albert Harper, civil servant and close friend of William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had drowned attempting to save the life of a young woman who had fallen through the ice while skating on the Ottawa River. (This monument is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.) At the unveiling of the Harper monument, Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada, commented: "I hope this statue may be only the first of a set of noble companions which, in the course of time, will make this street the *Via Sacra* of the capital."<sup>17</sup> Over the intervening time Confederation Boulevard has indeed become Ottawa's own *Via Sacra* and many heroes have since joined *Sir Galahad*.

My decision to focus on figurative sculpture, with its links to the idea of heroism, is further supported by the fact that the theme of hero has recently re-emerged in a number of Ottawa-initiated projects. Since 1999, the Canadian government has

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<sup>17</sup>As quoted by William Lyon Mackenzie King in *The Secret of Heroism: A Memoir of Henry Albert Harper* (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., Ltd. 1919), 17.



maintained a website and produced a pamphlet-type publication entitled “Path of Heroes.” Both the pamphlet and the website state: “The history of our country is alive with stories of people whose remarkable achievements have made Canada, and the world better. These are Canada's heroes, people who inspire us by their deeds, people in whom we take great pride when we say: ‘They are Canadian.’” The literature stresses the fact that “Canada’s heroes are women and men from all provinces and territories, from all our nation’s peoples, all ages and walks of life, from every era of our history – including today!” This diversity of Canadian hero types is also stressed by the Portrait Gallery of Canada. Officially announced in January 2001, the Portrait Gallery was originally slated to open in the former American embassy on Wellington Street in 2004-2005. Although plans for the Portrait Gallery are on hold at the present time because of questions regarding cost and location, according to its “vision” the Portrait Gallery of Canada “will focus on portraits of people from all walks of life who have contributed and who continue to contribute to the development of Canada.”<sup>18</sup> The notion of heroic individuals has been and continues to be an important element of national identity-building in Ottawa.

Because the thesis addresses the notion of national identity-building within a Canadian context, it does not address Quebec’s desire to frame itself as a distinct society. This issue is dealt with in a general sense in Richard Handler’s 1988 book *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*; in a more specific sense in Alan Gordon’s *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montréal’s Public Memories, 1891-1930* (2001);

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<sup>18</sup> Portrait Gallery of Canada, “About Us>Vision,” [www.portraits.gc.ca](http://www.portraits.gc.ca). (17 April, 2008)

and in Brian S. Osborne's case study mentioned above, "Constructing Landscapes of Power: The George Etienne Cartier Monument, Montreal."<sup>19</sup>

Before proceeding it seems prudent to clarify my use of the terms "memorial" and "monument." While some authors, such as Arthur C. Danto, make clear distinctions between the two, others, such as James E. Young are more equivocal. Young observes that, "there may be nothing intrinsic to historical markers that makes them either monuments or memorials."<sup>20</sup> Although Young does go on to formulate his own distinctions, for the purpose of this study I use the two words interchangeably.<sup>21</sup>

### **Influential Literature and Concepts**

In researching this thesis, I consulted a large amount of literature covering a wide array of topics. Monuments and commemoration, memory and identity, nations and nationalism, Ottawa and the National Capital Commission, the notions of hero and of otherness were some of the areas researched. Although all the literature contributed to my overall understanding of the topic concerned, it is possible here to discuss only the most salient of the topics. In addition to the literature already cited above, a number of essays and texts made significant contributions to the thesis.

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<sup>19</sup> Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). Gordon, *Making Public Pasts*. Osborne, "Constructing Landscapes of Power."

<sup>20</sup> James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorial and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993), 3.

<sup>21</sup> For further discussion of these two terms see: Arthur C. Danto, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *The Nation* 31 August 1985, 152-155; Susan E. Hart, "Traditional War Memorial and Postmodern Memory," (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 2000), 6-7; and P. Gough, "'Invicta Pax' Monuments, Memorial and Peace: An Analysis of the Canadian Peacekeeping Monument, Ottawa," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8.3 (2002) 201-223.

In *Who We Are: A History of Popular Nationalism* Robert H. Wiebe defines nationalism and traces its rise and decline as a popular movement in Western society.<sup>22</sup> James J. Sheehan's foreword to the book alerts readers to the fact that those who write about nationalism can be divided into two groups: those who view nationalism as a natural force and those who emphasize its artificiality.<sup>23</sup> Anthony D. Smith looks at this debate between the organicist and the voluntarist understanding of the nation in the first section of his book *The Nation In History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*.<sup>24</sup> While I recognize the lure of the idea of nationalism as a natural force - cities, states, and nations are often referred to in organic terms - it is the second idea to which I look for theories of the nation. The belief that the nation and hence nationalism are constructions is widely held. Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson are among the most commonly cited authors for their theories of the 'invention of tradition' and the notion of an 'imagined community,' respectively.<sup>25</sup> Hobsbawm's and Anderson's theories of the invented or imagined nature of the nation are at the heart of my thesis. Yet, I will not focus exclusively on the invented nature of the nation and national identity, but will also be attentive "to the ways in which the majority or mainstream is itself continually reconstructed and reimagined as a homogeneous cultural entity."<sup>26</sup> In

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<sup>22</sup> Robert H. Wiebe, *Who We Are: A History of Popular Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> James J. Sheehan, "Foreword," in *Who We Are: A History of Popular Nationalism*, ed. Robert H. Wiebe (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002), xi-xiii.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH.: University Press of New England, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 1-14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991). I should add here that Ernest Gellner is also often cited on the topic. His 1983 publication *Nations and Nationalism* is discussed by Anne Whitelaw in her unpublished dissertation "Exhibiting Canada: Articulations of National Identity at the National Gallery of Canada" (Concordia University, 1995), 14-17.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Handler, "Is 'Identity' a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?" in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994) 38. Handler's point in this essay is that notions of identity change over space and time. He asserts that it is a delicate negotiation to distance

other words, the thesis will negotiate a balance between accepting the theory of inventedness and questioning the inclusions and exclusions that discourse entails.

In addition to the work of Hobsbawm and Anderson, essays from two anthologies have contributed to my understanding of the nation: *Nation and Narration* (Homi K Bhabha, editor) and *Nationalism in Canada* (Peter Russell, editor).<sup>27</sup> In particular, Bhabha's two essays in the former: "Introduction: Narrating the Nation" and "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation" - and the English translation of Ernest Renan's 1882 lecture delivered at the Sorbonne "What is a Nation?" - offer ways to think about and to deconstruct the concept of the nation. For instance Bhabha's idea of the 'pedagogical' and the 'performative' seem comparable to John Bodnar's notion of 'official' and 'vernacular' culture mentioned above. Although the essays in Peter Russell's *Nationalism in Canada* may be considered somewhat dated, they offer insights into nationalism from a Canadian perspective, a perspective often disregarded or glossed over in other books dealing with nationalism, such as the Robert H. Wiebe and Anthony D. Smith texts mentioned above. In this anthology, Charles Hanly's essay, "A Psychoanalysis of Nationalist Sentiment," reveals the potential for psychoanalytic theory to trace and analyze the development of national identity through commemorative sculpture. The influence of Bhabha, Hanly and others will be evident in the discussion I present in Chapter 3.

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ourselves from hegemonic discourses of identity (deconstruct notions of cultural identity) at the moment when the disempowered turn to them. He suggests two tactics, the second of which is to "argue civilly" but the first being the one to which I turn here: "we can make sure that our critiques of identity focus on those mainstream claims that too often go unchallenged ... rather than writing exclusively about the 'invention' of minority identities, traditions, and cultures, we can turn our attention to the ways in which the majority or mainstream is itself continually reconstructed and reimagined as a homogeneous cultural entity" (38).

<sup>27</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990). Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

A final but important text on the topic of nationalism is the anthology *Feminist Nationalism*.<sup>28</sup> Edited and introduced by Lois A. West, the collection contains essays that address the androcentrism present in the processes and accounts of nationalism. In the introduction, "Feminism Constructs Nationalism," West points out the inherently gendered construction of nations and nationalism and presents an overview of key issues and recent literature on the topic. The topic of nationalism and gender, in particular women in the nation, weaves itself throughout Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of my thesis.

My ideas on collective memory and/or identity have been influenced by a number of authors. In their 1996 essay for *History and Memory*, "Collective Memory - What Is It?" Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam question the usefulness of the term "collective memory" for historians. The authors conclude that "memorilogists" have invented a misleading new name for the old familiar term "myth," and that historians are better served by the old terminology. Gedi and Elam suggest that the term "collective memory" can be justified only when used in a metaphoric sense - to stand in for myth, tradition, custom. Further, they confidently state that "'collective memory' has become the predominant notion which replaces real (factual) history, on the one hand, and real (personal) memory, on the other hand. Indeed, 'collective memory' has become the all-pervading concept which in effect stands for all sorts of human cognitive products generally."<sup>29</sup> I do not share their positivist position, however, as my own perception of collective memory has been shaped mainly by "memorilogists" such as Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora, two influential and often-cited authors.

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<sup>28</sup> Lois A. West, ed., *Feminist Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, "Collective Memory - What Is It?" *History and Memory* 8.1 (Spring/Summer 1996): 40.

As Gedi and Elam note, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's work provides "the theoretical anchor for all memoriologists."<sup>30</sup> Halbwachs explains his theory in *On Collective Memory* (1992). According to Halbwachs: "The individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory."<sup>31</sup> In other words, individual memories are mediated by the social context; hence social institutions/groups are able to influence individual memory and identity. This is a crucial concept for my research and analysis as will be seen in, for example, my discussion of the National War Memorial as a site of yearly remembrance.

Pierre Nora addresses the topic of collective memory in a similar social context but from a somewhat different perspective in his 1989 essay "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" and in his revised and abridged translation of *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1992), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (1996).<sup>32</sup> Nora suggests that what was once an equation of memory and history has become a gulf, a split, even an opposition. Nora opposes traditional memory - that is, internal, living memory, or *milieus de mémoire* (environments of memory) - to modern memory or history, an externalized, archival memory or *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). In other words, Nora sees a shift in collective memory from an earlier, more organic environment of memory to a more recent, artificial, archival type of memory. It is as if we have become lazy: instead of living with and experiencing memory, we have abdicated the memory work to sites of memory such as monuments, museums, and archives.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>31</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 182.

<sup>32</sup> Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-25.

Not everyone agrees with Nora's opposition between history and memory. Indeed, Nathalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, editors of the special issue of *Representations* devoted to memory and counter-memory in which Nora's essay appears, insist in their introduction that if the essays in the issue reveal a gap between memory and history, these two phenomena are nonetheless interdependent.<sup>33</sup> Kirk Savage, therefore, takes exception to Nora's dichotomy. In his essay, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," Savage writes that "all shared memory requires mediating devices to sustain itself" and that furthermore "the modern reliance on memory 'traces' does not mean that more ephemeral and less easily documented means of remembering have been abandoned."<sup>34</sup> Indeed, it is mediating devices or "archives" such as monuments, and the more ephemeral means of remembering such as rituals that together shape and define collective memory and/or identity.

John Gillis, too, briefly explores the interdependent relationship between memory and identity in his introductory essay to the anthology *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. In "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship" Gillis reminds us that "memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality."<sup>35</sup> Echoing Halbwachs, who writes that "a remembrance is in very large measure a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present, a reconstruction prepared, furthermore, by reconstructions of earlier periods wherein past images had already been altered,"<sup>36</sup> Gillis writes that "we are constantly

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<sup>33</sup> Nathalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 1-6.

<sup>34</sup> Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 146, fn.6.

<sup>35</sup> Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 3.

<sup>36</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 69.

revising our memories to suit our current identities.” However, Gillis continues with the warning that “‘memory work’ is, like any other kind of physical or mental labour, embedded in complex class, gender and power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end.”<sup>37</sup> The idea of collective memory and/or identity produced within a social framework is a foundational concept for this thesis, but here again I will negotiate a balance between accepting these theories of memory and identity and questioning the inclusions and exclusions their discourses entail.

Hero-related literature (discussed at greater length in Chapter 3) is written from many different perspectives and for many different purposes. No one particular text dominates my understanding of the notion “hero.” Rather they all contributed to a global perception of the notion and how difficult it is to actually pin down. From William Lyon Mackenzie King’s 1919 publication *The Secret of Heroism* to Lord Raglan’s 1949 book *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama*, to the July 6, 1992 special Canada Day issue of *Maclean’s* titled “The Storied Land: Discovering the Heroes, Villains, Myths, and Legends That Shape a Nation,” one thing is clear: over time and across cultures the notion of hero and heroism is constantly shifting.<sup>38</sup> In older publications such as those of King and Raglan the hero is equated with the male sex, whereas in more recent publications such as the 1992 *Maclean’s* issue, the term “hero” is ungendered. Despite this distinction, most of the hero-related literature reviewed naturalizes the heroic figure as a white male. Until recently, the female “hero” has been a rare exception, only achieving hero status through manly actions and/or qualities (often war-related) as seen in

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<sup>37</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 3.

<sup>38</sup> King, *The Secret of Heroism*. Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama* (London: Watts, 1949). *Maclean’s* (July 6, 1992).



the examples of Joan of Arc, Laura Secord and Madeleine de Verchère. Given this gender bias it is not surprising that notions of otherness weave in and out of the narrative. However, I must acknowledge the impossibility of including all marginalized positions within the scope of this dissertation. For instance, there is little doubt that heterosexuality is considered the norm and marginalized sexualities are considered “other.” There is a growing body of literature that draws our attention to the assumption of heterosexuality in social and cultural institutions and that addresses the politics of marginalized sexualities in regard to the nation. Among these sources are the anthology *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*, and L. Pauline Rankin’s essay for the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, “Sexualities and National Identities: Re-imagining Queer Nationalism.”<sup>39</sup> I am forced to ask how this invisible otherness makes itself known in a visual medium such as commemorative monuments, and the conclusion seems to be that it does not. It therefore seems more prudent to address the two largest concerns in regard to otherness: gender and ethnicity.

Gender and ethnicity are considered together in texts such as Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon’s *Cultural Politics: Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World* (1995), Kay Anderson and Fay Gayle’s *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (1992) and Nancy Duncan’s *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* (1996).<sup>40</sup> In Michael Roper and John Tosh’s 1991 anthology *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800* the essays offer evidence of the historical diversity of

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<sup>39</sup> Michael Warner, ed., *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). L. Pauline Rankin, “Sexualities and National Identities: Re-imagining Queer Nationalism,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35.2 (Summer 2000): 176-196.

<sup>40</sup> Glen Jordan and Chris Weedon, *Cultural Politics: Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). Kay Anderson and Fay Gayle, eds, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (Melbourne, Australia: Longman, Cheshire, 1992). Nancy Duncan ed., *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

masculinity and highlight two propositions put forward by the editors in their introduction: “that masculinity (like femininity) is a *relational* construct, incomprehensible apart from the totality of gender relations; and that it is shaped in relation to men’s social power.”<sup>41</sup> Roper and Tosh write that “masculinity entails an interweaving of men’s social power with a range of cultural representations, both dominant and subordinate.” As well they note: “A common theme running through our contributions is the conviction that men’s behaviour - and ultimately their social power - cannot be fathomed merely in terms of externally derived social roles, but requires that we explore how cultural representations become part of subjective identity.”<sup>42</sup> Ottawa’s core area monuments may be considered examples of such cultural representation through which social roles and social power are disseminated.

Two essays in the Roper and Tosh anthology are particularly relevant for my purposes. The first is Graham Dawson’s “The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and Imagining of English-British Masculinity.” Dawson’s concept of “imagined identity” (growing out of Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*) is suggestive. He writes: “Masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination. ... Representations [such as monuments] furnish a repertoire of cultural forms that can be drawn upon in the imagining of lived identities.”<sup>43</sup> Dawson talks about fantasy, desire, disguise, and transgression of gender fixity and uses Kleinian psychoanalysis to argue his point that Lawrence’s “becoming an Arab” provided him the

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<sup>41</sup> Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds, “Introduction,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991), 2.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>43</sup> Graham Dawson, “The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and Imagining of English-British Masculinity,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 118.

opportunity to prove his own superiority and enhance his power. Lawrence did not give up his superior Western knowledge - the meeting of cultures was not reciprocal; “the flow of information is all one way, along lines dictated by relations of power, which implicate knowledge in power, and invest power in knowledge.” “Valued masculine qualities felt to be marginalized, excluded or even lost to Englishness are projected onto the Arabs. The English hero, in identifying himself with this ‘other’, empathizing with it, taking its side, and imagining himself in its terms, is then able to repossess those qualities.” “Integrating those threatening qualities within himself both divests of its disturbing power the colonized and subordinated other, and reaffirms the superiority of a strengthened Englishness.” On the issue of gender Dawson writes: “Articulated with the racial fantasy of the blond Bedouin, wherein the threatening qualities of racial difference appear to dissolve at the very same moment as Englishness is reaffirmed in its superiority, we can also discern another: the dissolving of gender difference to sustain the power of masculinity.”<sup>44</sup> Dawson’s ideas are similar to, and resonate with my own hypothesis that the recent representations of ‘otherness’ in Ottawa’s commemorative monuments may actually work to strengthen the original, dominant position (see Conclusion).

The other useful essay in the Roper and Tosh anthology is Norma Clarke’s “Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the Man of Letters as Hero.” This essay demonstrates how late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century notions of the male hero were shifting and expanding, while specifically excluding females. In her essay Clarke examines Carlyle’s construction of the man of letters as hero as a response to the man of letters’ own discomfort/insecurity about his masculinity and as an attempt to reconcile his

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 134-137.

desire for a literary life (feminine and idle) with the reality of his father's hard work on the farm (masculine and strenuous). Clarke tells us that Carlyle's *On Heroes* (1841) introduced the man of letters into the category of hero alongside the likes of kings, priests, prophets and divines. According to Clarke, the book was "enormously popular" and its construction of the literary worker, or man of letters, as hero "explicitly excluded women from the definition."<sup>45</sup>

### **Conceptual Framework and Methodology**

The study I propose springs from the John Gillis essay mentioned earlier, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship." In that essay Gillis writes: "The relationship between memory and identity is historical; and the record of that relationship can be traced through various forms of commemoration.... Commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation."<sup>46</sup> These two insights form the premise upon which the thesis is built: first, that commemorations are a visual record over time of the relationship between memory and identity; and second, that although the visual record may seem natural and inevitable, it involves conscious and unconscious decisions to include and exclude.

The thesis will be developed within a three-part or three-stage framework inspired by several different sources. John Gillis's concept of three overlapping phases in the

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<sup>45</sup> Norma Clarke, "Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the Man of Letters as Hero," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 41.

<sup>46</sup> Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 5.

history of Western commemoration (the pre-national, the national, and the present, post-national phase), offers a suggestive framework through which to trace the relationship between memory and identity as represented by the commemorations in the national capital of Canada. Indeed, Gillis's national phase – marked by the commemoration of eminent men of the past - is evident in Ottawa's early commemorations of the fathers of confederation and of past prime ministers. The democratizing tendencies of Gillis's post-national phase are witnessed by Barbara Paterson's commemoration *Women are Persons!* (also known as the Famous Five Monument, 2000), the first monument to commemorate 'ordinary' Canadians on Parliament Hill. Alternatively, a number of authors mentioned above, such as Charles Hanly and Graham Dawson, have used psychoanalytic concepts to frame their analyses, as does Dina Georgis. In her essay "Mother Nations and the Persistence of 'Not Here'" Georgis offers a "psychoanalytic reading of how the nation comes to be constituted through gender"<sup>47</sup> as evidenced in Dionne Brand's novel *In Another Place, Not Here* (1996). Recognizing the maternal and feminine trope embedded in the formation of nations, Georgis argues that "the success of nationalist movements and racist colonial strategies has been built on our psychic attachment to the phantasmatic nation."<sup>48</sup> When one considers the gendered and organic subtexts of discourses of the nation, psychoanalytic theory becomes a reasonable lens through which to explore relationships between nation and identity. I use this lens in, for example, my discussion of the Peacekeeping Monument in Chapter 3.

Sigmund Freud is rightly criticized for his sexist, patriarchal attitudes, but his concept of the Oedipus complex is suggestive for my work in this thesis, and especially

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<sup>47</sup> Dina Georgis, "Mother Nations and the Persistence of 'Not Here'," *Canadian Woman Studies* 20.2 (Summer 2000): 27.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

for my use of a chronological/developmental approach to the memorial statuary. It can be argued that the National War Memorial, which originally commemorated Canada's participation in World War I - considered by many to be a pivotal moment in Canada's history <sup>49</sup> - marks Canada's transition from infancy to adulthood. Equally, Ottawa's commemorative sculpture can be thought of in Lacanian terms. The early commemorations may be said to reflect Canada's close relationship to its two founding countries, Britain and France, thus representing Lacan's pre-Oedipal or "imaginary" phase. The "mirror stage," or development of a self-image independent of Britain and France, is reflected by the National War Memorial, while the recent proliferation of monuments (chain of signifiers) that seem to represent a more diverse Canadian identity are symbolic of a desire to express a unified Canadian subject. The theories, concepts and vocabulary of Lacan, Freud and Gillis have contributed to shaping my account. Like these authors I use a three-part developmental framework. The application of this type of outline to my research results in the identification of an early phase of commemoration from Confederation up to World War I (Chapter 2); a pivotal mo[nu]ment represented by the National War Memorial (Chapter 3); and a post-World War II phase of monument production (Chapter 3 and 4).

The importance of psychoanalytic theory as a lens through which to view this development calls for greater explanation here. Anthony Elliott writes that "Lacan's articulation of a psychoanalytic theory of subjectivity within a linguistic framework has been greeted by many as of central importance to cultural inquiry."<sup>50</sup> Indeed, in her 2002 publication *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914*,

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<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 3, footnote 7.

<sup>50</sup> Anthony Elliot, *Psychoanalytic Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell 1994), 98.

art historian Kristina Huneault uses Lacanian psychoanalytic theory to frame her history of pictorial representations of working women in Britain. Huneault points out that vision occupies a special place in the identity-building process. She writes: “The celebrated notions of the Lacanian Imaginary and the Mirror Phase have drawn attention to the way in which subjectivity is structured through visually motivated identification with external reflected images that are both of the self and yet alien to it.”<sup>51</sup> Lacanian theory provides a practical tool for analyzing and understanding the Canadian subject who is built up through the multiple images of the hero in Ottawa’s commemorative landscape. This is borne out by Elliott, who writes that “Lacanian analysis seeks to deconstruct the narcissistic illusions of the self, allowing the lack and fragmentation which the symbolic register ordains for the human subject to resurface.”<sup>52</sup>

## Chapter Overview

The developmental framework upon which the thesis is constructed is reflected in the chapter titles. In Chapter 1, “Conceiving a Capital: The OIC, FDC, & NCC,” the early history of the future capital region is followed by a discussion of Ottawa in particular as imagined by the three successive commissions that have been responsible for the development of city as a national capital. Chapter 2, “Heroes for a New Nation: Men, Maidens & Mythic Figures,” introduces the concept of the hero, and discusses the inclusions and exclusions that notion entailed at the end of the nineteenth century, thereby introducing the themes of gender and ethnicity. These concerns are discussed in regard to six early representations of the hero in Ottawa: *Sir George Étienne Cartier*

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<sup>51</sup> Kristina Huneault, *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2002), 11.

<sup>52</sup> Elliott, *Psychoanalytic Theory*, 98-99.

(1885), *Sir John A. Macdonald* (1895), *Alexander Mackenzie* (1901), *Queen Victoria* (1901), *Sir Galahad* (1905) and *Samuel de Champlain* (1915). In Chapter 3, “Growing Pains and Maturity: War and Peace,” I develop the shifting notions of the Canadian hero as revealed by the figures on two monuments, the National War Memorial (1926-32), a pivotal monument in terms of national identity/memory-building, and its pendant, the Peacekeeping Monument (1992). In this chapter the role of ritual and ceremony is brought into the discussion of the National War Memorial, and the importance of monument site (in terms of architecture and landscape) is discussed with regard to the Peacekeeping Monument. In Chapter 4, “Heroes for a New Millennium: The More Things Change . . .,” I consider the *fin-de-siècle* proliferation of hero monuments that seem to address notions of difference and diversity as they simultaneously attempt to provide Canadians with a sense of common identity, and I critically analyze the relationships of power the monuments create and sustain. On Parliament Hill tradition continues with the commemoration of two prime ministers, *William Lyon Mackenzie King* (1968) and *Lester B. Pearson* (1990), and one monarch, *Queen Elizabeth II* (1992), and diversity of representation starts to appear with the 2000 dedication of the Famous Five Monument. Out on Confederation Boulevard, the relocation of *Terry Fox* in 1998 along with the 1999 relocation of the Indian scout figure originally located on the base of the Champlain monument, as well as the addition of two new war-related monuments, the *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument* (2001) and the *Monument to Canadian Fallen* (2002), contribute to the ongoing construction and narration of a heroic Canadian ideal. In the final chapter I discuss Ottawa’s continuing effort to address notions of difference and diversity through the 2006 addition of *The Valiants Memorial* (2006) and I offer



some concluding thoughts and observations about the monuments already discussed in light of this most recent addition to Confederation Boulevard.

# Chapter 1

## Conceiving a Capital: The OIC, FDC, and NCC

This chapter presents an overview of the National Capital Commission (NCC) and the two commissions that preceded it and from which it grew: the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) and the Federal District Commission (FDC). After providing a brief history of the Ottawa region prior to 1899, the evolution of the Commission over the twentieth century is traced through the efforts and effects of key individuals and events, with emphasis also on the Commission's growing powers and resources.

### The Early Years

It is difficult to pin an exact birth date on the city we know today as Ottawa. In his book about the National Capital Commission, *A Place for Canadians*, Greg Gyton points out that for thousands of years the site of present-day Ottawa, at the confluence of the Ottawa, Rideau, and Gatineau rivers, was the axis of a First Nations' world. These waterways were part of their vast trading system that linked the lower St. Lawrence to the interior of the country. With the arrival of Europeans in the seventeenth century the Ottawa River became the "chief artery of westward exploration and of the Montreal fur trade," but it was not until the late 1700s that permanent settlers showed an interest in the area.<sup>1</sup> Gyton cites American Philemon Wright as the first settler to establish himself, in

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<sup>1</sup> Greg Gyton, *A Place for Canadians: The Story of the National Capital Commission* (Ottawa: NCC, 1999) 2.

1800, on the north shore of the Ottawa River in what is today Gatineau.<sup>2</sup> Wright initiated the lumbering industry in the area by devising a system for floating logs downriver to Quebec. The local population was increased after the end of the War of 1812 by an influx of demobilized veterans eager to settle in the area and take advantage of the region's natural resources. As well, the War of 1812, which ended with the successful repelling of invading American troops, had shown the British how vulnerable their inland trade route was, particularly along the St. Lawrence River where it bordered New York state. In 1826, the British sent Lieutenant Colonel John By with instructions to build a navigable waterway linking the Ottawa River to Lake Ontario just in case the Americans cut off trade between Montreal and Toronto along the St. Lawrence. Colonel By's Rideau canal and lock project on the south side of the Ottawa River took thousands of labourers and five years to complete. During this time the settlement at the mouth of the Rideau River, which became known as Bytown, boomed. When the canal system opened in 1832 relations with the Americans had improved and the canal was no longer necessary for military purposes. With construction completed, Bytown experienced a brief recession, but it was not long before a new wave of immigration and economic expansion started with those eager to exploit the natural wealth of the Ottawa Valley and the timber trade. Sawmills were built and rail lines were established. Although it had taken over 200 years to establish a modest community on the southern bank of the Ottawa River, it would take less than 20 years for that community to become the capital of Canada.

It is hard to imagine how this upstart community of loggers and farmers managed to win out over established cities such as Kingston, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec City, yet it did. Greg Gyton writes: "The full story of the competitive manoeuvres, lobbying,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 4.

government investigations, backroom deal-making and political machinations that led to Queen Victoria's decision in 1857 makes present-day political shenanigans pale by comparison."<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say, Bytown aspired to be named the capital of the newly created Province of Canada formed by the 1840 *Act of Union* that brought together the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada. To this end, Bytown was incorporated as a town in 1850 and then during 1853 and 1854 petitioned to have its name changed to Ottawa. On January 1, 1855, the city of Ottawa came into being and almost three years to the date, on December 31, 1857, "the British Colonial Secretary advised the Governor General: 'I am commanded by the Queen to inform you that in the judgment of Her Majesty the City of Ottawa combines more advantages than any other place in Canada for the permanent seat of the future Government of the Province, and is selected by Her Majesty accordingly.'"<sup>4</sup> Perhaps its greatest advantage was its location on the border between French Lower Canada and English Upper Canada.<sup>5</sup>

When chosen in 1857 by Queen Victoria to be the capital of the Province of Canada, Ottawa did not have the complexion of a capital city. Unlike well-established cities such as Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto that offered such amenities as public transportation, sanitation, and a more refined standard of living that included a cultural life, Ottawa was simply a collection of communities with links to the military and to the logging industry. Nonetheless, it was the site where, in 1859, architect Thomas Fuller was chosen to undertake the construction of Canada's Parliament Buildings. Fuller's architectural style combined Gothic influences with French Second Empire

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 6. See also John Taylor, *About Canada: The Face of the National Capital*, 12-14.

<sup>4</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 6.

<sup>5</sup> See Rodney Fowler, "The Image of Canada: National Identity in the Capital's Landscape," PhD diss., (Simon Fraser University, 1998): 34. Also Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, viii.

architecture, thus symbolizing the united effort of English- and French-speaking citizens to create a new nation.<sup>6</sup> Completed in 1865, the buildings saw only one sitting of the Provincial Legislature of Canada because the political landscape of the country was in transition. On July 1, 1867, Canada became a dominion under the terms of the *British North America Act*, with the stipulation that “until the Queen directs otherwise, the seat of the government shall be at Ottawa.”<sup>7</sup> For its 18,000 residents, however, life in 1867 Ottawa was not as elegant or glamorous as their new government buildings. The city was dusty and hot in the summer and miserably cold in the winter. Clean water was scarce and disease due to lack of sanitation was common. Improvements, though, were in the making. Amenities such as wooden sidewalks and cultural venues were gradually introduced.<sup>8</sup> Despite a country-wide depression during the 1870s and again during the 1890s, Ottawa fared quite well due to its lumber industry and even thrived as new provinces joined the union resulting in an expanding public service sector.

In the final decade of the century, Ottawa was poised to transform itself from rough lumbering town into dignified national capital, as the lumbering industry in Ottawa was in a slow decline and the business of government was on the rise.<sup>9</sup> The business of government gave the city a sense of permanence and prosperity. New buildings were needed to accommodate an expanding civil service and their attendant government activities and there was a growing desire among local business people and the leaders of society to develop Ottawa as a capital city.<sup>10</sup> Local initiatives were undertaken to beautify the city, such as the purchase and development of parks. As well, a survey of other

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 8. Fowler refers to the style as “Romantic Northern Gothic” (36).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>9</sup> Taylor, *About Canada*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 13; and Taylor, *The Face of the National Capital*, 19.

national governments and their capitals was undertaken.<sup>11</sup> This enthusiasm for civic beautification was not unique to Ottawa and can in part be attributed to the influence of the Garden City movement in Britain and the City Beautiful movement in the United States.

The Garden City movement was an urban planning approach put forward by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) in 1898 in his self-published book titled *To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (subsequently reissued as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1902). Howard's utopian planned communities, inspired by his concern for social issues, blended the best aspects of town and country living with an emphasis on low-cost, healthy living in well laid-out towns surrounded by permanent green belts of parks and agricultural land. His urban planning ideas would later result in the founding of Letchworth Garden City in England in 1903 and Welwyn Garden City in 1920. Howard's ideas also caught on in the United States, and in the late 1910s Jackson Heights in Queens, New York became the first of several American "garden cities" modeled on Howard's urban concepts.

In the meantime Americans developed their own urban planning ideas from which the City Beautiful movement arose and flourished during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Unlike the Garden City movement, which was the work of one man, the City Beautiful movement was a response by American middle and upper classes to fear of the growing urban masses living in the decaying city centers. It was felt that a beautiful city would inspire moral and civic virtue in its residents. The movement originally centered on Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. In Chicago, the 1893 World's *Columbian Exposition*, with what became known as its "White City" collection of buildings, used the

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<sup>11</sup>Taylor, *The Face of the National Capital*, 19.

Beaux-Arts style of architecture favoured by the City Beautiful movement for its emphasis on order, dignity and harmony. Daniel Burnham, director of construction at the world's fair in Chicago, subsequently put his expertise to work on a plan to beautify the American capital, Washington, D.C.

As a capital city, Washington dates back to the late 1700s when Congress decided to create a new capital city apart from any state. After much debate, then-president George Washington chose to locate the new capital district on land between the Potomac and Anacostia rivers, a location intended to pacify both northerners and southerners. To plan the city, Washington chose Pierre-Charles L'Enfant, a French-born artist, who served in the American Revolution as a military engineer. After the war L'Enfant set up a successful civil engineering/architectural practice in New York City. His grandiose urban plan for Washington, influenced by the baroque plan of Versailles, was only partially realized before he was fired in 1792. One hundred years later, with the approach of the capital's centennial, architects Daniel Burnham and Charles McKim, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr. and sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens proposed a revival of L'Enfant's baroque vision for Washington, based on City Beautiful principles that included open green spaces and white neoclassical buildings.

Both the Garden City and the City Beautiful urban planning movements were conceived in response to perceived social ills associated with the rapid growth and industrialization of urban areas. The influence of both movements continued into the twentieth century and affected Canadian thoughts on town planning and urban beautification. Architects such as Ontario's J. Gemmel and Quebec's Andrew T. Taylor shared an admiration of the architectural work and the planning control they had seen at

the 1893 Chicago world's fair with their respective provincial architect associations. In Montreal, Percy Nobbs, Professor of Architecture at McGill University, declared that "every street in the city should be made as beautiful as it can be."<sup>12</sup> In 1905, Horace McFarland, President of the American Civic Association, addressed the Ontario Association of Architects and outlined how slum areas surrounding the new state capital building in Harrisburg (Virginia) had been cleared in order to beautify the city.<sup>13</sup> Then, in 1914, Thomas Adams, the first secretary of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Association (1901) and the man largely responsible for implementing the British 1909 Town Planning Act, was appointed Town Planning Adviser to the Commission of Conservation, "an autonomous federal-provincial body established in 1909 whose functions were 'to investigate, enquire, advise and inform' the nation on the scientific farming of its natural resources, including human life."<sup>14</sup> While active in Canada, Adams helped to design the pulp and paper-owned resource community of Kipawa (now Temiskaming), Quebec and he helped in the urban renewal of the Richmond district of Halifax after it was destroyed by the 1917 explosion in the harbour.

It was not only architects who were infected by city beautiful thoughts and plans. The well-traveled social elite of Ottawa was also aware of the latest trends in urban planning and development. Events such as the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and Queen Victoria's 1897 Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London exposed them to the newly conceived urban planning movements in the United States and in

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<sup>12</sup> Walter Van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930" in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History*, eds Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1984), 167.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Simpson, "Thomas Adams in Canada, 1914-1930," *Urban History Review* 11.2 (October, 1982): 5.



Britain. These leaders of Ottawa society, anxious to beautify the city and turn it into a city worthy of being called the capital, “struck the first spark of interest among those who had the power to effect real change in Canada’s Capital.”<sup>15</sup> One such leader of society was Earl Grey, governor general from 1904 until 1911. As an advocate of garden suburbs, Governor General Grey urged many leading Canadians to visit “workers’ suburbs” while in England and he sponsored British housing reformers such as Henry Vivian to speak in Canada.<sup>16</sup> Another man with real power to effect change was Wilfrid Laurier.

In 1897, one year after being elected Prime Minister of Canada, Wilfrid Laurier sailed for England to attend Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee. He was feted throughout Europe: in London, Queen Victoria knighted him; in Rome, he had a long audience with the Pope; in France, he was made a *chevalier* of the *Légion d’honneur*.<sup>17</sup> On his triumphant return to Ottawa with visions of the grand European capitals still fresh in his mind, Laurier reiterated a promise he had made to Canadians as leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons in 1893: to make Ottawa the “Washington of the North.”<sup>18</sup> The desire to transform Ottawa into a truly great capital city, combined with an awareness of the latest urban planning movements and the return of economic prosperity, made it possible to start turning Laurier’s promise into reality.

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<sup>15</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 13

<sup>16</sup> Walter Van Nus, “The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada,” 179.

<sup>17</sup> Paris had itself recently been beautified by Baron Haussmann’s vast urban renewal scheme, which was started mid-century and later complemented by Jean-Charles Alphand’s creation of vast parks and green spaces such as the Bois du Boulogne.

<sup>18</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 2. See also Janet Wright, *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 108.

## The Ottawa Improvement Commission

The 1899 bill *Respecting the City of Ottawa* laid the foundation for the agency we know today as the National Capital Commission (NCC). The bill “empowered the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) to cooperate with the City of Ottawa ‘in the improvement and beautifying of the said city . . . by the acquisition, maintenance and improvement of public parks, squares, streets, avenues, drives or thoroughfares, and the erection of public buildings....’”<sup>19</sup> As the name of the commission suggests, and in keeping with recent urban planning tenets, the OIC’s mandate was largely concerned with improving the city through landscaping.<sup>20</sup> Henry N. Bate was appointed chairman of the four-man commission that set about prioritizing projects to fit within their limited budget.<sup>21</sup> Initially their efforts focused on middle- and upper-class areas but with the appointment of Frederick Todd, a professional landscape architect from Montreal, a more inclusive vision for the development of what is now known as the National Capital Region (NCR) started to develop. Todd, who had trained in the firm of Frederick Law Olmstead in Boston, offered the first long-term plan for the capital region.<sup>22</sup> In his 1903 report Todd acknowledges the success of Pierre L’Enfant’s plan for Washington but cautioned against attempting to create a “Washington of the North.”<sup>23</sup> Unlike Washington, which from the outset was planned as an official capital city, Ottawa was a city that had grown up around the forestry industry, a fact to which Todd’s urban renewal

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<sup>19</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 14. See also Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” 122.

<sup>20</sup> The Chief Architect’s branch of the Department of Public Works was responsible for the design and management of most official buildings in Ottawa during the first decades of the century. See Janet Wright *Crown Assets*.

<sup>21</sup> Gyton cites a figure of \$60,000/year, p. 14. Taylor cites \$45,000/year (*About Canada*, 19). Fowler writes: “The Commission was given an annual budget of \$60,000 and allowed to raise funds up to \$250,000 through issuing 4 per cent debentures” (122).

<sup>22</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 16.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

plan was sensitive. His landscape plans were ambitious and visionary, calling for extensive scenic parkways, parks and boulevards. The importance of green space and nature is clear in Todd's report, where he wrote: "The dominion of Canada is famous the world over for the extent and beauty of her forests, and for this reason it would seem appropriate that there should be reserved in close proximity to the Capital, good examples of the forests which once covered a great portion of the country. Not only will those reserves be of inestimable value to future generations as an example of the original forest, but they will also provide a place where nature may still be enjoyed, unmarred by contact with humanity."<sup>24</sup> Todd's emphasis on nature may be in part attributed to the influence of the Garden City and City Beautiful movements, but may also stem from what Greg Gyton refers to as "the innate response of Canadians to the land."<sup>25</sup> No matter what his motivation, Todd's foresight set in motion a land acquisition and maintenance program that would continue throughout the coming decades.<sup>26</sup> However, although the OIC annual budget was increased in 1910 to \$100,000, very little of Todd's plan was implemented. Political fighting and quarrelling amongst the OIC commissioners and a change of government (Sir Robert Borden's conservative party won the September 1911 election) resulted in the 1913 appointment of a Federal Plan Commission, apart from the OIC and chaired by Herbert Holt. Prime Minister Borden gave the Holt Commission, as it became known, a broad mandate: "to draw up and perfect a comprehensive scheme or plan looking to the future growth and development of the City of Ottawa and the City of Hull, and their environs, and particularly providing for the location, laying out and beautification of parks and connecting boulevards, and the location and architectural

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<sup>24</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 16.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Fowler, "The Image of Canada," 128.

character of public buildings and adequate and convenient arrangements for traffic and transportation within the area in question.”<sup>27</sup>

By the time the Holt Commission was completed, Canada was at war and Borden’s government was otherwise occupied. Nonetheless, the *Holt Commission Report*, prepared by Edward Bennett, a leading architect for the City Beautiful school of Chicago, was published in 1916. The plan took “a comprehensive regional approach to planning the Capital” that included consideration of the City of Hull and the Gatineau hills, thereby laying the groundwork for what would become the National Capital Region.<sup>28</sup> But, like the Todd Report, the Holt Report was shelved. On February 3, 1916 the Centre Block on Parliament Hill was destroyed by fire. Already strained financially by the war, the country now had to rebuild its federal Parliament Building as well. Despite these setbacks Canada emerged from World War I with a stronger sense of itself as a nation separate from the British Empire. During the 1920s the OIC “ran on automatic.” Under the minority government of William Lyon Mackenzie King “the slow and haphazard task of beautifying Ottawa” continued.<sup>29</sup>

The establishment of the Ottawa Improvement Commission in 1899 signaled the beginning of the movement to turn Ottawa into a truly great capital city. Although the commission started slowly with limited land, resources, and power, the growing pains experienced by the OIC in the first decades of the century set the stage for a new phase of urban development under “the larger, better financed and more powerful Federal District Commission,”<sup>30</sup> which replaced it.

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<sup>27</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Federal District Commission

On April 14, 1927, just before the onset of the 1929 Depression, the OIC was transformed into the Federal District Commission (FDC). The FDC was given extended jurisdiction (into Quebec), a larger operating budget (\$235,000), a major capital fund for land acquisition (\$3 million), and the leadership of Thomas Ahearn, a powerful and prominent Liberal.<sup>31</sup>

Just as the name of the Ottawa Improvement Commission reflected its concern for improving the look of the city, so too the name of the Federal District Commission reflected its main concern: the federal district. Since the time of Confederation there had been an on again/off again debate as to the merits/benefits of creating a separate federal district along the same lines as Washington, in the District of Columbia. As it stood, the Government of Canada was “just another corporate resident of the city” of Ottawa, with one important difference: it did not have to pay municipal taxes.<sup>32</sup> Needless to say, this arrangement resulted in ongoing tensions between the federal government (sometimes referred to as the Crown), and the City of Ottawa (sometimes referred to as the Town), with regard to money, authority and responsibility. Although the debate would resurface periodically throughout the twentieth century, a separate federal district was never created. However, as the name of the new Commission suggested, the focus had shifted from improving the City of Ottawa, to developing a region, or federal district that encompassed the cities of Hull (now Gatineau) and Ottawa. This was not a new policy

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<sup>31</sup> John Taylor, *The Face of the National Capital*, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 9. During Confederation negotiations Colonel John Hamilton Gray from New Brunswick first advocated a federal district (Gyton, 9-10). In 1897, the Honourable William S. Fielding, Minister of Finance and Receiver General revived the suggestion, arguing that a federal district would make “the federal government master of its own house and no longer a tenant of the municipality” (Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 13). The Holt Report planners also argued for a separate federal district (Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 21), as did Noulan Cauchon, town planner for the City of Ottawa during the 1920s (see Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” 136-140).

but rather a continuation of old ideas such as Frederick Todd's ambitious urban landscape plan of 1903 that included a scenic parkway through Hull and into the Gatineau Hills beyond. The concern to develop a federal region or district was also reflected on the FDC's ten-member board of commissioners of whom one had to be a resident of the City of Hull.

Thomas Ahearn was an extremely successful, extremely wealthy business tycoon who was not afraid to dig into his own pocket to speed along commission projects. Ahearn, who was both innovative and inventive, pioneered the use of electricity, the telephone and the public tramway in the Ottawa region. By the time he was appointed FDC chair, he held the monopoly on electrical services in the region as well as on tramway transportation in the city. Ahearn was a man who got things accomplished and the new commission's increased annual budget of \$250,000 made accomplishments possible, the most visible being Confederation Square.

The idea of an open square in the heart of the city was not new. Noulan Cauchon, chair of the Ottawa Town Planning Commission and author of the *Cauchon Report* (1922) had proposed just such a square in 1921.<sup>33</sup> Under Ahearn, the FDC developed Cauchon's plan into a "visionary and daring" city centre which was compared at the time to London's Piccadilly Circus.<sup>34</sup> Only one thing stood in the way: money. The plan for Confederation Square embraced four city blocks, and called for a national war memorial to be placed in the middle. But the federal government did not own the property needed for the project. Russell House Hotel, the most prestigious hotel in the city prior to the construction of the Chateau Laurier, had occupied one entire block in the middle of the

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<sup>33</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 28. See also Fowler, "The Image of Canada," 136-140

<sup>34</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 28

proposed Confederation Square. Although it had recently burned down, the owners were seeking approval from the city to rebuild. The commission had to act quickly and it needed more money than its annual budget allowed. Prime Minister King introduced a bill allowing for a “one-time allotment of \$3 million, along with authority for the FDC to assemble lands for a large open square at the intersection of Wellington and Elgin streets.”<sup>35</sup> The bill passed, allowing the FDC to pay \$1,345,000 for the city block once occupied by the Russell House Hotel and \$1,328,000 for properties in what would become Confederation Park. Finally the FDC had the authority and the budget to act on past recommendations, but the good times were almost over. On October 24, 1929, the New York Stock Exchange collapsed and Canada, along with other developed nations, “entered a 10-year tunnel of desperate economic hardship.”<sup>36</sup> The following year Liberal Mackenzie King lost the federal election to Conservative R.B. Bennett and the FDC annual budget shrank by 50%. Despite budget cuts and the Depression, throughout the 1930s the Commission continued to acquire property, extend its parkway system and maintain the assets it already owned. In 1935 Mackenzie King and his Liberal party were returned to power.

When William Lyon Mackenzie King had first arrived in Ottawa in 1900 as Deputy Minister of Labour in Laurier’s government, his first impressions of the capital had not been good: “The first glimpse of the city was from the lately fire swept district and it was gloomy enough. The business part of the town is small and like that of a provincial town, not interesting but tiresome.... Ottawa is not a pretty place save about

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

the parliament buildings.”<sup>37</sup> King went on to become Canada’s longest-serving prime minister and he took a deep personal interest in the development of the capital region, not just the capital city. Shortly after arriving in Ottawa, King discovered the pleasures of the Gatineau Hills where, over time, he established his country estate known as Kingsmere. While he worked in the city, all his leisure time was spent in Kingsmere, where he built a summer retreat and enjoyed outdoor activities such as swimming, canoeing and hiking. In addition to the cottages he built over the years, he assembled a number of romantic follies constructed out of scavenged masonry from the fire-destroyed Parliament in Ottawa, as well as bits and pieces from demolition sites in Ottawa and Toronto and bombed out buildings in London. One folly includes masonry from his grandfather’s publishing house. When he died in 1950, most of King’s Gatineau estate, which had grown to approximately 243 hectares, was left as a gift to Canadians. It was integrated into Gatineau Park and “became an instant attraction, with upwards of 1,000 cars arriving every day on summer weekends in the 1950s.”<sup>38</sup> The love and devotion he felt for his north shore rural retreat were equaled by his dedication to creating a more beautiful and pleasing urban environment in the capital. As a graduate student at the University of Chicago King had interned at Jane Addam’s Hull House, a social housing project established in Chicago in 1889, and he had also “spent a post-doctoral year in England in 1899, when Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City ideals were promoted in the social reform circles he frequented.”<sup>39</sup> For King, “town planning was a crucial element of social

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 16. The fire King refers to started in a lumberyard in Hull on April 26, 1900. After destroying most of central Hull it jumped the river to Lebreton Flats where it burned a swath one kilometre wide by five kilometres long. It left 15,000 people homeless and damage estimated at \$100 million.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>39</sup> David Gordon, “Weaving a Modern Plan for Canada’s Capital: Jacques Gréber and the 1950 Plan for the National Capital Region,” *Urban History Review* 29.2 (March 2001), 45.



reform” and he took every opportunity to support and promote the beautification of Canada’s capital.<sup>40</sup> An opportunity arose when, after his 1935 re-election, King traveled to Paris to check on Canada’s participation in the 1937 Universal Exhibition. Here he met and clicked with Jacques Gréber, the exhibition’s chief architect. By the time King returned to Canada, he had invited Gréber to act as a consultant on Ottawa’s plans for Confederation Square.

French *urbaniste* Jacques Gréber was trained in the neo-classical designs of the French Beaux Arts school.<sup>41</sup> His success as a landscape architect and urban designer was greatly enhanced by his diplomatic skills and his ability to bring his patron’s visions to fruition.<sup>42</sup> Mackenzie King and Gréber “shared the same aesthetic ideals and values,”<sup>43</sup> and their working partnership would eventually have a significant impact on the capital region. Although Gréber submitted a *Report on City of Ottawa Planning Improvements* in 1938, before serious work could get started fate intervened. In 1939, the onset of war once again deflected government funds and attention away from plans for the city’s improvement and beautification. Once more FDC projects were put on hold and budget restraints were felt.

The end of the war saw Gréber’s return to Ottawa and a rededicated effort by the FDC to create an inspiring capital precinct out of the newly expanded National Capital District of 2,330 square kilometers.<sup>44</sup> In order to achieve this goal, Parliament passed the *Federal District Commission Act* in 1946, giving a “more national outlook” to FDC

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<sup>40</sup> Gordon writes: “King’s 1918 textbook, *Industry and Humanity*, contained several references to town planning as crucial to social reform” (45).

<sup>41</sup> See special issue of *Urban History Review* 29.2 (March 2001) dedicated to Jacques Gréber.

<sup>42</sup> See Rodney Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” Part 3: “The Aesthetic Intentions of Mackenzie King and Jacques Gréber” for an informative and insightful overview of these two men and their working relationship

<sup>43</sup> Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” 148.

<sup>44</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 35.

work, as well as expanding its powers and increasing the resources at the commission's disposal.<sup>45</sup> The same year, King, determined to see his vision for the capital realized, established a National Capital Planning Committee (NCPC) as well as a National Capital Planning Service (NCPS) to which Jacques Gréber was named as consultant. While the NCPC was composed of representatives from across the country as well as urban planning professionals, the NCPS was comprised only of urban planning specialists including John Kitchen (Noulan Cauchon's aide from the Ottawa Town Planning Commission) and Edouard Fiset (a Quebec architect and Gréber's former student from Paris). An information officer rounded out the staff. In addition to the numerous staff members, the NCPS was given an "ample budget" and a "wide mandate."<sup>46</sup> The scope of the work was widened from the downtown plans for Confederation Square to encompass the National Capital Region.<sup>47</sup> Such a comprehensive plan would take years to complete, but Gréber produced a preliminary 300-page report by 1948. By the time his final report was published in 1950 work had already started on his proposals. The reports' five principal recommendations were: 1) railway relocation; 2) extension of the parkways network; 3) decentralization of federal office complexes; 4) creation of a greenbelt; and 5) enlargement of Gatineau Park.<sup>48</sup> Due to a successful public relations campaign that included newsreels, a traveling display and wide media coverage,<sup>49</sup> Gréber's master plan for the capital region was largely implemented during the 1950s and 60s with cooperation from the various levels of municipal and provincial governments.<sup>50</sup> Finally the "gloomy"

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Gordon, "Weaving a Modern Plan," 46.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Gordon, "Weaving a Modern Plan," 50.

<sup>50</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 40.

city that had greeted King in 1900 was being transformed into the dignified national capital that he had imagined.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, by the time Gréber's preliminary report came out in 1948, King's health was failing. Prior to retiring from politics that year King managed to stack the FDC with supporters of Gréber's plan and push a \$25 million National Capital Fund through Cabinet.<sup>52</sup> When King died in 1950 he had already written the foreword for Gréber's plan. It has been suggested that King was the single most influential force in creating a uniquely Canadian capital.<sup>53</sup>

During these booming post-war years, therefore, the FDC was not idle. After fifty years of operation, (the first twenty-eight as the OIC), in 1949 the FDC had become the largest landowner in the Ottawa/Hull area as well as a progressive employer. Under Chairman Frederic Bronson, relationships between Town and Crown ran smoothly and the FDC worked on implementing Gréber's preliminary plan. All the while, FDC work on the "green image" that Frederick Todd considered so much a part of Canadian identity continued, with tree, shrub and tulip planting throughout the parkway system. The romanticized link suggested by Todd between Canada's rugged natural landscape and its emerging spirit and culture was fostered by the FDC through the enlargement and development of Gatineau Park.

Throughout the 1950s, as FDC assets and expenditures grew, the complexity of its operation increased. As the decade progressed there was a growing debate and dissatisfaction over questions of jurisdiction regarding local and national interests in the

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<sup>51</sup> For a more detailed account of the elements of the Gréber plan, its implementation, and its strengths and weaknesses see David Gordon's "Weaving a Modern Plan."

<sup>52</sup> Gordon, "Weaving a Modern Plan," 50.

<sup>53</sup> Gyton, *A Place for Canadians*, 37.

proposed green belt, highlighting once again the FDC's lack of constitutional authority in the municipal arena and reopening the "federal district" debate. The solution: rename the Federal District Commission the National Capital Commission and give it more power and more financing. If the Commission could not achieve its green belt goals through municipal coercion and/or cooperation, then it would simply buy the land outright and do as it pleased without regard for local concerns.<sup>54</sup> In 1958 the *National Capital Act* was approved by Parliament. It was proclaimed law in early 1959. The Federal District Commission became the National Capital Commission (NCC).

### **The National Capital Commission**

The *National Capital Act* substantially revised the Commission's organization, powers and financing. The NCC's mandate, according to the Act, was "to prepare plans for and assist in the development, conservation and improvement of the National Capital Region in order that the nature and character of the seat of the Government of Canada may be in accordance with its national significance."<sup>55</sup> The words "national significance" would prove important in the future. Practical changes to the NCC included the appointment of twenty commissioners to ensure national and regional representation, and a doubling of the size of the National Capital Region from 2,330 to 4,660 square kilometers. Structurally, the NCC, now a Crown corporation, was becoming more complex, with five independent advisory committees and seven internal divisions, the largest being the Planning and Property Division. Whereas the FDC had been accountable to the prime minister, the NCC chair now reported to the minister of public

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 44-45.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 49.

works. While the FDC had been a pioneer in urban planning, the NCC became a pioneer in heritage conservation. Although some things had changed, one thing had not: the NCC, like its predecessor, steadily added land “to what was already the largest single holding in the area.”<sup>56</sup> A large part of the NCC property acquisition program focused on greenbelt land and the LeBreton Flats area. Although most land was acquired through negotiation, the NCC also resorted to expropriation. When the NCC authority to expropriate land was challenged by one irate citizen, the judge in the case made the following statement:

Every country must have a capital worthy of it, and the evidence indicates that throughout history this has always been recognized. As indicated earlier, the national significance of Greece was exemplified in its capital Athens, of Italy, in its capital Rome, of France, in its capital Paris, of Great Britain, in its capital London, and of the United States, in its capital Washington. In the result, therefore, I am of the opinion that the words ‘national significance’ are meaningful and are apt in describing the goal sought to be attained for the nature and character of the seat of the Government of Canada.<sup>57</sup>

Simply put, the need of the greater good trumped the rights of individual property owners. The Supreme Court went on to uphold the NCC’s authority to expropriate land. The NCC property acquisition program did not start to wind down until the mid-sixties, by which time centennial celebration preparations were in full swing.

Canada’s centennial year, sometimes described “as the country’s coming of age,”<sup>58</sup> also marked a time of change for the NCC, with a shift in emphasis to cultural programs and the projection onto the capital of an “NCC look” or image.<sup>59</sup> Across the country, the winds of change were also being felt, most notably in the person of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose election as prime minister in 1968, and whose insistence on a

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 61-62.

bilingual and bicultural Canada would have significant impact on the NCC's direction over the coming decades. Under the guidance of the new NCC chair Douglas Fullerton and with the goal of greater equality, the long-term redevelopment of the Quebec half of the National Capital Region, the Outaouais, was undertaken - a project that had always been a part of the NCC's vision for the Capital Region. While the National Capital Commission was quick to respond to the challenge of biculturalism, it was also in the process of responding to another societal change – a growing demand from the public for greater accountability and a part in the planning process.

Perhaps partly in response to its authoritarian and autocratic method of land acquisition during the early sixties, the NCC was increasingly criticized for being aloof, arrogant and not in touch with the real world.<sup>60</sup> The “real” post-war world of urban planning was in transition in North America.<sup>61</sup> Even as Gréber presented his 1948 preliminary report, many felt its romantic aesthetic was outdated. The romantic Victorian aesthetic, which had been so influential on King and Gréber's City Beautiful plans for the National Capital Region,<sup>62</sup> was quickly giving way to a new modernist aesthetic that favoured International Style architecture in the design of urban high-rise complexes and suburban residential developments.<sup>63</sup> But more important than changing architectural tastes, was the increasing popularity of and demand for “participatory democratic

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<sup>60</sup> This paragraph addresses concepts and ideas put forward by two urban geographers: Neil Rothwell, “Above and Beyond: An Examination of the National Capital Commission's Response to Societal Change,” (M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1999); and Calvin McKnight, “Public Art and Urban Spaces: The Place of Art in the Public Interest in the National Capital Region.” (M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1996).

<sup>61</sup> McKnight identifies the post-war era, between 1945 and the early 1970s as the modern period (8). Rothwell offers a lengthy overview of the modernist period in urban planning in the National Capital Region (8-22).

<sup>62</sup> See Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” Chapter 8 and 9 with regard to modernist critiques of Gréber's Romantic aesthetic imagery.

<sup>63</sup> McKnight, “Public Art,” 11.

politics.”<sup>64</sup> During the late 1960s and early 1970s urban reformers protested against the “authoritarian and technocratic slant of urban planning of the 1950s” and demanded greater public involvement in the planning process and decisions.<sup>65</sup> The result was that urban planning practices at the end of the twentieth century became more in tune with the needs and wants of the public.<sup>66</sup> This new spirit of public consultation is evident at the National Capital Commission, where “public involvement and open dialogue with the public are key determining factors in the success of [their] projects, plans and programs.”<sup>67</sup>

As it enters its second century of existence, the National Capital Commission’s projects, plans and programs are numerous and widespread. The NCC now owns approximately 10%, or 470 square kilometers, of the National Capital Region and is responsible for the care and maintenance of various other properties. Just as the NCC’s land holdings have grown over the past century, the scope of the Commission’s mandate, budget, and organizational structure has become increasingly complex, but at the same time, increasingly accessible to public scrutiny. In keeping with its new policy of transparency and public consultation, the most comprehensive overview of and information about the NCC is their website: [www.capcan.ca](http://www.capcan.ca). Here one may access NCC plans and policies regarding new commemorations in the National Capital Region.

In June 2006, the NCC revised its programme and policy with regard to commemorations and approved *Canada’s Capital Commemoration Strategic Plan*, a

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>65</sup> Rothwell, “Above and Beyond,” 20-22.

<sup>66</sup> See Rothwell, “Above and Beyond,” for an in-depth historical overview and critical reading of the National Capital Commission’s response to urban development and societal changes from the late 1950s to the mid 1990s.

<sup>67</sup> National Capital Commission. “Public Participation,” [www.capcan.ca/bins/ncc\\_web\\_content\\_page.asp?cid=16302-22556&lang=1](http://www.capcan.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16302-22556&lang=1). (15 July 2008).

guide providing direction for commemorations over the next twenty years. With the goal “to better reflect the identity and diversity of Canada, the *Strategic Plan* identifies six major thematic areas for commemoration: 1) political life; 2) peace and security; 3) Canada and the world; 4) cultural and intellectual life; 5) social and community life; and 6) developing economies. Within these six areas additional priority is to be given to Aboriginal peoples, ethnocultural communities, women and the environment. The *Comprehensive Commemoration Program and Policy for Canada’s Capital* outlines the evaluation and approval process for commemoration proposals that are welcomed from individuals and groups and it explains how successful projects are implemented and funded. While the NCC “takes a lead role in facilitating the development of new, and the maintenance of existing, commemorations,” it also acts as a coordinator between municipal authorities, and other departments and agencies, such as Public Works and Government Services Canada (PWGSC).<sup>68</sup>

Public Works and Government Services Canada acts as the purchaser and property manager for the Government of Canada. As such, most of its services are for federal departments and agencies and the private businesses that provide goods and services to them.<sup>69</sup> As the property manager for the Government of Canada, PWGSC is responsible for the long-term development and maintenance of the Parliamentary Precinct, a geographic area defined by Wellington Street to the south, Kent Street to the west and the Rideau Canal to the east. Included in this mandate are the buildings, the landscaping, and the monuments located within this area. Parliament Hill

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<sup>68</sup> *Comprehensive Commemoration Program and Policy For Canada’s Capital* (Ottawa: NCC, 2006), 3.

<sup>69</sup> See the PWGSC website for a complete and up-to-date overview of their operations and services. [www.pwgsc.gc.ca/text/index-e.html](http://www.pwgsc.gc.ca/text/index-e.html).



commemorations require the approval of the House of Commons and the Senate.<sup>70</sup> When it comes to new commemorative monuments on Parliament Hill, PWGSC works in conjunction with the NCC, but PWGSC policies apply in their jurisdiction.

Today, commemorations in the National Capital Region are most likely the result of public participation, private interests, and National Capital Commission cooperation and oversight. This was not always the case. As the next chapter reveals, commemorative monuments appeared on Parliament Hill even before the OIC had been formed.

When the Ottawa Improvement Commission was first established in 1899, Canada was a nation in its infancy. As a commission charged with enhancing and beautifying the capital city, the OIC was also in its infancy. It got off to a slow start with little funding, less power and no coherent long-term plans. Under the guidance of a number of strong and resourceful leaders, and through consultation with urban planning specialists such as Frederick Todd, the Commission acquired a growing sense of direction and determination. In 1927, the Commission entered a new phase of capital region development as the Federal District Commission. The larger and more powerful FDC oversaw an ever-expanding capital region and the production and initial implementation of the Gréber Plan that was responsible for the reorganization of Confederation Square, the civic heart of the capital region. In 1959, the National Capital Commission took over from the FDC with “a mandate to undertake ‘the development, conservation and improvement of the National Capital Region’ so that the Capital would worthily represent Canada as it grew into a great modern nation.”<sup>71</sup> During the past fifty

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<sup>70</sup> *Comprehensive Commemoration Program*, 4.

<sup>71</sup> National Capital Commission. “Plan, Preserve, Develop,” [www.capcan.ca](http://www.capcan.ca). (5 October 2007).

years the NCC has continuously updated its urban planning strategies and adapted to societal change. Like the country and the capital region, the NCC (and its predecessors) has grown and matured over the past century.

## Chapter 2

### Heroes for a New Nation: Men, Maidens and Mythic Figures

The aim of this chapter is to study the concept of the hero in general and more specifically what that hero looked like at the end of the twentieth century as represented by Parliament Hill monuments. The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part, “The Heroic Ideal,” draws on hero-related literature to provide an overview of a largely Victorian-influenced masculine ideal at the turn of the twentieth century and its exclusions in terms of gender and ethnicity. Parts Two, Three and Four provide a discussion of how these ideas and ideals are reflected in and reinforced by six turn-of-the-century commemorative monuments. Part Two, “The Men,” looks at the influence of French academicism on monumental sculpture and discusses how the heroic male ideal is reflected in the *Sir George Étienne Cartier* (1885), *Sir John A. Macdonald* (1895), and *Alexander Mackenzie* (1901) monuments. The third section, “The Maidens,” addresses the portrayal of women through a discussion of the *Queen Victoria* (1901) monument in particular and the use of allegorical figures on Parliament Hill monuments in general. The final section of the chapter, “The Mythic Figures,” undertakes a discussion of mythic types as represented by the *Sir Galahad* (1905) and *Samuel de Champlain* (1915) monuments: the chivalrous knight, the frontier explorer, and the “noble savage.”

## The Heroic Ideal

It is impossible to say exactly what qualities constitute a hero because over time and across cultures the notion of heroism is constantly shifting. But it is possible to observe that dictionary definitions and Western literature on the subject of heroes and heroism generally assume and naturalize a male heroic figure. It is only recently that the term hero, derived from the Greek *heros*, has been used to describe a person of either sex. At the turn of the twentieth century, the word heroine would have been used to describe a female who demonstrated heroic qualities, but more often than not it was used to denote the chief female character in a book or play. In *The Victorian Heroine* Patricia Thomson traces the correlation between the Victorian woman and the heroine in Victorian literature in order to assess the effect of the feminist movement in Britain.<sup>1</sup> Among the heroine types studied by Thomson are the governess, the female philanthropist and the fallen woman – hardly images that spring to mind when one envisions the heroic individual. While there may have been many fictional heroines in Victorian literature, actual female heroes worthy of commemorative monuments, such as Joan of Arc, were rare exceptions a century ago. Male heroes were not so rare.

Victorian historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle's "enormously popular"<sup>2</sup> text *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841) introduced the man of letters into the category of hero alongside the likes of kings, priests, prophets and divines. Author Norman Vance identifies chivalry and patriotism as central to the Victorian ideal of manliness. Vance writes that although the Victorian ideal of manliness took a variety

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<sup>1</sup> Patricia Thomson, *The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-1873* (London: Oxford UP, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> Norma Clarke, "Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the Man of Letters as Hero," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, eds Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 41.

of forms, in general it “can be summarized as physical manliness, ideas of chivalry and gentlemanliness, and moral manliness, all of which tend to incorporate something of the patriotic and military qualities which ‘manliness’ may also connote”<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that although this type of masculinity may have been widespread in Victorian times it was not monolithic. In his essay examining what notions of masculinity were transplanted from Britain and how the ideals were resisted by or adapted to Australian needs, author Ian D. Brice focuses on Australian schools established by the Scottish Presbyterian Church and the Irish Catholic Church between 1880 and World War I. Brice writes: “Recent research into the cultural construction of masculinity has shown it to be not a monolith, but multi-faceted, contested, and changing over time. Masculinities are institutionalized and practised in many arenas of social life, notably the family and the workplace, as well as the state.” As well, Brice notes that “we need to recognise a range of masculinities in different contexts, shaped by social class, ethnic and sexual variations.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, even the Victorian manly ideal outlined above shifted over time, as is demonstrated by Tony Mangan’s book *Athleticism and the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*, in which the author traces the growth and implementation of the ideology of athleticism in public schools between 1860 and 1940. Of this shift in values, Brice writes: “Manliness was redefined, from spiritual and moral maturity (opposed to childishness), to a hearty, active

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<sup>3</sup> Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1985), 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ian D. Brice, “Ethnic Masculinities in Australian Boys’ Schools: Scots and Irish Secondary Schools in Late Nineteenth-century Australia,” *Paedagogica Historica* 37.1 (2001): 139-140.

assertiveness and toughness (opposed to femininity), [and a cult of athleticism] which was inculcated primarily through school sport.”<sup>5</sup>

Many Victorian manly qualities are evident in William Lyon Mackenzie King’s 1906 book *The Secret of Heroism: A Memoir of Henry Albert Harper*, which documents the life of a specific individual. Nonetheless, the underlying assumption in the book is that the hero is masculine in the qualities and achievements (such as a college education) outlined. Equally, Lord Raglan’s (FitzRoy Richard Somerset’s) 1936 publication *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* assumes a male hero. Whereas King’s book looks at a real-life hero, Raglan looks at mythical heroes such as Robin Hood and King Arthur in order to establish a pattern of attributes and events that are characteristic of mythic heroes, such as being the offspring of a virgin mother and royal father. On a quasi-scientific note, Michael Owen Jones offers a formula to become a hero — (PC + CB) x SD (R + I + E) = Hero (translated as **Personal Charisma plus Credulous Biographer times Social Definition including Recognition plus Imputation plus Expurgation produces HERO**). Jones claims that this formula is borne out in its application to the information provided by Kent Steckmesser in his book about four historical figures who became legendary hero types of the American frontier: “The Mountain Man: Kit Carson”; “The Outlaw: Billy the Kid”; “The Gunfighter: Wild Bill Hickok”; and “The Soldier: George Armstrong Custer.”<sup>6</sup> While the literature mentioned thus far naturalizes the hero as male, Bill Butler, in his book *The Myth of the Hero*, states outright that woman as hero is problematic. Why? Because women tend toward passive roles. According to Butler, women do not really want to be heroes: they are conditioned

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<sup>5</sup> Brice, “Ethnic Masculinities,” 139.

<sup>6</sup> Kent Ladd Steckmesser, *The Western Hero in History and Legend* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965).

to want to be a prize.<sup>7</sup> Although Butler takes a less rigorous approach to the topic, he does make some interesting observations about heroes in general: “All heroes are culture heroes. Which is to say that the purpose of the hero is to benefit the culture in whose myths he lives...”<sup>8</sup>; and “The hero, then, is generated by the needs of ordinary mortals. He is the answer to our prayers...”<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the most thoughtful and reasoned account of the importance of the hero to national identity, and of the fluidity between history and legend, is offered by Yael Zerubavel in her essay “The Historic, the Legendary, and the Incredible: Invented Tradition and Collective Memory in Israel.” Zerubavel’s exploration of the terms ‘history’ and ‘legend’ reveals that they “are not always considered mutually exclusive categories and that the relation between them shifts in line with other social and political changes that the society undergoes.”<sup>10</sup> Zerubavel offers a case study of a relatively recent (1920) historical event (a battle in the northern Galilee settlement of Tel Hai, Israel) and of a hero (Yoseph Trumpeldor) to show how ‘history’ is turned into ‘legend’ in order to create a new national tradition, thus inventing tradition. She then proceeds to demonstrate how the perception of the legend or hero can be modified over the years, starting with a declining stature or importance, leading to a growing skepticism over the historical validity of the hero or event, and finally to a renewed emphasis on the historical person or event. In a Canadian context, this process, brought on by social and political change, has resulted in a reevaluation of Hamilton MacCarthy’s 1915 monument to *Samuel de Champlain* (discussed below). Although Champlain has not gone from hero

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<sup>7</sup> Bill Butler, *The Myth of the Hero* (London: Rider & Company, 1979), 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Yael Zerubavel, “The Historic, the Legendary, and the Incredible: Invented Traditions and Collective Memory in Israel,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 117.

to zero as is the case with figures such as Stalin and Lenin in post-communist Europe, there has been a shift in how the relationship between the newcomer/explorer Champlain and First Nations peoples is perceived in today's culture. Heroes are important figures in how a nation imagines itself, and notions about what constitutes a hero do shift over time. However, in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Canada, the notion of the cultural hero was naturalized as white and masculine, and the monuments erected at the time evidenced this.

### **The Men**

While Victorian notions of heroic manliness contributed to how Canadian men imagined themselves at the turn of the twentieth century, the first monuments on Parliament Hill are indebted to French academicism in regard to how the heroic male figure was portrayed in sculpture. The first monument on Parliament Hill, indeed the young capital's first commemorative monument, was dedicated to Sir George Étienne Cartier in 1885 (fig.2). Ten years later a monument to Sir John A. Macdonald (fig. 3) joined the *Cartier* monument on Parliament Hill and in 1901 the *Alexander Mackenzie* monument (fig. 4) increased the ranks. All three monuments are the work of Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), generally considered to be Canada's most important commemorative sculptor of his day and, indeed, one of the finest ever.

Born in a small rural farming community in Quebec (Sainte-Sophie-d'Halifax, now Sainte-Sophie), the third son in a family of thirteen children, Hébert would eventually become a prominent and celebrated sculptor, with studios in Paris and



Montreal.<sup>11</sup> After acquiring some initial woodcarving skills from Adolphe Rhô (1839-1905) in 1872, Hébert's real artistic education began in 1873 when Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916), the prominent Montreal artist who had studied in Italy and France, took him on as an apprentice in his Montreal studio. After six years under Bourassa, Hébert went into business for himself, and commissions started coming in. In 1886 Hébert was commissioned to create ten of the bronze statues planned for the façade of the new *Hôtel du Parlement* in Quebec City. With the support of his mentor, Bourassa, and government funding, Hébert left Montreal for Paris to perfect his skills before tackling the prestigious commission. What was originally intended to be an eighteen-month stay ultimately turned into one of six years, with brief return visits to Canada to obtain new commissions and oversee the installation of completed work. Over the course of his career Hébert returned to his Paris studio frequently and was regarded by his friends and colleagues as a man belonging to two countries.<sup>12</sup>

When Hébert first arrived in Paris, French sculptors were busy with commissions for the many monuments to great men that were being erected all over France. They were working on ambitious sculptural embellishment of the new buildings erected under Baron Haussmann's urban renewal plan.<sup>13</sup> Sculpture was both didactic in spirit and varied in style. At the Salon, it tended towards naturalism as seen in the work of Léon Fagel (1851-1913), Théophile Barrau (1848-1913) or Antonin Carlès (1851-1919). Other sculpture was eclectic, however, showing evidence of classical, neoclassical, as well as

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<sup>11</sup> All information regarding Hébert is drawn from the exhibition catalogue *Louis-Philippe Hébert* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 2001). Biographical background is from the essay by Yves Lacasse, "Hébert, sa vie, son oeuvre," 28-39.

<sup>12</sup> Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, "Hébert à Paris" in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, 119. "Il appartenait en effet aux deux pays."

<sup>13</sup> This paragraph is my English rewording and reworking of information provided by Le Normand-Romain in "Hébert à Paris," 121.

orientalizing picturesque influences. Like their painting colleagues, the Impressionists, some sculptors attempted to capture the effects of light regardless of the subject. This modern aesthetic is seen in a series of terracotta statuettes depicting working-class subjects produced by Aimé-Jules Dalou (1838-1902) while he was in England during the 1880s. It is also evident in symbolist sculpture that suggested rather than described, such as Aristide Maillol's (1861-1944) *The Mediterranean* (bronze, 1902-05, Museum of Modern Art, New York) and also in the work of Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), the preeminent French sculptor of the time. In 1890 the more modern painters and sculptors, such as Rodin, revitalised the Société nationale des beaux-arts (originally established in 1862) while the more traditional artists such as Hébert stayed with the Société des artistes français. Hébert's Parisian friends encouraged him to remain within the realm of anecdotal, decorative sculpture, a mode with which he achieved much success in works such as *Halt in the Forest* (1889) and *Without Mercy* (1900). Hébert exhibited regularly in Paris, where he became known for this type of sculpture, which illustrated episodes from Canada's past.<sup>14</sup> By the time of his last trip to Paris, (December 1911 to March 1914) a vast gap had developed between Hébert and much younger artists such as Brancusi and Picasso who were in the vanguard of European sculptural practice.

While Hébert's work may have been considered traditional by Parisian standards, it was not so in Canada. As Yves Lacasse points out: "C'est effectivement à Hébert que la sculpture canadienne doit son entrée dans la modernité. Il a tracé la voie à une nouvelle génération de sculpteurs qui abandonneraient le bois pour le bronze, tout comme ils délaisseraient les églises au profit des places publiques et des musées."<sup>15</sup> Having

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<sup>14</sup> Lacasse, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 38.

assimilated the prevailing European tradition in sculpture at the French Academy in Paris, Hébert then imported it back to Canada, as the earliest monuments on Parliament Hill reveal.

Like the English and French influences on Canadian culture and society mentioned above, the first two monuments on Parliament Hill, *Sir George-Étienne Cartier* (1885) and *Sir John A. Macdonald* (1895), reflect Canada's bicultural birth and identity. As adults George-Étienne Cartier (1814-1873) and John A. Macdonald (1815-1891) became close friends despite differing cultural backgrounds. Cartier was born in French-speaking Lower Canada whereas Macdonald, though born in Scotland, grew up in and around Kingston in the predominantly English-speaking Upper Canada. But they shared a political desire: the confederation of Canada. In their respective provinces both Cartier and Macdonald followed similar education paths leading to careers as lawyers. Cartier was called to the bar in 1835, Macdonald in 1836. The rebellions of 1837/38 against British colonial power in Upper and Lower Canada proved to be significant for both men but for different reasons.<sup>16</sup> Inspired by Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871), leader of the Patriote movement that sought democratic reform by way of responsible government for Lower Canada, Cartier joined the Société des Fils de la Liberté: a paramilitary organisation founded in 1837 by supporters of the Patriote movement. As a result of his participation in the Battle at St. Denis Cartier was briefly exiled. After a year spent in Vermont he was allowed to return to his law practice in Montreal. Meanwhile, in Upper Canada Macdonald chose to fight in a different way by defending local political

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<sup>16</sup> In his book *John A: The Man Who Made Us: The Life and Times of John A. Macdonald* (Toronto: Random House, 2007), political columnist and author Richard Gwyn describes the rebellion as a "serious uprising" by Lower Canada Patriotes led by Louis-Joseph Papineau, and a "tragicomedy" of rebels led by William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada (91).

prisoners charged with treason for their parts in the uprisings against colonial authorities.

Press coverage of the trials established Macdonald as a successful lawyer.

For Macdonald and Cartier the rebellions proved to be politicizing events.

Macdonald entered politics in 1843, while Cartier gave up law and entered politics in 1848. In the aftermath of the rebellions the two culturally divergent colonies of Upper and Lower Canada were merged into the Province of Canada by the 1840 Act of Union. They were given a single legislative assembly composed of equal numbers of elected members from Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) and Canada West (formerly Upper Canada) and were led by joint premiers. Brought together as cabinet colleagues, Macdonald and Cartier formed a friendship that would last over twenty years. As co-premiers of the Province of Canada from 1857 until 1862 they worked together for the confederation of Canada, a goal that was achieved in 1867. Macdonald became the new dominion's first prime minister and Cartier became minister of militia and defence. Except for a period of five years Macdonald served as prime minister until his death in 1891.<sup>17</sup> Cartier, who suffered from Bright's disease (a kidney condition that was at that time incurable), died in 1873 at the age of 58. Within three days of Cartier's death, Macdonald proposed a commemorative monument "to be undertaken at public expense," but it was 1882 before the international competition for the monument was announced.

Of the fourteen proposals submitted by artists from Canada, Great Britain, the USA and Italy, a committee formed by cabinet ministers and Department of Public

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<sup>17</sup> In 1873, when it was revealed that Macdonald's government had accepted bribes from Sir Hugh Allen in exchange for contracts to construct the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway, Macdonald was forced to resign and the Liberal politician Alexander Mackenzie took over as prime minister. The Liberals won the 1874 election and held power until Macdonald was returned to power in the 1878 election. The episode became known as the Pacific Scandal.

Works officials chose the work of Louis-Philippe Hébert.<sup>18</sup> The resulting monument was unveiled by Macdonald himself on January 29, 1885. Within weeks of his death in 1891 a monument to honour the dead prime minister was proposed for Parliament Hill. Although the 1893 monument competition brought in forty-four proposals from artists in Europe, Great Britain, the USA and Canada, once again the Cabinet and Public Works committee chose the work of Hébert. Fittingly, the monument to Macdonald was unveiled on Dominion Day – July 1, 1895.<sup>19</sup>

Consideration of both commemorations with regard to siting, figure style and pedestal reveals many similarities and some differences. The site for the first monument on Parliament Hill was recommended by Thomas Fuller (1823-98), the architect who, in partnership with Chilion Jones (1835-1812), was responsible for the design of the original Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings (destroyed by fire in 1916). As chief architect of the Dominion of Canada in the Department of Public Works from 1881 to 1897, and thus responsible for Parliament Hill projects, Fuller chose a site just to the west of the Centre Block, on the far side of the driveway that rings the Centre Block. The Cartier monument, at the southwest corner of the Centre Block, is balanced or mirrored by the Macdonald monument that is sited at the southeast corner. Both monuments are angled slightly toward the Centre Block and both figures gaze out over the lawn toward a point where the centennial/eternal flame is now located. The strategic siting of the monuments honouring the two friends and confederation colleagues was commented on at the time. Speeches made at the unveiling, and written accounts of the unveiling

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<sup>18</sup> Terry Guernsey, *Statues of Parliament Hill: An Illustrated History* (Ottawa: NCC, 1986), 11.

<sup>19</sup> For a more detailed account of the commissioning process for both these monuments see: Charles C. Hill, "Hébert et l'image de la Confédération," in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, 216-241.

ceremonies linked the two men in life and in death.<sup>20</sup> “‘Thus,’ wrote one reporter, were the two ‘old comrades in arms’ once again together, ‘joined in a bronze sentinelship’ where they could keep ‘stately and enduring watch over the scene of their achievements.’”<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Macdonald and Cartier continue to act as bookends, framing the building where the business of responsible government is conducted.

The persons commemorated by this type of highly popular European academic nineteenth-century monument generally adopt a heroic stance and a solemn bearing and are surrounded by attributes of their glory.<sup>22</sup> Hébert’s figures follow the formula. Both the Cartier and Macdonald figures strike heroic and dynamic poses with left legs forward and with the toe of the left shoe extending slightly over the pedestal base (figs. 2 and 3). Both men are shown similarly and suitably dressed as statesmen in overcoats. The “informal disarray”<sup>23</sup> of the figures’ clothing conveys a sense of vigor and energy, as does their posture. Both men hold documents in their left hands, and have their left arms extended downward toward the left legs. While Cartier’s right arm gestures across his body, index finger pointing toward the documents in his left hand, Macdonald’s right arm is bent at a ninety-degree angle and his pince-nez is grasped between thumb and index finger. A solemn bearing is communicated through facial expression and body language: Cartier is shown as if engaged in debate, while Macdonald’s face reveals a man deep in thought. The body language of both men suggests confidence and assurance. True to the formula, both men are accompanied by attributes - in both cases documents - that attest to their individual achievements. The inscription on Cartier’s documents reads:

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 229, and fn. 86.

<sup>21</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel Drouin, “Les monuments commémoratifs au Québec (1880-1930),” in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, 153.

<sup>23</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 12.

“Constitution de 1867. Le gouvernement est d’opinion que la Confédération est nécessaire./ Constitution of 1867. The government is of the opinion that Confederation is necessary.” These words are from Cartier’s speech given at the Quebec Conference (1864), the second of three conferences (the first at Charlottetown, and the third in London, England) that would lead to Confederation.<sup>24</sup> Macdonald also holds papers in his left hand, but more important is one of the documents located on a jumbled pile of books and papers on the ground behind his right leg. It bears the inscription “Consolidation of British America.” In his analysis of the iconography of these two first Parliament Hill monuments Charles Hill observes that Hébert’s monument was a fitting tribute to Sir John as the father of a new dominion, just as his monument to Sir George Étienne Cartier emphasized the act of Confederation. Hill concludes that through these two monuments “[l]a Confédération y était définie comme une initiative exclusivement canadienne, et non comme un privilège accordé par les autorités de l’Empire.”<sup>25</sup> In other words, men like Cartier and Macdonald made Confederation a reality through their active and assertive actions: they did not just sit around waiting for it to happen. These bookend figures offered a heroic image of and for a new nation.

Naturally, both these heroic figures are presented on pedestals. Monument pedestals are often the work of architects working in collaboration with the sculptor. Hébert worked with a number of architects, including Montrealer William Sutherland Maxwell (1874-1952) (pedestal and fountain for the monument to John Young, 1911, Montreal) and French architect Gustave Umbdenstock (*Monsignor de Laval*, 1908,

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<sup>24</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 12. and Hill, “Hébert et l’image,” 224.

<sup>25</sup> Hill, “Hébert et l’image,” 225.

Quebec City, and *Edward VII*, 1914, Montreal).<sup>26</sup> Hébert contracted for the *Cartier* and *Macdonald* pedestals, which were budgeted separately from the sculpture commission, through the chief architect's office of the Department of Public Works.<sup>27</sup> Both pedestals are grey granite and elevate the figures considerably through the use of multilayered architectural elements. The simple, smooth, angular lines and surfaces of the *Cartier* pedestal are interrupted halfway up the shaft by the introduction of a carved, braid-like element that encircles the pedestal and offers some visual relief and interest to the flat surfaces.

Visual relief and interest on the *Macdonald* pedestal is provided by the addition of a bronze female figure representing Confederation. Hébert's use of an allegorical figure on the base of the *Macdonald* monument is the one major difference between the two commissions. The abstract notion of Confederation is represented by a young, seated, bare-shouldered woman attired in toga-like drapery, wearing sandals, a laurel wreath and a tiara on her head. Her right arm is casually draped over a shield that displays the unofficial symbols of the provinces in the new dominion. Her left arm supports a staff on which a flag is languidly draped. Under the thin material that clothes her body, her firm round breasts and nipples are clearly visible. Terry Guernsey describes her as "[a] fitting symbol of the optimistic self-confidence of a young nation, her radiant enthusiasm engag[ing] us directly." "Perhaps even too directly," Guernsey continues, as one senator remarked in 1911 that "her charms were even distracting some of the younger members of Parliament from their duty."<sup>28</sup> Indeed, it is difficult not to notice the breasts. They are presented at eye-level because the figure, although raised slightly on the pedestal, is

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<sup>26</sup> Drouin, "Les monuments commémoratifs," 153.

<sup>27</sup> See Hill, 220 and fn. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 24.



seated. Although *Confederation* is the first allegorical figure and the first female figure on Parliament Hill she is not – as we shall see - the only one on either count.

The next monument on Parliament Hill also features allegorical figures on the base and is also the work of Hébert. Alexander Mackenzie (1822-1892), who died less than a year after Sir John A. Macdonald, was the first Liberal prime minister of Canada. Mackenzie's party held power from 1873 until 1878, after Macdonald was forced to resign over the Pacific Scandal (see footnote 16). Mackenzie's career in federal politics was relatively brief and his term in office coincided with a severe economic recession. Macdonald's Conservatives regained power in the 1878 election. Mackenzie resigned as leader of the opposition in 1880 and returned to provincial politics. A monument to commemorate the first Liberal prime minister would have to wait until the Liberals regained power in 1896. In 1897 Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919) proposed a monument to Mackenzie.

Although politicking played a large role in bringing monuments from proposal to completion, the Cartier, Macdonald, and Mackenzie monuments do not reflect any particular party politics.<sup>29</sup> While Conservative governments proposed monuments to commemorate Conservative politicians and Liberal governments proposed monuments to Liberals, the commissioning processes and the three resulting monuments are very similar. The commission for the *Mackenzie* monument followed much the same process as that for the previous two: it was initiated by the Cabinet and was debated in the House of Commons, and its contract was awarded through competition. However, while the

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<sup>29</sup> Political party naming and political positions in mid-nineteenth-century Canada had little to do with Liberal and Conservative as we know it today. Richard Gwyn writes: "In the contemporary sense of the term, parties scarcely existed then. Many members, no matter on what label they gained election performed thereafter as 'loose fish,' as the term went" (122).

*Cartier* and *Macdonald* competitions had been international, the *Mackenzie* competition was limited to Canadian artists. As a result only seven proposals were received.<sup>30</sup>

According to Terry Guernsey, despite the small number of proposals the decision process was lengthy and was plagued “by provincial rivalries and associated cultural tensions” that swirled around the models proposed by Quebec artist Hébert and Ontario artist Hamilton MacCarthy (1846-1939).<sup>31</sup> Although both artists were supported by representatives of their provinces, Hébert seems to have been particularly adept at the political patronage game: he took his proposal directly to Prime Minister Laurier.<sup>32</sup> Eventually the contract for the *Mackenzie* monument, which included a standing portrait figure of Mackenzie and two allegorical figures on the pedestal, was awarded to Hébert for \$14,000.<sup>33</sup> The completed monument was installed without ceremony in the summer of 1901.

For the *Mackenzie* figure Hébert used the same heroic stance and solemn bearing he had for the figures of *Cartier* and *Macdonald*. Dressed in frock coat and trousers, the standing figure is shown in the act of oration (fig. 4). Mackenzie’s left arm hangs at his side, with papers held in his hand; his right arm is bent at ninety degrees, and his hand is extended as if making a point to his audience. Again, the toe of the left shoe projects slightly over the edge of the pedestal. Because Mackenzie’s term in office lacked any striking events, it was impossible for Hébert to surround the figure with attributes attesting to the prime minister’s glory. Instead he emphasized Mackenzie’s moral character through the inclusion of two allegorical figures: *Labour*, “emblem of intelligent

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<sup>30</sup> This process is described by Charles Hill in “Hébert et l’image,” 219.

<sup>31</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 30-31.

<sup>32</sup> Regarding patronage see Gwyn, *John A.*, 90-91, and Hill, “Hébert et l’image,” 219-220.

<sup>33</sup> For details of decision see Hill, 231.

industry and sound judgement,” and *Probity*, who holds a tablet inscribed “Duty was His Law, And Conscience His Ruler.”<sup>34</sup> The Mackenzie monument is situated to the west of Centre Block and to the north of the Cartier monument on the scenic driveway that circles behind that building.

These first three monuments on Parliament Hill offer an image of turn-of-the-century Canadian men as active nation founders/fathers and builders; not a surprise given the political structure and rules of Canada at the time. Whether the subjects are Liberal or Conservative, their attributes tell us that they were educated and their poses suggest that they were skilled orators. Their upright postures imply strength - both moral and physical - and determination. Their mere existence as monuments attests to the subjects' loyalty and devotion to the young country. But what about the place of women in the emerging national narrative created by the monuments?

### **The Maidens**

Although female allegorical figures had appeared on Parliament Hill monuments as early as 1895, it was not until 1901 that a representation of a real female joined the growing pantheon of heroic figures flanking the Parliament Buildings.<sup>35</sup> A statue to honour Queen Victoria on the occasion of her diamond jubilee (the sixtieth year of her reign) was proposed by Cabinet in 1897 at the same time as the monument to Alexander Mackenzie. The two competitions were administered together. The Queen Victoria competition was restricted to Canadian artists, and only four submissions were received:

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>35</sup> There was already a white marble statue of a more youthful *Victoria* (sculpted 1871) in the Library of Parliament, carved by British sculptor Marshall Wood, who was also responsible for the statue of Queen Victoria in Montreal's Victoria Square (1872).

from Thomas Mowbray of Toronto, Llewellyn Bruce of New Brunswick, George William Hill of Montreal, and Hébert.<sup>36</sup> Once again, Hébert was chosen to execute the monument. He prepared it in his Paris studio at the same time as the *Mackenzie* monument. Both *Mackenzie* and *Victoria* were displayed outside the Canadian pavilion at the 1900 *Exposition universelle* in Paris prior to their installation on Parliament Hill, and earned Hébert a bronze medal. Siting the monument on Parliament Hill proved to be a contentious issue, however. Hébert, supported by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and others, favoured a prominent position midway up the approach to the Centre Block. After much debate an elevated site to the northwest of the Centre Block was chosen. Although Hébert traveled to Ottawa to oversee the placement of the bronzes on the *Victoria* monument, he did not stay for the unveiling ceremony, which occurred on September 23, 1901, nine months after Victoria's death.

The completed monument consists of three large bronze figures mounted on a grey granite pedestal that was designed by Canadian architect Jean-Omer Marchand (1873-1936), as was the pedestal for the *Mackenzie* monument. The standing figure of Victoria is dressed in flowing robes of state (fig. 5). The queen holds a sceptre on her right arm and wears a crown on her head. In her left hand, which extends downward, she displays a parchment on which is written in English, "Constitutional Liberty." Standing below the Queen on a lower level of the pedestal is a female allegory representing Canada. The latter is a youthful figure, like that of *Confederation* on the *Macdonald* monument, but whereas *Confederation* sits, *Canada* stands. The figure looks up towards the Queen and her right arm extends upward with the offering of a laurel wreath. The

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<sup>36</sup> Hill, "Hébert et l'image," fn. 91. For Hill's description of the George Hill proposal and the two Hébert proposals see page 230.

figure's left arm extends downwards as if to provide balance, but at the same time the diagonal line thus formed by the extended arms directs viewers' attention upward. It is difficult to classify the figure's clothing style. It is definitely not contemporary, but neither is it classical like that of the *Confederation* figure. Terry Guernsey describes *Canada* as wearing "a mural crown bearing the coats of arms of the provinces, and an unusual mixture of peasant-like clothing and armour in the form of a gorget worn around her neck."<sup>37</sup> If anything, the clothing is reminiscent of François Rude's (1784-1855) *La Marseillaise* figure on the Arc de Triomphe (Paris, 1833-36) – a bold-relief female allegorical figure dressed in flowing drapery with rolled up sleeves and wearing form-fitting, fish-scale-like armour over her upper torso. The neck armour on the *Canada* figure has the same fish-scale appearance. Located on the front right corner of the pedestal, *Canada* is balanced on the left by the figure of a very large, muscular and menacing male lion. According to Guernsey, the lion "was intended by Hébert to be a symbol of strength and a 'vigilant guardian of the flag, territorial dominion, and national honour.'"<sup>38</sup>

This type of imagery was common on the many commemorative monuments that were erected in Canada and throughout the empire during Queen Victoria's reign.<sup>39</sup> For example, in Montreal, the Sun Life Assurance Company commissioned George Hill to create a drinking fountain (1897) (for horses, no doubt, given the location of the water outlet) as a gift to the city to mark the queen's jubilee.<sup>40</sup> Although no longer functioning as a fountain, the commemoration, located in Dorchester Square, features a rough-hewn

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<sup>37</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>39</sup> For discussion of British/Victorian sculpture and statues depicting Victoria see; Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture* (London: Yale UP, 1983) and Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (London: Yale UP, 1982).

<sup>40</sup> Alan Hustak, "Place du Canada," *Montreal Gazette*, 30 June 1996, C1+.

granite block pedestal designed by Montreal architect Robert Findlay, topped with a magnificently proud-looking, reclining granite lion.<sup>41</sup> This symbol of imperial rule joined the already existing Marshall Wood *Queen Victoria* monument in Montreal's Victoria Square. These two monuments would soon be joined by Princess Louise's tribute to her mother, a bronze statue featuring a regally enthroned *Queen Victoria* (1899) complete with crown, sceptre and royal robes, located on the steps of McGill University's Strathcona Building on Sherbrooke Street. Across the country, other monuments were erected to commemorate the jubilee. In Toronto, Mario Raggi's (1821-1907) *Queen Victoria Monument* (1870, with copies in Hong Kong and in Kimberley, South Africa) was installed in 1903. Raggi's seated figure of Queen Victoria is also dressed in robes of state, holds a sceptre and wears a crown. In India, more than fifty public statues of Victoria were commissioned between 1869 and 1921.<sup>42</sup> Although some of the earlier statues depict a youthful Victoria, the later nineteenth-century monuments generally depict a more matronly and stern figure. Among them is Sir Thomas Brock's (1847-1922) white marble statue in Cubbon Park, Bangalore.<sup>43</sup> This stern, standing, officially robed figure holds an orb (symbol of British authority and influence around the world) instead of a sceptre. In general these monuments in India served "as a visual reminder of the virtues and endurance of British imperial rule" and marked their domination over the people and the country.<sup>44</sup> In Ottawa, the *Victoria* statue served a somewhat different

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<sup>41</sup> Modeled on Frederic Auguste Bartholdi's (1834-1904) Lion of Belfort, Belfort, France (1880), as acknowledged by Hill on the base of his own work. Bartholdi is perhaps best known for his Statue of Liberty in New City Harbour (1886).

<sup>42</sup> Mary Ann Steggle, "Set In Stone: Victoria's Monuments in India," *History Today* 51.2 (Feb. 2001): 44.

<sup>43</sup> Brock was also responsible for the very large, multi-figure *Victoria Memorial* (1911) located in front of Buckingham Palace.

<sup>44</sup> Steggle, "Set In Stone," 44.

purpose and fit somewhat differently into the unfolding narrative of national identity constructed by the growing ensemble of monuments located on Parliament Hill.

On a very basic level, the *Victoria* monument in Ottawa served (and continues to serve) as a visual reminder of British rule. However, the Ottawa monument has deeper levels of meaning as well. Unlike the *Victoria* monuments in India that were “virtually all made in Britain”<sup>45</sup> by the nation’s most eminent sculptors such as Sir Thomas Brock, Ottawa’s *Victoria* was designed by a Canadian. Even though Hébert carried out the commission in his Paris studio in a French academic style, his vision for what the monument would represent was purely Canadian. In his own words, he intended the monument to be a “témoignage de gratitude des libertés politiques obtenues” – testimony of gratitude for political liberties obtained.<sup>46</sup> In order to achieve his goal, Hébert chose to represent the queen at a specific moment in Canadian history: 1867 – the year of Confederation. The event is made clear by the inclusion of the document held in the queen’s left hand. This choice of a specific date and the inclusion of an identifying document set the Ottawa monument apart from many contemporary *Victoria* monuments that offer a more generic and timeless version of imperial authority. Although the Ottawa monument was commissioned for the queen’s sixtieth year of reign and could easily have reflected that occasion, it instead reflects a defining moment in Canadian history and adds a new level to the national narrative started by Hébert’s *Cartier* and *Macdonald* monuments. In that narrative “Confederation was being defined as a purely Canadian initiative and not as a privilege granted by the imperial authorities.”<sup>47</sup> Whereas Hébert’s *Cartier* and *Macdonald* figures reveal assertive and assured Fathers of Confederation, his

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<sup>45</sup> Steggle, “Ste in Stone,” 46.

<sup>46</sup> Hill, “Hébert et l’image,” 231.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, English translation on CD-Rom, 6.

Victoria figure, although regal and authoritative in dress and attributes, reveals a passive attitude. Her passiveness is reflected in her remote gaze, which suggests a disengagement from the figures below, and in her limp presentation of the “Constitutional Liberty” document.

Whether one reads or interprets the queen’s actions as active or passive does not change the fact that, in general, Victoria commemorations function primarily as abstract symbols of British imperialism. Janice Monk writes that the Queen Victoria monument in Sydney, Australia (John Hughes, (1865-1941)),<sup>48</sup> complete with sceptre and orb, “bears little relation to the woman herself – one who chose to wear the black dress and bonnet of widowhood to the celebration of the jubilee of her reign though others attending were garbed in ceremonial dress.”<sup>49</sup> Whereas *Cartier* and *Macdonald* are presented wearing the garments they were most likely to be seen in on a daily basis, most sculptural representations of Victoria reveal a monarch dressed in robes of state despite the fact that as a woman/widow, she was known to eschew this type of dress on public occasions after the death of her husband Prince Albert. In general, it may be said that Victoria monuments “signify something other than the woman herself.”<sup>50</sup> They represent an abstract and mythic symbol of the empire and imperialism. As such, the Ottawa monument actually offers a more realistic interpretation of imperial power and reveals the largely symbolic role that the monarch played in Canadian confederation.

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<sup>48</sup> The monument was originally located in the forecourt of Leinster House (Irish Houses of Parliament) in Dublin (1904) from where it was removed in 1947 and stored until given to the city of Sydney, where it was reinstalled in 1987 outside the Queen Victoria Building in the city centre.

<sup>49</sup> Janice Monk, “Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning,” in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, eds Kay Anderson and Fay Gale (Melbourne, Australia: Longman Cheshire, 1992), 124-125.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 124.



Given this reading of the Victoria figure, I would suggest that she serves a largely allegorical function much like the other female figures on the already existing Parliament Hill monuments. A similar observation is made by Nuala Johnson, who writes that “[i]n national commemoration the role of women is largely allegorical . . . as symbols of identity such as the figures of Liberty or Marianne.”<sup>51</sup> Hébert and his contemporaries regularly employed allegorical figures – both male and female – to embellish their commemorative commissions or to stand on their own, as was the case with the Statue of Liberty (1880), created by Hébert’s close friend in Paris, Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi. Sir Thomas Brock’s *Victoria Memorial* (1911), located in front of Buckingham Palace, employs numerous allegorical figures, among them female figures representing *Victory* and *Truth* (both winged), *Peace* (who is accompanied by a lion), *Justice*, and *Motherhood*.

In terms of the Parliament Hill figures, it is perhaps most productive to examine the differences in how the two genders are represented in allegorical form. All three female figures mentioned so far – *Confederation* on the *Macdonald* monument, *Canada* on the *Victoria* monument, and *Probity* on the *Mackenzie* monument – are youthful women who are not dressed in contemporary clothing. Rather, they are revealingly draped in classical costumes and all are accompanied by attributes such as crowns, flags, and scrolls. Three other female figures may be added to the list: *Upper Canada* and *Lower Canada*, represented in low-relief sculpture on the base of the *Baldwin-Lafontaine* monument (Walter Seymour Allward (1876-1955), 1914, located to the northeast of Centre Block, fig. 9) and *Memory*, a seated bronze figure located on the base of the

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<sup>51</sup> Nuala Johnson, “Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism,” *Society and Space* 13.1 (1995): 57.

monument to *Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (George Hill, 1922, located behind Centre Block to the east, fig. 7). These three additional female allegories are also represented as youthful women. *Memory* is seductively and revealingly draped in classically flowing fabric with nipples and umbilicus clearly visible beneath the sheer material, while the reclining figures of *Upper Canada* and *Lower Canada* are bare-breasted, with fabric draped artfully over their lower bodies. Again, all three are accompanied by attributes: *Memory* has a scroll, on which is written "Confederation," lying across her lap with some maple leaves displayed beside the scroll; *Upper Canada* is accompanied by a plough; and *Lower Canada* reclines beside the prow of a ship.

Among the Parliament Hill monuments there are two male allegories represented: the already-mentioned boy on the base of the *Mackenzie* monument, and the bronze figure of a workman on the base of George Hill's *Monument to George Brown* (1913, located to the west of Centre Block, fig. 6).<sup>52</sup> The latter is a life-size, seated bronze figure of a youthful man, identified by George Hill as a workman and "intended as a symbol of the affection of the people of this country for [George Brown,] the foremost champion of the principles of free Government."<sup>53</sup> He is dressed in the contemporary work clothes of a laborer. The figure's gaze is directed upwards at the figure of George Brown atop the pedestal and his right arm raises his work hat overhead as if to shield his eyes from the sun. He is accompanied by three attributes: a ballot box; a sword (symbol of "the fight that had been necessary to win it");<sup>54</sup> and a scroll inscribed "GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE – FREE INSTITUTIONS – RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND EQUALITY –

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<sup>52</sup> George Brown (1818-1880) was the editor of the (Toronto) *Globe* and a politician who fought for Confederation while serving as a Member of Parliament. In 1880 he was shot by a former employee outside his newspaper office and subsequently died from infection.

<sup>53</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 74.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

UNITY AND PROGRESS OF CONFEDERATION.” This male figure, although functioning as a symbol of the people, also offers a concrete representation of a male type – the working-class “everyman.” He contrasts with the George Brown figure, which offers a more bourgeois gentleman-type of image. As well, the George Brown figure is represented as a debater<sup>55</sup> or a man who works with his intellect as opposed to the figure on the base, who labours manually. Their positions relative to each other on the monument also reflect their differing social status. Yet, although one figure represents an actual person and the other is allegorical, both figures may be viewed as male role models and may also be interpreted as representing the fight for responsible government in Canada. Indeed, by 1913, property- and income-based restrictions on male suffrage had been eliminated.<sup>56</sup>

The other male allegorical figure on the *Mackenzie* monument is described by Terry Guernsey as a “young Pythagoras,” whose attributes include a compass and plumb rule, meant to represent the values of industry and judgement while also referring to Mackenzie’s past as a building contractor and minister of public works.<sup>57</sup> The reclining youth on the right front of the pedestal is joined by the standing female allegory of *Probity* on the left front. This sculptural grouping of figures – that is the heroic male figure on top with two allegorical figures beneath – offers an illustration of Ian Brice’s written description of late Victorian manliness as being “redefined, from spiritual and moral maturity (opposed to childishness), to a hearty, active assertiveness and toughness

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> At Confederation, control of the federal franchise was a provincial matter and voting eligibility criteria for male citizens varied from province to province. However, around the turn of the century, most provinces had eliminated property- and income-based restrictions on male suffrage.

<sup>57</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 32.

(opposed to femininity).”<sup>58</sup> In other words, the manliness of the figure atop the monument is defined in opposition to that which it is not – neither a woman nor a child as represented by the two allegorical figures below.

Just as Victorian ideas influenced concepts of Canadian manliness (discussed above), Victorian notions and British legal traditions had an impact on the lives of women and children in Canada.<sup>59</sup> Victorian culture prescribed a separate private or domestic sphere for women. This was made popular by literary works such as *Angel in the House* (1854) a lengthy, multipart poem written by British author Coventry Patmore about his wife Emily whom he believed to be the perfect Victorian housewife. The Victorian concept of childhood was in transition at the end of the nineteenth century from an earlier time when children were viewed, dressed, and experienced life as small adults, to a new approach marked by innocence and dependence. Where children were once expected to help support the family through labor in the home or outside, compulsory elementary education was starting to be introduced around the turn of the century in an attempt to curb child labor abuses. Employment opportunities for women were limited and wages were usually lower than men’s. Legally and politically, the lives of women and children in Canada were not that dissimilar until 1918, when Canadian women aged 21 and over became eligible to vote in federal elections. The subservient role played by women and children in turn-of-the-century Canadian society is clearly reflected by the position of the two allegorical figures on the base of the *Mackenzie* monument vis-à-vis the male figure on top.

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<sup>58</sup> Ian D. Brice, “Ethnic Masculinities in Australian Boys’ Schools: Scots and Irish Secondary Schools in Late Nineteenth-century Australia,” *Paedagogica Historica* 37.1 (2001): 139.

<sup>59</sup> Kathryn McPherson, Cecelia Morgan and Nancy M. Forestell, eds, “Introduction: Conceptualizing Canada’s Gendered Pasts,” in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1999), 6-9.

The word ‘allegory,’ derived from the Greek *allos*, meaning ‘other,’ and *agoreuō*, ‘to speak,’ is defined as “a narrative in which abstract ideas are personified.”<sup>60</sup> While the female and male allegorical figures on the Parliament Hill monuments do personify abstract ideas, the male and female figures are not equal in what they may be seen to represent. As mentioned above, the workman figure on the *George Brown* monument although functioning as a symbol of the people, also offers a concrete representation of a male type – the working-class “everyman.” Not one of the female allegorical figures could be considered an “everywoman.” Not one of the female figures is represented in contemporary dress. Indeed, two are in a state of undress while at least two others are provocatively dressed. Like the workman figure, the *Canada* figure on the *Victoria* monument has her sleeves rolled up as if ready for work. But whereas the male figure is accompanied by attributes – a sword, and a ballot box – that complement and contribute to viewers’ perception of him, the female figure is represented wearing neck armour, an accoutrement that, according to Marina Warner “inverts the sign of the woman’s body.”

Warner writes:

The personified abstraction, like Justice, or Courage, La République, or Britannia [or in this case *Canada*], often wears armour to demonstrate her struggle for the forces of good against evil. This armed maiden is a long surviving protagonist of that ancient duel. Her armour, . . . in the case of Athena, shows that her allegiance lies with the fathers; it masculinizes her. But the armour does something else, related to both these themes: it renders her a watertight, strong container. . . . It helps to abolish the ascribed nature of womanly bodies, and confirms an irreversible virginity. The armour inverts the sign of the woman’s body so that it can properly represent virtues or ideals; it emphasizes that a leaky vessel has turned into a sound vessel.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*. 1971 ed., s.v. “allegory.”

<sup>61</sup> Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Atheneum: New York, 1985), 250-251.

The comparison of these two figures – the workman and *Canada* – illustrates and confirms Warner’s observation that “men often appear as themselves, as individuals, but women attest the identity and value of someone or something else.”<sup>62</sup> Although the male figure has symbolic meaning, he also represents a concrete contemporary Canadian reality (work clothes, a ballot box) that the female figure does not.

The same observation holds true for the male figure on the *Mackenzie* monument. Like his adult counterpart, the workman on the *George Brown* monument, the childlike figure on the *Mackenzie* monument is accompanied by symbols of a concrete contemporary reality. The compass and plumb-rule, although intended as symbols of industry and judgment, are also references to building construction. Through his association with and use of these instruments, the figure – despite his reclining pose – may be seen to represent the potential for this type of work “to channel the dreams of childhood into the disciplined accomplishments of maturity.”<sup>63</sup> Thus the dreamy male youth possesses the ability to become the mature authoritative male represented atop the pedestal. The youth’s classically draped female companion, *Probity*, holds no such promise of a bright future. Whether the female is scantily clad like *Probity* or *Canada*, or wearing body armour like *Confederation*, “[m]eanings of all kinds flow through the figures of women, and they often do not include who she herself is”<sup>64</sup> – and, I may add, who she may one day become. Without exception, the images of maidens on Parliament Hill at the turn of the century, *Victoria* included, offer multiple symbolic readings of abstract qualities and ideas that may or may not have any real or justifiable connection to women. They instead display little concrete reality about specific Canadian women or

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>63</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> Warner, *Monument and Maidens*, 331.

their role(s) in Canadian society: a subject to which I will return in Chapter Four's discussion of the Famous Five monument.

### **The Mythic Figures**

The first two decades of the new millennium saw the addition of two new monuments in Ottawa: *Sir Galahad* (1905) (fig.8) and *Samuel de Champlain* (1915) (fig. 10). *Sir Galahad*, located on Wellington Street just outside the gates of Parliament Hill, and *Champlain*, located on nearby Nepean Point offer two new representations of the heroic male: the chivalrous knight and the frontier explorer.

On Friday, December 6, 1901, three days short of his twentieth-eighth birthday, Henry Albert Harper, known to his friends as Bert, set off with three companions, Alex Creelman, a teller at the Imperial Bank, Jeannie Snowball, the daughter of a New Brunswick senator, and Bessie Blair, the daughter of the minister of railways and canals, to join another party of skaters on the recently frozen Ottawa River. The conditions were ideal and the skaters stayed out late. On the return trip Creelman and Blair suddenly fell through the ice near Gatineau Point. Jeannie Snowball ran for help while Harper attempted to pull Blair out of the water, but the ice kept giving way. Finally, Harper dove in. Both Blair and Harper were swept under the ice by the current. Their bodies were recovered the next day. Creelman, who managed to hold on to the ice until rescued by others who were out skating on the river, reported that Harper's last words were, "What else can I do?"<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1984), 321-325. King, *The Secret of Heroism*, 9-11. Guernsey, *Statues*, 48-57.

William Lyon Mackenzie King, Harper's close friend and roommate, was devastated. King had been in British Columbia mediating a labor dispute and only learned of the tragic death when he picked up a newspaper at the Toronto railway station. He arrived back in Ottawa in time for the funeral and to attend a public meeting at which a subscription drive was launched to erect a monument to commemorate Harper's heroism. King played an active role on the committee that was appointed to oversee the monument project,<sup>66</sup> and "when the memorial subscription appeared in danger of flagging, he pushed it through."<sup>67</sup> In his memoir of Harper, King wrote:

It was decided that the monument should be of bronze or stone, to be erected in the open air, and to take the form of a figure symbolical of heroism and nobility of character, such as might be suggested by the figure of "Sir Galahad," in the famous painting of that same name by the late George Frederick Watts, R.A. [1862 – now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool]. The choice of sculptor was to be determined by a public competition, unrestricted in any way.<sup>68</sup>

Of the nine proposals received, the monument committee chose the work of a young American sculptor, Ernest Wise Keyser (1876-1959). Keyser, who was born in Baltimore and studied at the Art Students League in New York, was at the Académie Julian in Paris when he received the commission. His completed *Sir Galahad* reveals a young man, dressed in light armour, with a cape billowing out behind him. His left hand is placed over his heart and he carries a sword (tip down) loosely in his right hand. His left leg strides forward while his right arm swings slightly back to balance the gait. *Galahad's* gaze is directed slightly upward as if appealing to or seeking advice from some higher authority. The bronze figure is placed atop a rough-hewn granite block on which is

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<sup>66</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 52.

<sup>67</sup> Gwyn, *The Private Capital*, 325.

<sup>68</sup> King, *The Secret of Heroism*, 11-12.



engraved Harper's "favourite passage in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*,"<sup>69</sup> words that are hauntingly reminiscent of Harper's own final words before jumping into the frigid water: "Galahad . . . cried, 'If I lose myself, I save myself.'"

King had played an active role in bringing the monument to completion and he was equally active in choosing the monument's site. He was adamant that a central site was warranted, arguing that since Harper had been a government employee at the time of his death, placement on Parliament Hill would be "a graceful recognition of the entire Civil Service."<sup>70</sup> He was unsuccessful in his bid to have the monument placed on the Hill, and it was finally located on Wellington Street (slightly east of its present location) just outside the gates of Parliament, at the head of Metcalfe Street and on a spot where it may have been visible from King's office in the Department of Labour, also on Metcalfe.<sup>71</sup> The Harper monument was unveiled on the afternoon of November 18, 1905. King wrote: "Notwithstanding that so long a time had elapsed since the deed it commemorated, and that the approach of winter was already evident in the cold air, and in the presence of snow on the ground, three thousand or more of the citizens of Ottawa assembled in the open to do honour to the occasion."<sup>72</sup> And so, *Sir Galahad* joined the growing pantheon of heroic figures on Parliament Hill and became the first monument on Wellington Street, Ottawa's own *Via Sacra* that would one day become the ceremonial route known as Confederation Boulevard.

This use of the mythical Sir Galahad to express high ideals of conduct was not unique for the time. Although Queen Victoria had died in January 1901 (the same year

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<sup>69</sup> Gwyn, *The Private Capital*, 325.

<sup>70</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 54.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> King, *The Secret of Heroism*, 13-14.

Harper died), and her son king Edward VII had taken over the throne, it was, as Marina Warner puts it, “an era preoccupied with medieval chivalry.”<sup>73</sup> In his book *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, Mark Girouard outlines how codes of chivalry “were revived and adapted in Britain from the late eighteenth century until the 1914-1918 war.” This “code of the gentleman” was learned in many different ways: “through advice, through example, through what they had been taught at school or by their parents, and through endless stories of chivalry, daring, knights, gentlemen and gallantry which they had read or been told by way of history books, ballads, poems, plays, pictures and novels.” “The result was,” according to Girouard, “the chivalrous gentleman of Victorian and Edwardian days, who can be watched at work from the public schools to the Boy Scouts, and from Toynbee Hall to the outposts of the British Empire.”<sup>74</sup>

In Canada, the chivalrous gentleman is evident in King’s book about his friend Harper. In *The Secret of Heroism* King intermingles excerpts from Harper’s diary with his own narrative in order to trace the path by which his friend achieved hero status. Starting with the influence of loving and well-loved parents, and continuing through Harper’s college years at the University of Toronto, where he obtained an undergraduate (1895) and then a Master’s degree in political science, King outlines the development of Harper’s heroic qualities. He writes that Harper’s diary entries after graduating disclose “a fearless integrity of heart and mind, and a disposition to philosophize, underlying each of which is a constant purpose of self-improvement, and a more than accepted belief in a

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<sup>73</sup> Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 209.

<sup>74</sup> Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981), 7.

definite moral order, and the ultimate triumph of right.”<sup>75</sup> In a chapter devoted to “Social and Political Ideals” King states that “Harper loved his country and its people, and in all that he undertook, which was of a public nature, he was animated by an enthusiasm for the common good.”<sup>76</sup> According to King, Harper found “the purpose of life”<sup>77</sup> in the character of Christ, although Christ was not the only hero in his life. In his introduction, King writes:

The character of Harper’s act was sufficient in itself to suggest “Sir Galahad” as a subject suitable for memorial of its kind, but the choice had, in fact, a more intimate association with Harper himself. Hanging on the wall above the desk in his study, and immediately before him whenever he sat down to work, was a carbon reproduction of [George Frederick] Watts’ painting [of Sir Galahad]. He had placed it there himself, and often, in speaking of it to others, had remarked, “There is my ideal knight!”<sup>78</sup>

King’s emphasis on Harper’s moral virtues is no doubt related to the time King was writing. The influence of late nineteenth-century romantics is evident in King’s text, which was first published in 1906.

There is little doubt that King was very much influenced by the aesthetic tastes and values of the romantic spirit of the time. While at Harvard University between 1897 and 1899 he was first introduced to the ideas of Victorian Romantic writers such as John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle. (King would later share with Harper an admiration of Carlyle). King also “discovered the paintings of John Constable on exhibition at the

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<sup>75</sup> King, *The Secret of Heroism*, 40.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>78</sup> King, 12.

Cambridge Art Gallery.”<sup>79</sup> As well, exposure to the landscape work of Frederick Law Olmstead in and around Boston “would have given King a practical knowledge and an aesthetic understanding of the Romantics’ use of ‘naturalistic’ landscape.”<sup>80</sup> During a year-long (1899-1900) tour of Europe, King saw at first hand the art and architecture he had up to then only been reading about. When he arrived in Ottawa in 1900 as the deputy minister in the newly formed Department of Labour he “was a Canadian whose spirituality, cultural sensibilities, aesthetic tastes and moral beliefs, were all shaped by the High Victorian Romantic idealism of Christian Naturalism.”<sup>81</sup> It is not surprising that the figure of Sir Galahad would have appealed to both King and Harper as being expressive of Victorian ideals of manliness.

Sir Galahad was a knight of King Arthur’s Round Table renowned for his gallantry and purity. In Arthurian legend Sir Galahad was one of three knights who is successful in the quest for the Holy Grail, used by Christ at the Last Supper. Alfred, Lord Tennyson’s (1809-1892) *Idylls of the King* (1859-85) and a shorter poem *Sir Galahad* (1834) offered Victorians a popular image of the knight as pure and chivalrous with lines such as: “My strength is as the strength of ten - Because my heart is pure”; and “How sweet are looks that ladies bend - On whom their favours fall! - For them I battle till the end, - To save from shame and thrall.”<sup>82</sup>

It was not just British outposts such as Canada that were affected by Arthurian notions of manly conduct. Americans were equally receptive to the popularity of Victorian chivalry. Girouard points out that boys’ clubs known as the Knights of King

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<sup>79</sup> Rodney Fowler, “The Image of Canada: National Identity in the Capital’s Landscape,” PhD. diss., (Simon Fraser University, 1998), 152.

<sup>80</sup> Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” 157.

<sup>81</sup> Fowler, “The Image of Canada,” 150.

<sup>82</sup> Tennyson, *Sir Galahad* (1834)

Arthur flourished at this time in the United States.<sup>83</sup> The Arthurian theme shows up in art as well. In the last decade of the nineteenth century two major libraries opened in the United States: the Boston Public Library (1895, architect Charles McKim, of McKim, Mead and White) and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (1897, Thomas Jefferson Building, architects John L. Smithmeyer and Paul J. Pelz). Both libraries are decorated with extensive programs of “mural painting as an architectural expression of culture.”<sup>84</sup> Among the mural cycles in the Boston Public Library is Edwin Austin Abbey’s (1852-1911) series of fifteen panels illustrating the Arthurian legend of the Quest for the Holy Grail, a sequence of paintings more ambitious than any found in England.<sup>85</sup> One of Abbey’s textual resources was Tennyson’s *Idylls of the King*, also a favourite of Harper’s as noted above.

Although World War I “brought Victorian chivalry to its climax and helped to destroy it,”<sup>86</sup> medieval images of chivalry continued to be seen even after the Great War in war memorials such as Adrian Jones’s (1845-1938) *Memorial to the Calvary of the Empire* (1924) in Hyde Park, London. This monument features a mounted St. George, sword triumphantly raised overhead, with the body of a slain dragon beneath the horse’s hooves. In a sense, this post-war monument may be seen to bookend the image found on a pre-war recruiting poster issued by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee. The poster

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<sup>83</sup> Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, “Preface,” np. See also [www.lib.rochester.edu/CAMELOT/cphome.stm](http://www.lib.rochester.edu/CAMELOT/cphome.stm). This website is a database sponsored by the University of Rochester and is comprised of Arthurian texts, images, bibliographies and other information. General editors: Alan Lupak and Barbara Tapa Lupak. Here one can find: William Byron Forbush and Dascomb Forbush, “The Knights of King Arthur: How to Begin and What to Do,” (1915), a how-to-guide for starting one’s own club. (14 May 2008).

<sup>84</sup> Richard Murray, “Personal and Public: Murals in the Library of Congress and the Boston Public Library,” *The Capitol Dome* (Fall 2004). Available on-line at [http://uschscapitolhistory.uschs.org/articles/uschs\\_dome-01.htm](http://uschscapitolhistory.uschs.org/articles/uschs_dome-01.htm) (25 January 2008).

<sup>85</sup> Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, “Preface,” np.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

reads, "Britain Needs You At Once" and it is illustrated with a knight in shining armour who, mounted on a spirited white steed and with lance drawn, charges straight at a fire-breathing dragon.<sup>87</sup> St. George was the patron saint of England, and his imagery was and is ubiquitous in that country. However, images such as these and "the values for which they stood were beginning to crumble" in the aftermath of World War I.<sup>88</sup>

The same Victorian code of chivalry that inspired upwards of three million British men to eagerly volunteer to fight in World War I was no doubt also a motivating factor in Henry Harper's decision to risk his life in an attempt to save Bessie Blair. The choice of Sir Galahad to represent Harper's chivalrous behaviour is a very apt use of allegory. Not only does Sir Galahad represent a figure who was admittedly Harper's own "ideal knight,"<sup>89</sup> he also reflected a widespread code of manly conduct at the time. Unlike the female allegories on Parliament Hill, who had little relevance to, and said even less about, women of that day, the manly virtues represented by Sir Galahad were deeply embedded in virtually every aspect of daily life.

While the figure of Sir Galahad is located in front of, but not on, Parliament Hill, the monument to Samuel de Champlain (1915, Hamilton MacCarthy) pushes the commemorative frontier even further outward. What better location for the monument than away from the heart of the city and on a hilltop overlooking the Ottawa River, at a site where Champlain most likely stopped to make solar observations during his 1615

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. The poster is reproduced on page 277 and the monument on page 292.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>89</sup> King, *The Secret of Heroism*, 12.

voyage?<sup>90</sup> The monument on Nepean Point was unveiled in 1915, in time to commemorate the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the second trip up the Ottawa River by the seventeenth-century explorer, geographer and mapmaker. A one and one-half times life size, bronze figure of Champlain stands atop a substantial, roughly carved stone pedestal. The life-size Indian scout figure, also by MacCarthy, was added to the base of the monument during the early 1920s, some time prior to 1924. The scout was intended by the artist to be seated in a canoe, but by 1920 the sponsoring group, a citizen's committee that had been headed by Sir Sandford Fleming until his death in 1915,<sup>91</sup> had not raised enough funds to complete the original design. An alternative design was agreed upon: the canoe was eliminated and the scout holds a bow instead of a paddle. A plaque affixed to the pedestal identifies the subject of the monument as Samuel de Champlain. The plaque reads "Born in Brouage, France 1567. Died at Quebec, 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1635. King's Geographer, Navigator, Explorer, Founder of the City of Quebec and Governor of New France. The First Great Canadian." (The text is also given in French.) The scout is not mentioned. The Champlain monument represents a number of firsts in the narrative of Canadian identity created by the monuments discussed thus far. Unlike the Parliament Hill monuments already examined that represented relatively contemporary figures, this monument represents two historical figures, although one of them is anonymous. Also for the first time, a commemoration acknowledges the presence of First Nations people in Canada. However, examination and discussion of the monument reveals the colonial

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<sup>90</sup> In a short note explaining its use of the image of Champlain's astrolabe on its front cover *The Journal of Canadian Studies* reveals that Champlain apparently lost his astrolabe "on 7 June 1613, while crossing a portage in the upper Ottawa River valley. It was found in 1867, in what had formerly been a swamp, in the northern part of the County of Renfrew, Ontario."

<sup>91</sup> *Sculpture Walks* (Ottawa: NCC, 1985), 64.

discourse played out and represented by the two opposing figures: the civilized European and the savage Other - figures that have become mythologized over time.

Bill Butler, in *The Myth of the Hero*, elaborates on what it takes to create myths and mythic heroes. He writes that in addition to war, “any condition of stress, and particularly any ‘frontier’ situation,” generates myth and mythic heroes.<sup>92</sup> It was definitely a frontier situation that greeted Champlain in the early seventeenth century when he was exploring and charting New France. In 1605 the first permanent settlement by Europeans was established in Nova Scotia and was named Port-Royal by Champlain. As well, Champlain is credited with founding Quebec City in 1608. But his primary objective was to establish a thriving fur trade with the Aboriginal people and this required the exploration of the St. Lawrence waterway and its tributaries. On his many trips Champlain regularly used local Native people as guides and interpreters. Given this reality, the inclusion of the scout figure on the Champlain monument is not that surprising. What is perhaps more surprising is that the monument actually does acknowledge the role played by First Nations peoples in the early exploration of the country; the figure of the scout does not function as allegory. On a literal level, the monument may be seen to represent and recall a specific historical moment: the explorer Champlain stopping at Nepean Point to calculate his location, while his Native guide waited in the canoe on the river below. But on an interpretive level the monument signifies much more and reveals an early twentieth-century perspective on the historical event.

Yael Zerubavel points out that there is a potential fluidity between history and legend and that history may be turned into legend in order to create new national

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<sup>92</sup> Bill Butler, *The Myth of the Hero* (London: Rider & Company, 1979), 7.



traditions. Thus, three hundred years after exploring the Ottawa River, the real historical figure Champlain is turned into a Canadian legend on MacCarthy's monument, becoming part of the colonial narrative constructed by it. This colonial narrative is represented in the simple binary system of privilege and power played out between the two figures: Champlain stands triumphantly above while the Indian scout crouches meekly below - the Western colonial conqueror and the subjugated native Other; Champlain is fully clad, while the scout is almost naked; Champlain holds an astrolabe, linking him to culture, development, and civilization, while the scout holds a bow for hunting, linking him to nature and what would soon become a vanishing way of life. However, the sculptor also mistakenly portrayed Champlain holding the astrolabe incorrectly, something Champlain would never have done. MacCarthy thus unintentionally, yet ironically, underlined Champlain's reliance upon his Indian scout.<sup>93</sup> MacCarthy, like other Canadian artists such as Paul Kane, Frederick Verner, Edmund Morris and Emily Carr, was interested in recording what was viewed at the time as a vanishing culture and people.<sup>94</sup> These artists and sculptors, like MacCarthy and Louis Philippe Hébert,<sup>95</sup> often produced images of an idealized, romanticized Indian type – a generic “noble savage” – often based on an imagined Aboriginal life prior to contact, yet contributing to a stereotype that remains today. In his essay for the *Louis-Philippe Hébert* exhibition catalogue, “Indian Iconography of Hébert,” art historian François-Marc Gagnon writes that Hébert's interest in Native subjects can be traced to his childhood love of oral and written accounts of Native life, one of his favourites being James Fenimore Cooper's (1789-1851) *The Last*

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<sup>93</sup> See Molly Blyth, “Two New World ‘Wilderness’ Texts: Re-Reading the ‘Writing that Conquers,’” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33.2 (Summer 1998): 97-106.

<sup>94</sup> See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 13-43.

<sup>95</sup> See François-Marc Gagnon, “L'iconographie indienne de Hébert,” in *Louis-Philippe Hébert*, 242-257.

*of the Mohicans* (1826). The “noble savage” type is evident in his sculptural grouping *Halt in the Forest* (1889), which decorates the entrance to Québec’s *Hôtel du Parlement*. MacCarthy’s representation of Aboriginal Otherness on the Champlain monument pedestal can be “read against an already given matrix of identification and learning which erects itself upon the foundation of received tradition – the codes of recognition embedded in the metaphysical, social, and political systems of Western culture – and is made to figure in a system designed primarily to interpellate a subjectivity for the colonizing culture itself.”<sup>96</sup> That “already given” is the subject of the monument, the white male hero figure of Champlain. His hero status is guaranteed by his placement on the top of the pedestal. There he can be seen to represent Western culture’s colonization of the New World and subjugation of the Aboriginal peoples. His hero status is reinforced and underlined by the inscription on the plaque that proclaims him “The First Great Canadian.” While *Sir Galahad* represented an array of desirable manly qualities of the time, *Champlain* may be seen to represent the true subject of the nation against which Otherness was defined.

At this point, to preserve the chronological organization of the thesis, I will temporarily leave discussion of the Champlain monument behind, returning to it later to consider a (re)vision of the legend/history represented by the monument that was undertaken at the turn of the twenty-first century: first in the controversy over the removal, relocation and renaming of the Indian scout figure in 1999 (discussed at length in Chapter 4) and more recently in 2008 with the celebration of Quebec City’s 400<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Stephen Slemon, “Monuments of Empire: Allegory/Counter-Discourse/Post-Colonial Writing,” *Kunapipi* 9.3 (1987): 5.

anniversary and the questions raised as to whether Champlain, or fellow French explorer Pierre Dugua de Mons, should be credited as the founder of the city.<sup>97</sup>

Between the dedication of the first monument on Parliament Hill in 1885 and the dedication of the Champlain monument in 1915, the young nation, Canada, underwent significant growth and development: growth in size from the original four provinces at confederation to a country that spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and development of an imagined national identity as revealed by the growing collection of monuments in Ottawa. These early monuments offered Canadians images of Victorian manliness and mythic heroism and established men at the top of the social hierarchy in Canada. Women and First Nations functioned mainly as signs of difference to that of man in the ongoing construction of an imagined national identity represented by the monuments. Whereas men were the subject of the nation, women and First Nations people were the Other.

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<sup>97</sup> Marianne White, "Champlain's Legacy in Doubt," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 January 2008, A3. Also: Raymond Lemieux, "Qui a Vraiment Fondé Québec?" *Québec Science*, Été 2008, 46-48.

## Chapter 3

### Growing Pains and Maturity: War and Peace

In this chapter the shifting notion of the hero is developed through an examination and discussion of two pivotal monuments in terms of national identity and memory-building in Canada: *The Response* (1939, Vernon March) (more commonly known as the National War Memorial), and what may be regarded as its pendant monument, *Reconciliation* (1992, Jack Harman) (more commonly known as the Peacekeeping Monument). The idea of monuments as sites of performance is explored in conjunction with the discussion of the National War Memorial, while the importance of monument site, in terms of architecture and landscape, is developed in the discussion of the Peacekeeping Monument.

#### The National War Memorial

The years between the 1915 dedication of the Champlain monument and the subsequent addition of the Indian scout on its base marked Canada's growing sense of itself as a young nation with an emerging national and historical identity. These years also marked Canada's participation in World War I (1914-1918), a pivotal event that significantly changed the nature of Canada's relationship with Britain and established the country as an increasingly independent nation. In the years following World War I, in cities and towns across Canada, citizens rallied together to create lasting reminders of those who had gone to fight in the Great War and never returned. War memorials appeared in cities and towns from coast to coast, making Canada, as Pierre Berton has

noted, “a nation of Great War memorials.”<sup>1</sup> Canadian post-World War I memorials range from simple cenotaphs like the one in Montreal’s Place du Canada (unveiled in 1924), which is a copy of the one in Whitehall, London, to more elaborate monuments featuring bronze soldier figures such as that in the town of Montreal West (George Hill) and in some cases allegorical figures in addition to soldiers, such as that in Verdun, Quebec (Coeur de Lion MacCarthy). Generally these monuments are found in important civic locations; the last two, for example, are located adjacent to their respective city halls. As well, these monuments have become the focal point for yearly, ritualized ceremonies of remembrance on November 11 – once known as Armistice Day but now known as Remembrance Day.

The post-World War I monument-building frenzy culminated on May 21, 1939 when George VI unveiled *The Response* in Ottawa (fig. 17). This national war memorial is the most elaborate Canadian war memorial, as it incorporates many of the architectural features and bronze figures found on the numerous memorials located in cities and towns across Canada and throughout the Empire.<sup>2</sup> It features twenty-two bronze figures representing the various service branches involved in World War I passing through a massive granite archway on top of which are two winged female figures, symbols of Peace and Freedom.<sup>3</sup> Unveiled more than two decades after the end of the war, the

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<sup>1</sup> “Foreword,” in Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press, 1987), 7.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the forms and practices of commemoration within the British Empire from which Canada’s commemoration of the war dead evolved see Denise Thomson, “National Sorrow, National Pride: Commemoration of War in Canada, 1918-1945,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30.4 (Winter 1995-96): 5-27.

<sup>3</sup> The figures now referred to as Peace and Freedom were variously known as Peace and Liberty, Peace and Victory, and Victory and Liberty. See Robert W. Southam, “Unveiling of War Memorial Highlight of Royal Visit Here,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 May 1939, B3.

National War Memorial reveals a strong sense of Canada's growing identity, with the bronze figures on it revealing shifting notions about the heroic ideal.

Two decades may seem like a long time for the creation of a national war memorial but, as Jonathan Vance points out, Canadians had become "accustomed to waiting for official commemorations of Canada's contribution in the Great War."<sup>4</sup> The official war documentary *Lest We Forget* opened in cinemas only in 1934. Walter Allward's Vimy Ridge Memorial in France was unveiled in 1936 and the first volume of Colonel A. Fortescue Duguid's official history of the Canadian forces in the war was released in 1938. "Because it was a government project," Vance writes, "there was no logical reason why the National War Memorial should have appeared any more promptly than these other commemorations."<sup>5</sup> Although plans were set in motion for a commemoration within two years of the end of the war, it was not until January 1926 that the commission was finally awarded. Of the seven finalists chosen from among the original 127 submissions received from sculptors and architects from the victorious Allied nations such as Britain, France, Belgium and the United States, English sculptor Vernon March's design emerged victorious. At that time, March was already busy working on a war memorial for Victoria, British Columbia.

Bureaucracy was not the only impediment involved in bringing the monument to completion. Vernon March died suddenly in June 1930 and although he had completed most of the clay models, work on the monument came to a halt until his estate was settled, clearing the way for further payments by the Canadian government to March's seven siblings who were helping him with the commission. It was 1932 before the figures

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<sup>4</sup> Jonathan F. Vance, "The Great Response: Canada's Long Struggle to Honour the Dead of the Great War," *The Beaver* 76.5 (Oct. – Nov. 1996): 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

were finally cast under the supervision of Sydney March, Vernon's architect brother. Even once the figures were ready, the site where it was to be located in Ottawa was not. The March family was given permission to display the figures on a temporary structure in London's Hyde Park, where they were enthusiastically received by the public but also criticized for a flaw in their design: the arch was too narrow for the eighteen-pounder gun to fit through. The redesigned, wider arch meant that additional bronze figures were required in order to restore balance and symmetry to the composition. When that modification to the figural composition was finally completed, all that was required was a completed site.

Back in Ottawa, work was progressing on the redesign and transformation of Connaught Square into Confederation Square (discussed in Chapter 1). Prime Minister King had insisted that this central location was the only site worthy of Canada's national war memorial, despite numerous objections and alternative proposals. It had even been suggested that the Memorial Chamber in the Peace Tower (dedicated in 1927) was commemoration enough and that no other monument was needed. Of those who welcomed the proposed monument, some felt that it should be located centrally on Parliament Hill, while others suggested a less urban setting on the outskirts of the city. Critics of the Connaught Square location cited potential traffic problems and balked at the \$3 million cost of the redevelopment project. Cost was an understandable concern, given that Canada's economy and employment were severely affected by the Great Depression. "All of these obstacles took time to overcome," Jonathan Vance writes, "and not until 1937 was the enlarged Confederation Square ready to receive the memorial."<sup>6</sup> The pedestal and arch (made from Quebec granite) were completed by September 1938

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 31.

and the bronze figures that had been shipped from England were installed shortly thereafter. Although a November 11 dedication was originally planned, it was decided to wait for the royal tour the following spring when the visiting King George VI could perform the unveiling. With approximately 100,000 people in attendance, the National War Memorial was finally unveiled on May 21, 1939. In his speech King George declared:

The memorial speaks to the world of Canada's heart. Its symbolism has been beautifully adapted to this great end. It has been well named "The Response." One sees at a glance the answer made by Canada when the world's peace was broken and freedom threatened in the fateful years of the Great War. It depicts the zeal with which this country entered the conflict. But the symbolism of the monument is even more profound. Something deeper than chivalry is portrayed. It is the spontaneous response of the nation's conscience. The very soul of the nation is here revealed."<sup>7</sup>

This observation raises the question: What does Canada's National War Memorial reveal to the viewer about the "very soul of the nation"?

It is a generally acknowledged and widely accepted part of national mythology that Canada grew to nationhood through its participation in, and experience of World War I: that the Great War was a kind of Canadian rite of passage.<sup>8</sup> Jack Granatstein, author, historian and past director (1998-2001) of the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa

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<sup>7</sup> "Text of King's Speech at Memorial Unveiling," *Globe and Mail*, 22 May 1939, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Alan R. Young writes about "the existence of a national mythology that sees the Great War as a kind of Canadian *rite de passage*" in "We Throw the Torch: Canadian Memorial of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24.4 (Winter 1989-90): 20. In a similar vein Denise Thomson writes that "Canadian commemoration. . . came to celebrate Canada's achievement of independent nationhood," and that the successes of Canadian troops at battles such as Vimy Ridge (1917) "helped crystallize national identity" ("National Sorrow, National Pride," 7). Douglas How writes: "Victory on Vimy Ridge crystallized a feeling among the soldiers that they were more than Albertans or Nova Scotians – that they were Canadians. And thus, it is said, modern Canada was born," ("A Literature of Stone," *Maclean's*, 9 November 1998, 92). This ideology is also present in postwar literature, which Peter Buitenhuis claims develops Lord Beaverbrook's idea "that the trenches of Flanders were the baptismal font of the new nation" (*The Great War of Words* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), 155).



offers a typical version of this mythologized transformation from colony to nation in his publication *Who Killed Canadian History?*:

...the Great War made Canadians conscious that they were a nation. Half of the men who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in the First World War were British-born. But the Canadian Corps established such a reputation for ferocity in attack that the immigrant colonials found themselves transformed into Canadians. Many veterans recalled attacking at Vimy Ridge in April 1917 as soldiers of empire, but waking up the day after their great victory as Canadians, full of pride at their maple leaf badges. The war mattered to Canadians, and it gave them a sense of nationhood that has helped to define this country ever since.<sup>9</sup>

The romanticized rhetoric contained in the above passage elides and denies the harsh reality of the Vimy Ridge victory, offering instead a sanitized and mythic representation of Canadian soldiers. Daniel Francis offers a critique of this type of narrative:

The master narrative presents both world wars as heroic struggles to preserve a way of life from enemies who would overwhelm it. According to the master narrative, the sacrifice of all those young lives was valorous and meaningful. War is horrible, but its horror is redeemed by noble sacrifice. This is the official memory of the war. It is unambiguous and idealistic. It invokes the war to promote unity and patriotism. The belief that Canada “came of age” at Vimy Ridge, for example, sanctions the slaughter, makes it purposeful, repays in part the debt we owe to the men who died there.<sup>10</sup>

One cannot deny that – strategically – Vimy Ridge was an extremely important victory. However, to suggest that Canada entered the Great War as a colony of the British Empire and emerged from the experience a nation because victorious soldiers awoke the morning after battle and thought of themselves as Canadians denies historical complexities. Rather, Canada became a nation as a result of its extraordinary response to the war in terms of material goods and manpower and its unprecedented loss of lives during the entire war (Canada experienced the highest per capita loss of soldiers of any Allied nation). Because of this, Canada was given its own seat as an independent country at the

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<sup>9</sup> Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998), 131-132.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 126.

negotiating table at the end of the war. No matter how one looks at it or describes the events, there is no denying that the Great War was an important turning point in how the world perceived Canada and in how Canada perceived itself as a nation. It stands to reason that monuments commemorating this event would in some way reflect this newfound sense of Canadianness.

However, it is important to keep in mind James Young's observation that "a monument and its significance are constructed in particular times and places, contingent on the political, historical, and aesthetic realities of the moment."<sup>11</sup> In other words, a monument is constructed out of a particular reality and the monument in turn becomes a material sign of that reality: ideology made visible. Not only is ideology made visible in monuments such as the National War Memorial, the ideology the monument constructs also becomes fixed. American art history professor Kirk Savage has observed that traditionally, public monuments in America have celebrated and cemented a progressive narrative of national history. He writes: "Commemoration was a process of condensing the moral lessons of history and fixing them in place for all time; this required that the object of commemoration be understood as a completed stage of history, safely nestled in a sealed-off past." Along similar lines of fixed ideology Savage also contends that "[m]emorials to heroes and events were not meant to revive old struggles and debates but to put them to rest – to show how great men and their deeds had made the nation better and stronger."<sup>12</sup> Although these observations are about an American context, they hold true for many nations, including Canada.

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<sup>11</sup> James E. Young, "Memory and Counter Memory: The End of the Monument in Germany," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 6.

<sup>12</sup> Kirk Savage, "The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 14.

In the Canadian context, Denise Thomson asserts that new commemorative forms and practices emerged in response to the unprecedented scale of slaughter in the Great War. According to Thomson, Canadian commemoration of war dead had previously involved memorials to heroes such as Sir Isaac Brock (War of 1812) and “universally expressed the idea that fighting for the British Empire was a glorious and noble cause.” Thomson suggests that in the wake of World War I the new forms and practices differed from past tradition in three significant respects: “they were based on the principle of absolute equality of all war dead; they were much more universal and more highly organized; and they were expressly designed to endure over a long period of time, in order to communicate with successive generations of future citizens.”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Ottawa’s Memorial Chamber (completed in 1927), located in the Peace Tower of the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings, is one such memorial. The small, highly symbolic chamber, which incorporates stone from France, Belgium, and Britain into its design, contains the Book of Remembrance in which is recorded “the name of every fallen soldier – entered alphabetically by year of death, without any distinction of rank.”<sup>14</sup> During a daily, ritualized ceremony, the pages of the book are turned, thus ensuring that every name is seen during the course of a year. Overseas, Canada’s war dead were buried in cemeteries created and maintained by the Imperial War Graves Commission (established in 1917). There, identical headstones were engraved with “the name and rank of the soldier, the national crest of his country, the symbol of his religion, and a brief epitaph chosen by his friends or family.”<sup>15</sup> As well, memorials were commissioned for various specific battle sites. They include Walter Seymour Allward’s (1876-1955) Vimy Memorial (1936),

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<sup>13</sup> Denise Thomson, “National Sorrow, National Pride,” 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

which is inscribed with the name of every Canadian soldier who died in France and who does not have a known grave.

However, Ottawa's National War Memorial is not quite as successful in achieving the equality that Thomson talks about. The principal of absolute equality, though sounding quite democratic, can privilege a collective identity at the expense of individual identity, the effect of which is, in Kirk Savage's words, to "drastically shrivel history." Savage writes: "Women, nonwhites, laborers, and others who did not advance the master narrative of progress defined by a white male elite had little place in the commemorative scheme, except perhaps as the occasional foil by which heroism could be better depicted."<sup>16</sup> Although Savage is commenting on American monuments in general and not on war memorials in particular, his observations are quite useful in addressing the figures represented on Canada's National War Memorial.

Exactly who were these figures capable of representing the newfound sense of Canadianness for future generations? Carl Berger offers some insight. In a 1966 essay, "The True North Strong and Free," Berger outlines how post-confederation Canada came to define itself through the "northern myth," which capitalized on the climate and geography of the country. Berger writes: "A whole series of desirable national characteristics were derived from Canada's northern location."<sup>17</sup> Northern races were defined in opposition to southern races. Northern races had moral, mental and physical advantages over southern races, making men of the north natural leaders. Northernness connoted strength and self-reliance, vigour and purity: a hardy manliness described by

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<sup>16</sup> Savage, "The Past in the Present," 16.

<sup>17</sup> Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 10.

Frank Underhill in the “Foreword” to the anthology in which Berger’s essay appears, as “the strong silent he-man of the North,” a national hero “striding about the southern fringes of the Pre-Cambrian Shield.”<sup>18</sup> Historian and political commentator Frank Underhill first wrote critically about the “cult of the north” in an article for *Saturday Night* in 1936. In it he criticized art critics of the day for using the Group of Seven’s paintings to create a myth of Canadians as “Men of the North, stark and violent like the nature that surrounds and nourishes [them].” The most popular pose of the day, Underhill claims, was the “strong, virile he-man of the North.”<sup>19</sup> Despite recognition of the inherent racism and crude environmentalism in the “northern myth,” Berger suggests that vestiges of it persist. Indeed, Underhill’s stark and violent he-man of the North sounds a lot like Jack Granatstein’s Canadian Corps, with its “reputation for ferocity.” The “strong silent he-man” myth is also evident in the iconography of the solitary soldier figure that was a popular choice for post-World War I Canadian memorials.

Many communities across Canada chose the solitary soldier figure for their Great War memorial. St. Lambert, a small community on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River opposite Montreal, chose the work of sculptor Emanuel Hahn (1881-1957), who designed an assortment of monuments based on the solitary soldier type, of which his action figure on the theme of “Going Over the Top” was most successful. The St. Lambert monument (fig. 14) reveals a lone soldier in full combat dress, rifle in hand, depicted at the moment of arrival atop a hill represented by the roughly hewn stone pedestal he surmounts. Another of Hahn’s solitary soldiers is the meditating figure of “Tommy in his Greatcoat,” which first appeared on Hahn’s Lindsay, Ontario memorial

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<sup>18</sup> Frank Underhill, “Foreword,” in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), xvi.

<sup>19</sup> Frank Underhill, “False Hair on the Chest,” *Saturday Night*, 3 October 1936, 1+.

(1922-23).<sup>20</sup> Sculptor George Hill's bronze soldier figures were equally popular, finding their place in communities across Canada including Morrisburg, Ontario and Westmount, Quebec. Although Hill's soldiers are sometimes grouped together, as seen on the Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island monument, they often appear as solitary figures as in the community of Montreal West (fig. 15). Coeur de Lion MacCarthy's memorial for Verdun, Quebec (1924) employs a solitary soldier raising his rifle in jubilation (fig. 16). Even MacCarthy's fallen soldier figure being lifted heavenward by an angel (the motif chosen by the CPR to commemorate its fallen workers and displayed in their stations in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver) may be seen to represent a "strong silen[ced] he-man" ideology (fig. 13). Whether active and alert, or pensive and mournful, the figure of the soldier was an opportunity to show to advantage the favoured moral, mental and physical attributes of Canadian men.

Although less typical, some post-war memorials also helped to construct mythical ideologies of Canadian women. Elizabeth Wyn Wood's (1903-1966) Welland-Crowland Memorial (1934-1939) offers two granite figures: a man and a woman. Wood, Victoria Baker writes, aimed "to produce a monument that was at once socially relevant and meaningful, yet timeless in its message and form." Baker describes it thus:

The only overt military references are the man's uniform and the trench mortar sandwiched between the two figures, its frightful significance tempered by its peaceful surroundings of red pine branches and standing grain, said to typify the Canadian scene. In an original move, to the conventional composition featuring a single male figure is here added the equally strong figure of a woman, symbolizing "Man the Defender" and "Woman the Giver." Their pairing conveys the notion that through united effort victory is achieved. While paying tribute to the wartime generation, the monument also speaks to a modern audience in

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<sup>20</sup> For illustration of this work and further details about Hahn's war monuments see Victoria Baker, *Emanuel Hahn and Elizabeth Wyn Wood: Tradition and Innovation in Canadian Sculpture* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1997).

extolling the virtues of sacrifice, service, and united action as a basis for a democratic society.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, this is one way of reading the composition and its ideology. Equally one may read the memorial as the material reality of Wood's internalized ideology/mythology of Canadianness, a mythology so naturalized, so fixed in the consciousness of the artist and the viewer, that it is no longer visible. Kirk Savage observes that "the inner memories of a culture profoundly shape how its monuments are experienced and lived,"<sup>22</sup> and, I may add, how they are constructed. Wood's Welland-Crowland Memorial helps to perpetuate and fix the "northern myth" ideology of Canadianness outlined above: the true north strong and free in which "Man [is] the Defender," and "Woman [is] the Giver." Wood's memorial illustrates Kirk Savage's observation that in commemorative sculpture women often act as a foil against which heroism is better depicted.

The figure of the man is indeed heroic. His upright, yet somewhat relaxed posture connotes an air of assured confidence. He is alert and attentive, his head turned as if wary, his gaze directed outward – he is on guard, an active participant in the world around him. His hands do not hang limply at his sides; they purposefully reach back to protect – he is a man ready and willing to defend what is his. His attribute is a military uniform, sign of power and authority.<sup>23</sup> The collar of the uniform is open – he is not aggressive and war-like. He is a heroic figure who can rely on his mental and physical superiority to gain his rightful place in national public life. In short, he is Frank Underhill's strong, silent he-man of the North. As an icon of Canadianness, the male figure represents the subject of the nation. The figure of the woman acts as a backdrop

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>22</sup> Savage, "The Past in the Present," 19.

<sup>23</sup> Although the degree of authority depends on the soldier's rank, there is a distinction between those in civilian-type dress and those in military-type dress.

against which his heroism is displayed to advantage. Her stooped posture connotes a docile subservience. Her gaze is directed downward, limiting her sphere of engagement – she is a woman intent on and devoted to her domestic work. Her attribute is a sheaf of wheat, symbol of her relationship to hearth and home, symbol of mother earth's and her own fertility. She is a metaphor for the nation, whereas he is the author and subject of the nation. Elleke Boehmer observes that “the idea of nationhood bears a masculine identity though national ideals may wear a feminine face.”<sup>24</sup> As symbol of the nation, the figure of woman is object, foil to the figure of man who is the true subject of the nation.

In her description of the figural composition, Baker writes: “their pairing conveys the notion that through united effort victory is achieved.” Again, this is one way of reading the monument. Similarly, one might suggest that through “united effort” the company owner and the employees can achieve increased sales. “United” is a slippery word. It gives a false impression of a partnership that somehow implies a degree of equality. But clearly, the “united effort” of the monument pair is not a relationship of equals. Boehmer describes a woman's role in the nation: “She is the strength or virtue of the nation incarnate, its fecund first matriarch, but it is a role which excludes her from the sphere of public national life. Figures of mother of the nation are everywhere emblazoned but the presence of women in the nation is officially marginalized and generally ignored.”<sup>25</sup> Regarded as innovative in its time, Wood's Welland-Crowland Memorial offers a very traditional representation of Canadian gender roles and nationalism, a myth so internalized, so fixed in our collective subconscious, it seems natural.

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<sup>24</sup> Elleke Boehmer, “Stories of Women and Mothers: Gender and Nationalism in the Early Fiction of Flora Nwapa,” in *Motherlands: Black Women's Writing from Africa, the Caribbean and South Asia*, ed. Susheila Naasta (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP, 1992), 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*



The National War Memorial constructs a similar ideology of Canadianness and Canadian nation-building through collective effort and common purpose. Unlike Wood's design, which condenses notions of Canadianness into representative male and female figures, March's design offers a variety of male and female figures. But despite the variety, the bronze figures still represent a collective or universalized concept of gender roles. All of the male figures are in uniforms representing various branches of the military services: among them are the cavalry, the artillery, the navy, and the air force. All of these figures follow in the wake of the infantrymen who lead the way through the arch and who also had led the way into action. According to John Gardam, the infantry "bore the brunt of four years of savage fighting on the Western Front, in a line of trenches which stretched 965 kilometres from the Belgian coast through France to the frontiers of Switzerland."<sup>26</sup> Bringing up the rear are the two female figures, both nurses in uniform. Among the 21,000 men and women of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, 3,141 were "nursing sisters."<sup>27</sup> Like the Welland-Crowland Memorial, the ensemble of figures represents a united effort, and once again there exist clear hierarchic and metaphoric connotations. Woman's place is behind the scenes. Her role is care-giver. Jack Granatstein points out that the attitudes and culture of 1917 Canada simply did not permit female combatants at the front lines and, of the many women who served as nurses, only forty-seven died, "victims of enemy attack and disease contracted from patients."<sup>28</sup> The National War Memorial is a monument to those who died in the war, and men died in overwhelmingly larger numbers than women, and so it is understandable that few women

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<sup>26</sup> For a detailed description and illustration of each figure see John Gardam, *The National War Memorial*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982), 24.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>28</sup> Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*, 121.

are represented. That there are two female figures is in this regard remarkable. According to Vernon March, “Each figure is historically correct in detail of uniform and equipment, and typical of the branch he is representing.”<sup>29</sup> While this is true, there are subtle differences between how the male and female figures are portrayed. Whereas the male figures are all heavily burdened with the instruments typical to their branch of service, such as rifles and machine guns, one nurse carries what appears to be small handbag and the other one carries her gloves. Although purse-size nurse’s kits did exist at the time,<sup>30</sup> the small purse-like bag that the one nurse figure clutches is not easily identifiable as such and would, no doubt, be seen and understood by the vast majority of today’s monument viewers as a purse. The two nurses have no identifiable attributes of their service other than their uniforms, while the nearby stretcher bearer, in addition to the stretcher he carries, also has a medical kit bag thrown over his shoulder, clearly marked with a Red Cross emblem. As well, the glove-carrying figure has one hand pressed into the side of her abdomen as if she might be experiencing a stitch in her side as a result of the brisk pace set by the male figures ahead.

Anne McClintock has observed that “[w]omen are typically constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation but are denied any direct relation to national agency.”<sup>31</sup> By portraying the nurses without explicitly visible instruments of their profession, unlike their male counterparts, the women are denied the agency to provide a meaningful contribution to the war effort. Thus, as McClintock suggests, these women may be

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas Wayling, “Canada’s National Memorial,” *Maclean’s*, 15 December 1938, 17.

<sup>30</sup> See the Canadian Museum of Civilization website “Canadian Nursing History Collection Online,” [www.civilisations.ca/tresors/nursing/mcint01e.html](http://www.civilisations.ca/tresors/nursing/mcint01e.html). In particular see catalogue numbers 2000.111.494.1 and 2000.111.494.1 (30 May 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Anne McClintock, “No Longer in a Future Heaven,” in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspective*, eds Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 90.

interpreted as symbolic bearers of the nation. As such, the figures of the nurses may be seen to represent metaphorically that which the fighting men have left behind: the safety and security of their homeland, their nation. In addition, while the two nursing figures may be read as “symbolic bearers of the nation,” the two female allegories surmounting the arch act as symbols of the nation’s virtues: *Peace* holds a laurel wreath and *Freedom* raises her torch. Like the female allegories found on Parliament Hill, the figures of women on the National War Memorial represent abstract notions about the nation rather than the concrete reality of women in the nation.

Although this type of iconography and ideology of Canadian nationalism is common to World War I memorials, which employ figures in their sculptural compositions, there are rare exceptions. The monument in St. Boniface, part of Winnipeg, Manitoba is one notable example. Robert Shipley writes that the St. Boniface monument is almost unique in Canada in portraying a dead soldier.<sup>32</sup> The Belgian Veterans War Memorial (1938) was designed and erected for the Belgian community in St. Boniface by local artist A. Granier. It consists of two soldiers: a standing figure symbolizing those who survived the war and a dead soldier symbolizing those who gave their lives.<sup>33</sup> The composition offers an unsettling concept of Canadianness and of identity in general. Lying face down, the dead soldier is featureless. Who is this man? Is he Canadian? Belgian? Belgian-Canadian? While he is meant to symbolize those who did not return, he may also be seen to represent the alienation and loss of identity that may be

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<sup>32</sup> Shipley, *To Mark Our Place*, 165. The CPR monument (already mentioned) is another example of a monument that depicts a dead soldier.

<sup>33</sup> See Shipley, page 165 for a photo of a detail of the dead soldier. Also see: *War Monuments in Canada World Wide WebSite*. [www.sternnet.nf.ca/monuments/mb/belgian.htm](http://www.sternnet.nf.ca/monuments/mb/belgian.htm) (18 February 2008).

experienced by immigrants to a new country.<sup>34</sup> The monument is the focus of the annual Belgian Independence Day parade and a wreath-laying ceremony on July 21. This is a rare exception to the tendency of conventional war memorials, such as the National War Memorial, that employ human representations, to convey a rather uniform ideology of Canadianness and Canadian identity-building through collective effort.

The collective identity and ideology expressed by the National War Memorial denies the realities and experiences of significant numbers of Canadians who do not see themselves acknowledged in it or represented by it. Anne McClintock states that “all nationalisms are gendered; all are invented, and all are dangerous . . . in the sense that they represent relations to political power and to the technologies of violence.”<sup>35</sup> The Welland-Crowland Memorial and the National War Memorial clearly represent the uneven relation to political power that Canadian women have traditionally experienced; but equally, these monuments represent the uneven relation to power of other marginalized groups who want their voices and their realities to be a part of the national narrative. For example, Vancouver-area Japanese Canadians who were relocated inland and had their homes, businesses and possessions seized in 1942, sought and received an apology from the Canadian government for the racist treatment they experienced.<sup>36</sup>

Ukrainian communities in Canada erected their own plaques to mark their internment

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<sup>34</sup> Alienation is the theme of Janet Wolff's book *Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1995). Wolff suggests that for an “outsider” or “resident alien,” “dislocation makes a different understanding possible” (2). This could account for the very different and unusual representation this Belgian-Canadian community chose for its memorial. As well, Homi Bhabha speaks of alienation and dislocation in his essay “DissemiNation; Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation,” in the section “The Foreignness of Languages” (*Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990). 291-322). Equally one may interpret the faceless soldier as the dehumanizing effect of war on individuals.

<sup>35</sup> McClintock, “No Longer in a Future Heaven,” 89.

<sup>36</sup> Ann Finlayson, “Memories of Shame,” *Maclean's*, 3 October 1988, 12.

camps in such places as Spirit Lake (La Ferme), Quebec.<sup>37</sup> In 2001, Canada's First Nations veterans finally succeeded in their bid to erect a monument that would commemorate their participation in the wars and that would have meaning and relevance to their community (discussed in Chapter 4). These voices from the margins remind us that "there is no single or unified experience of a commemorative image, and conflict often centers on *whose* experience the image tacitly recognizes and legitimates."<sup>38</sup>

It seems clear that the National War Memorial and other war memorials with a similar ideology attempt to narrate "the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force." These memorials are part of a nationalist discourse that attempts "to produce the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative."<sup>39</sup> However, cultural theorist Homi Bhabha reveals the actual, ambivalent cultural construction of unified nationalist narratives. Bhabha's theory of ambivalence is expressed in his notion that the people of the nation are at the same time both objects and subjects of the nation. He writes: "In the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical [the people as historical objects], and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative [the people as subjects]. It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society become the site of *writing the nation* [Bhabha's emphasis]."<sup>40</sup> The ambivalent split between the pedagogical and the performative might be thought about in terms of a person's longing for the comfort and security of belonging to a group with which she or he has much in common, but at the same time desiring to exert his or her own individuality. The pedagogical is that group

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<sup>37</sup> David Gamble, "Plaque to Mark Ukrainian Interment Camp," *Montreal Gazette*, 30 July 1999, A8.

<sup>38</sup> Savage, 18. Author's emphasis.

<sup>39</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, (London: Routledge, 1990), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Bhabha, "DissemiNation," 297.

with its own established history and traditions; the performative represents those who view the group with nostalgia but who remain on the margins or periphery, attempting to interrogate or shift the group off centre. Bhabha himself seems to use the term “minority” or “marginal” discourse interchangeably with the word “performative.” If one views minority discourse as one aspect of the performative, then one may think of the pedagogical as dominant discourse or, in Bhabha’s terminology, the “powerful master-discourse.”<sup>41</sup> In this formulation, the National War Memorial represents the pedagogical or powerful master-discourse of Canadian nation-building through collective effort and common purpose. The performative is seen in the efforts of those who question the master narrative it represents. The performative is also seen in the occasional anti-war sentiment that war monuments such as the one in Ottawa inevitably attract.

### **The Monument as Site of Performance**

When discussing the monument as a site of performance it is important to make a distinction between the notion of performance and that of the performative. Performance at a monument site can take a variety of forms, among them ritual and interventionist ones. Ritual performance tends to be pedagogical, whereas interventionist performance tends toward the performative, although the two are not mutually exclusive - as the following examples and discussion illustrate.

Each year on November 11 the National War Memorial in Ottawa, like other war memorials in cities and communities across Canada, is the site of a ritual Remembrance Day service: a yearly ceremony that derives from an Empire-wide practice. In Ottawa the carefully staged and elaborate ritual continues to draw large crowds of young and old

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 306.

despite dwindling numbers of veterans. Robert Shipley writes that “few ritual observances have consistently involved as broad a spectrum of the society as Remembrance Day ceremonies.”<sup>42</sup> The ceremony at the National War Memorial, although more elaborate than those in most communities, follows a ritualized format that centers on a period of silence. Shipley describes the ritual:

At a critical point in the service the bugle sounds “The Last Post.” That is the traditional end to the soldier’s day. The Last Post symbolizes death and is followed by two minutes of silence. The silence is usually timed to coincide with the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month. That was the moment the First Great War ended in 1918. During the silence we reflect on the dead and mourn their passing.<sup>43</sup>

During this period of silence and reflection the monument locale becomes a site of active participation in the memory process and has a somewhat performative aspect to it. Of this “Great Silence” Alex King writes: “The dead were now recognized as heroic principally through the wordless memory of them, rather than by rhetorically enumerating their qualities. What they had actually been like, as soldiers or as ordinary people, was left, in this sacred moment, to individual memory or imagination.”<sup>44</sup> As well, in his essay “Between Memory and History,” Pierre Nora writes that “the observance of a commemorative minute of silence [is] an extreme example of a strictly symbolic action, [and] serves as a concentrated appeal to memory by literally breaking a temporal continuity.”<sup>45</sup> So it is the symbolic action, the ritual moment of silence, and not the nearby War Memorial that appeals to memory. The monument is simply a convenient but not altogether necessary backdrop for the ritual performance, which itself acts to unite the

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<sup>42</sup> Shipley, *To Mark Our Place*, 23.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>44</sup> Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 229.

<sup>45</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 19.

performers. This is highlighted by the fact that the Remembrance Day service of 1999 took place on Parliament Hill because of construction at the National War Memorial site. The ceremony took place around a plain pylon-type makeshift cenotaph owned by Public Works Canada and without any change in its usual events. By noon the next day the cenotaph had been returned to storage.<sup>46</sup> As a site of ritual performance, the monument serves as the locus of activity but not as the focus of activity. It is the ritual that activates memory and sustains a continuity of meaning between monument and performance – the myth of nation-building through collective effort and collective remembering. The fact that this ritualized Remembrance Day activity takes place simultaneously in Ottawa and at numerous locations across the country gives a truly national dimension to the idea of collective memory and identity that Canadian war memorials foster. Here again, the previously mentioned St. Boniface monument may be cited as somewhat atypical in that the Belgian community in Winnipeg has chosen to use the monument as the site of their annual Belgian Independence Day celebration, which is observed every July 21, the day that Leopold I became the first king of Belgium. However, this ritual activity has the same effect as the Remembrance Day services – to perpetuate a collective memory and identity.

Interventionist activity or performance at traditional war memorial sites such as the National War Memorial tends to interrogate the master narrative that the monuments attempt to construct. It may be as simple as anonymous anti-war graffiti spray painted on the National War Memorial<sup>47</sup> or as elaborate as Krzysztof Wodiczko's *South African War*

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<sup>46</sup> According to Canadian War Museum Special Events Coordinator Morgan Wright, this makeshift cenotaph is used on various occasions and at diverse locations. Interview, May 23, 2000 at Vimy House, Ottawa.

<sup>47</sup> "Vandals Deface War Memorial," *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 November 2003, B3.



*Memorial Projection* (Toronto, 1983). For his 1983 intervention Wodiczko projected an image of a hand gripping a knife and stabbing downwards onto the column of the South African War Memorial in downtown Toronto. Like all of his projections, the Toronto projection occurred at night and lasted only a brief time, although the event lives on in photographs. Of his interventions the artist states:

The aim of the memorial projections is not to “bring life” to or “enliven” the memorial nor to support the happy, uncritical, bureaucratic “socialization” of its site, but to reveal and expose to the public the contemporary deadly life of the memorial. The strategy of the memorial projection is to attack the memorial by surprise, using slide warfare, or to take part in and infiltrate the official cultural programs taking place on its site.<sup>48</sup>

Wodiczko’s projections critique the ideological construction of collective public memory and reveal the “obscene necro-ideology of memorial icons, the naked, cold bodies of monumentally frozen goddesses, gods and heroes of our glorious massacres of humanity.”<sup>49</sup> Interventionist activity is generally performative in nature in that it comes from the margins and questions the master narrative: it momentarily disrupts a traditional monument’s historic immutability by engaging it and the viewer with the present. Objects such as the National War Memorial are often the sites of public performances, whether those performances are ritual or interventionist, pedagogical or performative.<sup>50</sup>

It would be remiss to end this discussion of monuments as sites of performance without mentioning the unveiling ritual/ceremony. In general some sort of ceremony, whether small or elaborate, marks the inauguration of a monument, although monuments such as the ones commemorating Alexander Mackenzie and Thomas D’Arcy McGee did

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<sup>48</sup> Krzysztof Wodiczko, “Public Projections,” *October* 38 (Fall 1986): 10.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-6.

<sup>50</sup> As the national capital, Ottawa offers numerous significant sites other than monuments for such interventionist activities as anti-war demonstrations; the American Embassy and Parliament Hill are two such sites. Because of its location on what amounts to a traffic circle, the National War Memorial is actually not well suited to public activity that is not government sanctioned and/or organized.

not have any official inauguration celebration. Unveiling ceremonies offer important public occasions to orally interpret and reinforce the visual message that the commemorative monument puts forward. Such was the case with the unveiling of the *Harper Memorial*, when figures such as Governor General Lord Grey, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier and future prime minister Mackenzie King took the opportunity to extol the virtues of the dead civil servant, Henry Harper, and to promote the values held dear by the young nation. The unveiling ceremony for the National War Memorial was a grandiose affair that was scheduled to coincide with a royal visit and to take advantage of the public appeal such an affair presented. Amid much pomp and ceremony the long-awaited memorial was finally unveiled and King George VI made his speech (some of which was quoted above) in which he reiterated the monument's message – that through collective effort and common purpose in response to World War I Canada achieved a sense of itself as a nation. This message had already been expressed in two news reports prior to the unveiling. For the *Ottawa Citizen* Robert Southam wrote: “The main theme of the memorial is a gigantic Arch of Sacrifice. Through this arch . . . there emerges a noble group which portrays vividly the response of the Canadian people to the call to arms. . . . [O]ne does not see merely a group of men, but a whole people imbued with a common inspiration.”<sup>51</sup> In writing about the figures on what he called “Canada's National Memorial” Thomas Wayling stated: “It is all there: the willingness of the Great Response, the singleness of purpose.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Robert W. Southam, “Unveiling of War Memorial Highlight of Royal Visit Here,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 May 1939, B3.

<sup>52</sup> Wayling, “Canada's National Memorial,” 17.

Within months of the *National War Memorial* unveiling, Canada was back at war. In a 1998 essay, "A Literature of Stone," Canadian journalist and author Douglas How writes that the world wars changed Canada and its perception of itself: "The first crystallized national pride. The second confirmed it."<sup>53</sup> It is a tribute to the powerful symbolism of the memorial that no new monument was commissioned to commemorate World War II. Instead, the monument was rededicated on May 29, 1982, at which time the dates 1939-1945 (World War II) and 1950-1953 (Korean War) were added in bronze numerals to the existing memorial. There is little doubt that the world wars had a profound effect on Canada as a nation and Canadians as a people. Indeed, it can be said that the First World War proved to be a rite of passage from which Canada emerged with a newfound sense of independence and self-identity, an ideology that is reflected in and represented by the National War Memorial. It had taken just over two decades to bring the memorial to completion, but it would be more than a half century (1992) before another major monument joined it on Confederation Boulevard.

### **The Peacekeeping Monument**

That public commemorative monuments such as the National War Memorial mark some sort of historical reality or truth is a generally accepted notion. That they simultaneously construct a fictionalized narrative of the nation such as that discussed above often goes unacknowledged. Jack Harman's *Reconciliation* (1992, fig. 18), more commonly known to Canadians as the Peacekeeping Monument, is no exception. In this section the monument's fictional or constructed narrative/text of the nation is explored through the consideration of its site, selection, and staging. Drawing on ideas expressed

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<sup>53</sup> Douglas How, "A Literature of Stone," *Maclean's*, 9 November 1998, 94.

by a variety of theorists such as Louis Marin, Sigmund Freud and Griselda Pollock, I will first give an overview of *Reconciliation*'s site within its urban landscape, before reviewing the selection process for its design. Finally, my focus shifts to the actual staging of the work (the way in which the various components of the monument ensemble relate to each other), in order to offer a critical and theoretical reading of the monument's text and sub-text.

Art historian Louis Marin provides insight into the notion of a work of visual art as text. In his essay "Toward a Theory of Reading in the Visual Arts," Marin refers to historical painting, specifically Nicolas Poussin's *The Arcadian Shepherds*, as a pictorial or visual text. With his intention to "construct a theory of reading and determining the notion of *reader* in painting,"<sup>54</sup> Marin also acknowledges the importance of the "reader-viewer" in creating meaning from a pictorial text. He points out that whereas written texts force the reader's eye to follow one route, the visual text carries no such constraint: the reader-viewer's eye is free to traverse the terrain of the visual text at will. Marin also offers an interesting observation based on Émile Benveniste's distinction between the concept of discourse (*discours*) and narrative (*récit*). Marin writes that "in the case of narrative as opposed to discourse, the specific modality of its enunciation is to erase or conceal the signs of the narrator in the narrative propositions." "So the basic characteristic of the narrative enunciation," he continues, "is the exclusion of all

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<sup>54</sup> Louis Marin, "Toward a Theory of Reading in the Visual Arts: Poussin's *The Arcadian Shepherds*," in *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, eds Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980), 293. While Marin is concerned specifically with historical painting, it seems that a public monument such as *Reconciliation* is very similar in that it is a pictorial text that constructs a narrative text for the reader-viewer through two semiotic systems: language/writing and sculpture/painting.

‘autobiographical’ forms like ‘I,’ ‘you,’ ‘here,’ ‘there,’ ‘now,’ as well as of the present tense.” Instead narrative uses the past tense and the third person. For Marin, this raises not easily answered questions such as: “How could a painting narrate a story since, at least apparently, there is no verb, no temporal marker, no adverb or pronoun in painting as in language?”<sup>55</sup> With regard to Poussin’s *The Arcadian Shepherds* Marin writes that since “no figure is looking at us as viewers, nobody addresses us a representative of the sender of the message. As viewers-readers we just catch the figures performing their narrative function. Apparently they do not need us in order to narrate themselves.”<sup>56</sup> Thus, while a visual text (in this case, the Peacekeeping Monument, whose figures also do not address us as viewers) contains a text/narrative, it may simultaneously deny/negate the enunciation of that text. The discussion and analysis that follows draws on Marin’s notion of the visual text in dialogue with the reader-viewer in an attempt to separate the history and the fiction that *Reconciliation* puts forward.

### **The Importance of Site**

In 1988, following the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to United Nations Peacekeepers, and in response to the Department of National Defence (DND) perception that Canadians increasingly supported the nation’s peacekeeping activities, it was announced that a monument would be erected in Ottawa. This monument would be dedicated to Canadian Forces members who had served in peacekeeping missions over the preceding forty years and to those who would serve in the future. The Peacekeeping Monument became a joint project of the National Capital Commission and the DND.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 295-296.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 305-306.

Public Works Canada lent its assistance to the project. Competition documents reveal that “the choice of one of the most significant sites on Confederation Boulevard for the Peacekeeping Monument reflects expectations that it will become an important and familiar symbol to all Canadians.”<sup>57</sup>

Confederation Boulevard is itself a system of ceremonial routes, the goal of which is to unify and link the central areas of Gatineau (formerly Hull) and Ottawa in order to give particular distinction and identity to the National Capital (see map, fig. 1). A 1988 National Capital Commission publication reveals that:

The basic structure of Confederation Boulevard consists of ‘nodes’ and ‘links’. Located at the important intersections, the nodes function as entry points to the ceremonial ring and as turning points, establishing the continuity of the circuit at those places where it changes direction. While it is intended that each node have a unique character, all nodes are developed to create a sense of spatial enclosure punctuated by major vertical elements. The vertical elements act as cairns, marking significant points in the city and providing orientation and direction. The sections of the ceremonial routes between the nodes are the ‘links’. Designed to be the most distinguished streets in the National Capital, the links give the ceremonial route its character and reinforce the continuity of the sequence.<sup>58</sup>

The “Sussex/St. Patrick Node,” where the Peacekeeping Monument is located, is particularly important because it lies at the junction of Sussex Drive and the ceremonial ring linking Ottawa and Hull. The residence of the governor general and the residence of the prime minister are both located on Sussex Drive. This means that any traffic circulating between these residences and Parliament Hill is required to pass by the Peacekeeping Monument. Landscape architect Marc Monette describes this prestigious segment of Confederation Boulevard as “the original ceremonial route,” recognized since the turn of the twentieth century as occupying a special place within the nation’s

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<sup>57</sup> *Peacekeeping Monument Competition Guideline* (Ottawa: NCC, 1991), 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital* (Ottawa: NCC, 1988), 22-23.

capital.<sup>59</sup> The significance of this site on Confederation Boulevard is further illustrated by a quick tour of the periphery of this large urban space/site that has emerged from the last decade of the twentieth century as an urban room with noteworthy architectural and landscape walls.

The northern “wall” of this urban room is defined by the impressive architecture of the National Gallery. Designed by Moshe Safdie and constructed in 1986-88, this steel, granite, and glass structure features a series of glass towers that join together to form a “Great Hall”. The shape of this tower structure clearly draws its inspiration from the Parliamentary Library at the back of the centre block of the Parliament Buildings. The western side of the node is defined by Major’s Hill Park, one of the oldest and most important of the National Capital Region’s civic parks.<sup>60</sup> This green space rises to the west of the Peacekeeping Monument, guiding the viewers’ eye upward to the Parliament Buildings, which form a not-too-distant backdrop. The eastern wall is composed of the façade of Notre Dame Basilica and other historically important commercial buildings on Sussex Drive, described as “the most beautiful and well preserved continuous frontage of the Georgian architectural style in Ottawa.”<sup>61</sup> The twin spires of the basilica, are echoed by the twinned towers on the northeast corner of the centre block on Parliament Hill. At the time of the competition for the monument’s design, the fourth “wall” of this urban room consisted of a parking lot that was the site of the proposed American embassy. The embassy’s location and tentative design were established before there was any decision about the National Gallery’s location and before the concept of an urban room at this

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<sup>59</sup> Marc Monette, “The Peacekeeping Monument: An Urban Sacred Space,” *Landscape Architectural Review* 14.1 (May 1993): 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Peacekeeping Monument Competition Guideline*, 16.

<sup>61</sup> *The National Capital Core Area Ceremonial Routes: An Urban Design Study for the National Capital Commission* (Ottawa: NCC, 1983), 98.

intersection was introduced.<sup>62</sup> The American embassy was completed in 2000 and now defines the southern edge of this urban room. The north façade of the embassy building features a glass-roofed tower-like structure that bears a conspicuous likeness in silhouette to that of the National Gallery's Great Hall. Although all these buildings that define this urban room vary greatly in their size, scale, materials, architectural styles and civic functions, there is a striking continuity and coherence in their vertical elements.

Each of these buildings is important in its own right and each projects a distinctive civic presence. Briefly stated, to the west the Parliament Buildings are symbolic of the secular power of the nation, while religious authority is represented by the basilica to the east. To the north the glass-fronted National Gallery welcomes visitors in for a glimpse of Canadian visual culture, while to the south the reflective windows of the American embassy repel curious looks and mirror back the iron fence and the cement pylons that surround this heavily guarded fortress. At the center of the urban room, which is defined by these highly significant civic institutions, sits *Reconciliation* – the Peacekeeping Monument. Situated at the intersection between secular power and religious authority, and between Canadian culture and American might, it would not be too far-fetched to propose that *Reconciliation* is quite literally sited at the crossroads of history and fiction. This brief, but highly suggestive glimpse of the urban room where the Peacekeeping Monument is located is meant only as an introduction to the site's potential for critical and theoretical analysis. I now turn to the second avenue of exploration – the Peacekeeping Monument's design competition and selection.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.



## The Selection

Sigmund Freud observed that the writing of a nation's history is comparable to an adult's conscious memory of the events of maturing: both are "an expression of present beliefs and wishes rather than a true picture of the past." "Many things," Freud wrote, are "dropped from the nation's memory, while others [are] distorted, and some remains of the past [are] given a wrong interpretation in order to fit in with contemporary ideas." "Moreover people's motive for writing history," he continued, is "not objective curiosity but a desire to influence contemporaries, to encourage and inspire them, or to hold a mirror up before them."<sup>63</sup> From Freud's concept of history-writing we may infer that there is not only a conscious desire at work in creating a nation's history, but also an unconscious desire at play in the mythic structure that makes up a national narrative. To call the nation's historical narrative a mythic structure is to make reference to Roland Barthes's idea that "what the world supplies to myth is an historical reality . . . and what myth gives in return is a natural image of this reality."<sup>64</sup> What is the historical reality of, and the mythic structure imbedded in, the Peacekeeping Monument? Or: What is the discourse of the monument, and what is its narrative?

It is important at this point to provide some background information in order to give context to the competition that would result in the creation of a significant national symbol, prominently located at a prestigious site on Confederation Boulevard. As previously mentioned, this site is located on what might be considered the original ceremonial route dating from the turn of the twentieth century: "the Mile of History"

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<sup>63</sup> Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood" (1910), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, Vol. 11, 63-118 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 83-84.

<sup>64</sup> Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies* (1957), trans. Annette Lavers (London: Paladin Books, 1973), 142.

from Rideau Hall to the Parliament Buildings. As early as 1905, the Todd Report outlined the importance of prestigious drives, boulevards, and parkways in planning the nation's capital, and all subsequent studies and master plans have continued from there.<sup>65</sup> Since the establishment of the National Capital Core Area Plan of 1971, it has been a federal objective to create a coherent system of ceremonial routes intended to achieve the physical and symbolic linking of Ottawa and Gatineau/Hull into a single unified capital region.<sup>66</sup> The 1983 report for the NCC entitled *National Capital Core Area Ceremonial Routes* is a comprehensive overview of virtually every aspect of the core area concept, from traffic circulation to vegetation and lighting. The importance of memorials to this core area concept for the National Capital region is highlighted in a separate report of 1988. The report states:

It is a longstanding tradition in Western countries to create emblems whose primary purpose is commemoration - the celebration of people, events or ideas which have meaning and value for the community at large. The importance of commemoration as a means of reinforcing and transmitting collective values is demonstrated by the great variety of ways in which it is expressed. Examples of typical commemorative forms in Canada include special issues of stamps and coins, the naming of holidays and festivals, the dedication of streets, parks, buildings and towns, and the erection of memorials. . . . [T]heir strength as commemorations resides in the knowledge that they will remain as constant emblems to be appreciated by generations to come.

While there is a history of commemorating people, events and ideals in the National Capital, Canada is a young nation with relatively few symbols or icons of her own. Canada is now at a stage of development as a nation and a people where there is a strong sense of identity and accomplishment, and an equally strong and expanding need to express these through permanent emblems.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *The National Capital Core Area Ceremonial Routes*, (1983), 2. On page 8 are listed a number of major reports and studies: the Todd Report (1905), the Holt Commission (1915), the Cauchon Studies (1925-1928), the Gréber Plan (1938-1950), the Ottawa Central Area Study (1969) and the Core Area Plan (1971).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, iii

<sup>67</sup> *Capital Commemoration*, 2.

The NCC urban design objective was to create a “great city,” a “distinctive and delightful, as well as functional and efficient” national capital. Monuments would certainly play an important role in this.<sup>68</sup> Although it does not state it explicitly, the preceding quote assumes that a monument has the potential to make a significant contribution to the construction of a nation’s narrative. Published in 1988, this report coincided with the announcement by the Minister of National Defence that a monument dedicated to Canadian Forces peacekeepers would be erected at a significant location in Ottawa.<sup>69</sup>

Two years after this announcement, the competition got under way. We may begin by looking at some of the historical facts surrounding the monument competition and commission, information made available by the NCC in a “study kit” created for future Canadian designers to learn from the challenges and opportunities created by the Peacekeeping Monument project. The study kit is composed of two booklets: one titled *Peacekeeping Monument: Competition Guideline*, the other *Peacekeeping Monument Competition*. The kit also includes: a 1:300 scale site plan; the “Jury Report,” and a brochure titled *The Peacekeeping Monument – Autumn 1992*. Competition guidelines stipulated a number of required components, which had to be factored into the monument’s staging; these included flags, plaques and a gathering space. The most significant requirement addressed figurative elements. Here the guidelines were very specific:

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>69</sup> It is important to note that the National Capital Commission does not actually initiate commemorative projects itself. Canadian groups and individuals are encouraged to sponsor commemorations of Canadian ideas, people and events. However, the NCC requires commemorative proposals to be compatible with Capital plan criteria and the NCC is responsible for final approval.

For the Peacekeeping Monument to 'speak' to all Canadians and visitors to Canada, it should include elements which are familiar, recognizable, and clearly identified with the subject.

The Department of National Defence has requested that realistic figurative elements be included to fulfil this role and that they be focal to the competition. Further, the Department has expressed a preference for figurative elements which reflect the participation of all branches of the Armed Forces, (air, land and sea), as well as the contribution made by both men and women.<sup>70</sup>

This stipulation, that the monument use realistic figural elements, is not surprising in light of the DND's and the NCC's desire that the monument be easily read and understood. The NCC urban design study acknowledges that "for a memorial to be an effective commemoration, it must successfully communicate its message and establish an appropriate rapport with its intended audience."<sup>71</sup> Perhaps the lesson of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial eight years earlier was still fresh in the minds of the Department of Defence and the NCC. Indeed, one sentence in the competition guideline may be an allusion to the divisive issue of "modern/abstract" versus "traditional/literal" sculptural vocabulary that initially plagued the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (VVM), and to the difficulties inherent in obtaining consensus in a pluralist society. Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, dedicated on November 13, 1982 in Washington, D.C., caused public controversy from the moment the winning design - two V-shaped black granite walls, inscribed with the names of those who had died in the war (listed chronologically as opposed to alphabetically) - was revealed. Opposition to the monument gathered and eventually a compromise was proposed that allowed for the addition of a realistic figure-type monument nearby.<sup>72</sup> In hindsight, perhaps the most important sentence in the

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<sup>70</sup> *Peacekeeping Monument: Competition Guideline*, 30.

<sup>71</sup> *Capital Commemoration*, 5.

<sup>72</sup> See Tom Wolfe, "Art Disputes War: The Battle of the Vietnam Memorial," *Washington Post*, 13 October 1982, B3.

Peacekeeping Monument competition guidelines reads: “The monument will appeal to those who seek a literal message and to those who are receptive to a more symbolic statement.”<sup>73</sup> This goal, to appeal to the widest possible audience, would have a considerable effect on the selection and creation of a design for the monument.

The competition committee required an interdisciplinary approach to the project and insisted that all design teams must consist of artists/sculptors and urban designers (either architects or landscape architects). To accomplish the goal of combining artistic requirements with urban design specifications, the competition committee invited five sculptors and five urban designers to each form their own multi-disciplinary design team. The ten invitees were given a list of potential team members and, in order to maintain a total of ten teams, were forbidden to join together with any other invited competitor. The competition jury was composed of five prominent Canadians: Lieutenant-General David Huddleston of the DND; art and architecture historian Dr. Alan Gowans; Canada’s official sculptor, Eleanor Milne; architect Moshe Safdie; and landscape architect Peter Jacobs.<sup>74</sup> In November 1990, eight anonymous submissions were judged by the competition jury and a unanimous decision was quickly made.<sup>75</sup> The winning submission, entitled *The Reconciliation*, was designed by a team composed of sculptor Jack K. Harman, who was already working on *Queen Elizabeth II* (1992) for Parliament Hill (see Chapter 4), architect and urban designer Richard G. Henriquez, and landscape architect Cornelia Hahn Oberlander, who had previously designed the garden in front of the nearby

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<sup>73</sup> *Peacekeeping Monument Competition Guideline*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> All competition information comes from the *Peacekeeping Monument: Competition Guideline*.

<sup>75</sup> The “Report of the Jury” offers an idea of what the jury found appealing about the winning design. The *The Peacekeeping Monument Competition* booklet “outlines the purpose and structure of the competition, the way it was formulated and organized and - most importantly - the rich artistic harvest of design it inspired”(3). This booklet also contains images of the competition maquettes, and descriptions of each entry. A detailed critical analysis of the many issues and politics involved in the different submissions and the selection process is not feasible here.

National Gallery. The winning submission is described in the jury's report as "consisting of three figures on a triangular walled base set on a raised square platform and an adjacent 'sacred grove' of trees."<sup>76</sup> The jury's report cites the merits of the winning design:

The Jury felt the composition was very powerful, and legible at a number of levels. It has a strong and distinctive silhouette when seen at a distance, and considerable interest and detail when experienced at close quarters. It very successfully integrates abstract and literal expressions: the abstraction of the "sacred grove" and the rubble of destruction caught between the rising thrust of the granite wedge walls contrast with the literal figures of the peacekeepers. The posture and detailing of the figures shows them to be alert, real, in charge, and making sure that everything is as it should be.

The image of peacekeeping projected by the proposal is immediately understandable. The peacekeepers have taken the high ground, observing and in charge of the scene, which includes references to manmade destruction on the one hand and the quiet of the "sacred grove" on the other. Peacekeepers will identify with the action because it relates directly to their own experience. The public will recognize the images of actual events and strife-torn places they have seen on television. It will be thought-provoking to the public, expressing the need for strength, action and command if one is to keep the peace, rather than expressing the calm end state of peace itself. It is dynamic rather than static; giving the impression that the commemoration is not about something that is over, such as a past war, but about an ongoing activity.

As an element of urban design, the authors of the work have understood the limitation of the site and made the most of it. As a beacon at an important turning point of Confederation Boulevard, the six meter walled plinth makes the composition a visible marker. The wall is a sculptural element in itself, 'racing' forward. It is not a barrier, because it is broken into sections. Wheelchair access is also neatly integrated into the piece.<sup>77</sup>

Despite recognizing the power and legibility of the monument's design and praising the successful integration of abstract and literal expression, the jury placed a number of conditions on the submission to be dealt with during the design development phase.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> "Report of the Jury," dated November 14, 1990. This report is part of *The Peacekeeping Monument Competition* study kit (Ottawa: NCC, 1991)

<sup>77</sup> "Report of the Jury."

<sup>78</sup> See "Report of the Jury" for details of conditions.

This is consistent with the NCC's expectation that "the sculptor should be prepared to condition his/her own artistic aspirations by an understanding and respect for larger urban design objectives."<sup>79</sup> Clearly, the completed monument would represent a compromise between the creative inspiration of the design team and the desires of the government agencies that collaborated to see the monument realized. The surface discourse - Canada as peacekeeper - would be clear to the public but the monument's underlying narrative would be more ambiguous and ambivalent. Indeed, as will be seen, one may read the Peacekeeping Monument as a sign of Western cultural compulsion to narrate the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force.<sup>80</sup>

### **The Staging**

Desire, myth, and ambivalence are at the center of Griselda Pollock's book *Differencing the Canon* (1999), in which she argues that making a difference to the mythic structure of the art historical canon requires a psychoanalytic approach. It seems to me that Pollock's concept of the mythic structure of the art historical canon runs parallel to the mythic structure of the nation as postulated by theorists such as Homi Bhabha and Benedict Anderson. While Pollock states that the art history canon is a myth of creativity and gender privilege, I suggest that the nation's discourse is a myth of unity and gender privilege. Anne McClintock writes that not only are all nationalisms invented, all nationalisms are also gendered.<sup>81</sup> McClintock states: "Nations are contested systems of cultural representation that limit and legitimize people's access to the resources of the nation-state, but despite many nationalists' ideological investment in the idea of popular

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<sup>79</sup> *Capital Commemoration*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Homi Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," 1.

<sup>81</sup> Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven': Gender, Race and Nationalism," 89.

unity, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender *difference*. No nation in the world grants women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state.”<sup>82</sup> In order to interrogate this type of mythic discourse, Pollock suggests that although Freudian psychoanalysis ultimately privileges the place of the Father, it theoretically offers a way to expose the desires and fantasies invested in the discourse of power.<sup>83</sup> Pollock writes that “[p]hallocentric culture is premised on substitutions and repressions - particularly of the Mother. If one of the key projects of psychoanalysis is to read for the traces of repression, one way forward is, therefore, to read against the paternal grain *for the Maternal*” [Pollock’s emphasis].<sup>84</sup> This methodology offers a fruitful approach to an analysis of the Peacekeeping Monument. First I will examine the surface effects of the monument, that is the conscious desires and fantasies invested in the national myth of unity - what one might refer to as the monument’s pedagogy or discourse. This is followed by an analysis of the deeper levels of meaning or unconscious structures of the monument - what might be considered the negation of enunciation in the monument text. That is, I will read the monument for traces of repression, reading against the paternal grain, for the maternal.

The National Capital Commission’s urban design study states that “monuments and memorials have traditionally made key contributions in defining and giving perceivable structure to cities.” The study goes on to make this interesting and suggestive analogy: “Not unlike punctuation in a paragraph, memorials and other artifacts have long been used as commas, semi-colons and full stops to reinforce the syntax of cities, to

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art’s Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 18.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.



clarify the many overlapping spatial systems, and to make them 'readable' to those who live in and visit the city."<sup>85</sup> As will be seen, I contend that, metaphorically speaking, *Reconciliation* imparts a rather estranging syntax to the narration of the nation.

At first glance, the Peacekeeping Monument's surface effect appears straightforward and factual. It has been described by the National Capital Commission as "a very chatty monument which is much less cryptic than the Washington Vietnam Memorial."<sup>86</sup> Yet first impressions can be deceptive. *Reconciliation* combines two semiotic systems to construct its text: language and sculpture. The words inscribed on the monument are as much a part of the representation as the sculptural and architectural elements that are offered to the viewer to contemplate and incorporate into the text/discourse. The architectural structure of the two intersecting walls that form the base of *Reconciliation* is reminiscent of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The engraved listing of numerous Canadian peacekeeping missions onto the converging walls also mimics the Vietnam Veterans Memorial with its listing of American soldiers lost in that war. In both cases, the inscriptions appear to narrate a factual and chronological history of events. The desire to narrate the nation does not stop here. A didactic wall inscription on the Peacekeeping Monument pins down the meaning of the symbolic elements of the ensemble. The inscription reads:

Members of Canada's Armed Forces, represented by three figures, stand at the meeting place of two walls of destruction. Vigilant, impartial, they oversee the reconciliation of those in conflict. Behind them lies the debris of war. Ahead lies the promise of peace: a grove, symbol of life.

The bronze figures represent Canada's vision of itself as a nation dedicated to peacekeeping and reconciliation: a nation committed to arbitration, not provocation.

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<sup>85</sup> *Capital Commemoration*, 4.

<sup>86</sup> "Perspective," *The Canadian Architect* 37.11 (November 1992): 4.

Although clad in military clothing, the posture and paraphernalia of the three figures signal peacekeeping activities. One figure stands vigilantly looking westward, binoculars held at chest level, ready to focus on the peacekeeping process. Behind him and looking eastward, another peacekeeper displays a relaxed but ready posture, the gun slung over his shoulder symbolizing the inherent danger of mediating between opposing factions. At the convergence of the two walls, a third figure crouches, radio and handset designating this figure as a communicator. The monument title, *Reconciliation*, is engraved on the wall below the figure with binoculars. On the wall below and adjacent to the gun-carrying figure is engraved the reassuring phrase “In the Service of Peace.” The surface effect/discourse thus narrates the Canadian nation as international peacekeeper.

What, then, of the unconscious level of the nation’s narration: what are the traces of repression - the negation of enunciation - that might be detected in this monument?

Although the engraved inscriptions insist on *Reconciliation*’s meaning, the monument’s mood belies its intended message. There is about this monument a feeling of unease, what Freud terms the uncanny - *das unheimliche* – or, literally, the unhomely. There is at one and the same time the sense of something familiar, yet something strange, something hidden, something repressed. *Reconciliation* is at once familiar and strange. In his etymologic explanation of the term *heimlich* Freud writes that “on the one hand it means what is familiar and agreeable, and on the other, what is concealed and kept out of sight.”<sup>87</sup> His general hypothesis is that “the uncanny proceeds from something familiar which has been repressed.”<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Sigmund Freud, “The Uncanny,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, Vol. 17, 219-252 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 224-225.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, 247.

In our consideration of what is repressed in *Reconciliation*, we may turn to the writing of Anthony Vidler to gain further insight into what the uncanny may mean in terms of a public sculpture/monument. In his 1992 publication *The Architectural Uncanny*, Vidler explores aspects of the spatial and architectural uncanny. In the varied essays that make up his book, Vidler seeks to interpret contemporary buildings and projects through the lens of a “resurgent interest in the uncanny as a metaphor for a fundamentally unliveable modern condition.”<sup>89</sup> In the third part of his book, Vidler looks specifically at the implications of the uncanny for urbanism and “at the ways in which psychology and psychoanalysis have found in cities a topos for the exploration of anxiety and paranoia.”<sup>90</sup> Vidler suggests that what Homi Bhabha calls “the perplexity of the living,” might be “interpreted through a theory of the uncanny that destabilizes traditional notions of center and periphery—the spatial forms of the national—to comprehend how ‘that boundary that secures the cohesive limits of the western nation may imperceptibly turn into a contentious *internal* liminality that provides a place from which to speak both of, and as, the minority, the exilic, the marginal and emergent.’”<sup>91</sup> For Vidler and Bhabha, the modern city and the modern nation are both spaces of alienation and unease - an “unhomely home”. Modern urban development tends to fill its empty spaces with architecture in an attempt to create an “authentic” home. Vidler writes:

...architecture finds itself “repeating” history, whether in traditional or avant-garde guise, in a way that itself gives rise to an uncanny sense of déjà vu that parallels Freud’s own description of the uncanny as linked to the “compulsion to repeat.” The apparently irreconcilable demands for the absolute negation of the past and full “restoration” of the past here meet in the inevitable reliance on a

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<sup>89</sup> Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), x.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

language of architectural forms that seem, on the surface at least, to echo already used-up motifs *en abîme*.<sup>92</sup>

Although Vidler is here specifically referring to architecture, it seems to me that his theory may encompass the urban monument as well. Indeed, the repetition of and reliance on certain architectural forms of the past is certainly a part of what imparts a sense of the uncanny to *Reconciliation*. The monument is haunted by a sense of déjà vu.

This is because the monument's forms derive from an unsettling mix of old and new architectural and sculptural typologies that have varied associations. As viewers we are familiar with many of the monument's formal elements that signal "war memorial," such as figures clad in military clothing. Yet this is not a war memorial, it is a monument to peacekeeping. As previously mentioned the architectural base is reminiscent of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and indeed, a number of local journalists at the time of the monument's dedication mentioned the VVM in their newspaper articles about *Reconciliation*.<sup>93</sup> However, unlike the VVM, the intersecting black walls of which are wedged into the ground and spread open like arms, inviting the visitor into the monument site, *Reconciliation*'s smooth white limestone walls converge at a narrow angle, giving the impression of some sort of war ship, its imposing bow rising up menacingly to slice through the water. Marc Monette observes that the wall of *Reconciliation* creates "a sense of unease when driving or walking along a mass so close to an edge."<sup>94</sup> One feels this same sense of unease when walking up the pathway between the two converging walls. If the viewer has not read the wall panel which explains that the concrete rubble and debris

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>93</sup> Ken McQueen, "Peacekeeping Monument," *Ottawa Citizen*, 9 October 1992, A10. "The critics are certainly right in one point: it lacks the power of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington, D.C. Thank heavens for that." Susan Riley also draws comparisons between the two monuments in her article "Peace Tribute Wars With its Neighbours," *Ottawa Citizen*, 7 October 1992, C1.

<sup>94</sup> Monette, "The Peacekeeping Monument," 7.

symbolize the ravages of war, a sense of bewilderment is likely to ensue and questions arise. Is the monument unfinished? Has someone forgotten to pull the weeds? Continuing along the pathway, the walls start to close in on and loom over the viewer. At the point of convergence one gets a sense of claustrophobia, of being buried alive. Viewing the wall inscription located here may evoke for some visitors the sense of reading their own tombstone. Freud writes that for “some people the idea of being buried alive by mistake is the most uncanny thing of all.”<sup>95</sup> Psychoanalytically, Freud relates this terrifying fantasy to the fantasy of “intra-uterine existence,”<sup>96</sup> which he reminds us originally had nothing terrifying about it. Anthony Vidler remarks that a “cause of the uncanny stems from the return of repressed infantile complexes, those of castration or womb fantasies for example, which, on returning, throw into question not so much the status of reality – such complexes were never thought to be real – but rather the status of psychical reality.”<sup>97</sup> Although this may seem like a stretch, is this perhaps part of what Pollock means by suggesting that one of the key projects of psychoanalysis is to read for the traces of incomplete repression? If so, then one way forward or one way to interrogate the phallogocentric discourse of power that is the nation is to “read against the paternal grain for the maternal.”<sup>98</sup>

The monument site produces the same uncanny effect. As previously mentioned, the vertical architectural elements of the buildings, which define the urban room where the monument is located, also echo each other. The century-old towers of the basilica on the east are mirrored in the century-old towers of the Parliament Buildings on the west.

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<sup>95</sup> Freud, “Uncanny,” 244.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 244.

<sup>97</sup> Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, 79.

<sup>98</sup> Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 18.

This motif is repeated in the late-twentieth-century towers of the National Gallery and the American embassy that mirror each other on a north-south axis. Freud considers this mirroring or phenomenon of the 'double' to be a prominent theme of uncanniness. Freud writes that Otto Rank's theory of the double "as a preservation against extinction has its counterpart in the language of dreams, which is fond of representing castration by a doubling or multiplication of genital symbols."<sup>99</sup> However, Freud goes on to explain that when this stage of primary narcissism is surmounted, "the 'double' reverses its aspect. From having been an assurance of immortality, it becomes the uncanny harbinger of death."<sup>100</sup> It could be said that the site of *Reconciliation* reproduces Freud's language of dreams. At first the threat of castration is held at bay by the doubling and repetition of the phallic symbolism of the towers surrounding the monument site. But this initial dream-like doubling effect reverses its aspect and produces in the viewer the sense of something uncanny at this site.

The maternal reveals itself again in the sacred grove that is adjacent to the monument. Marc Monette writes that the sacred grove at the northeast edge of the plaza "symbolizes the ancient tradition of sacred bosques where shelter, life and peace are the natural order."<sup>101</sup> The sacred grove is a part of the monument's installation and yet it is not. Unless one reads the wall inscriptions, it would be easy to assume that there is no connection between the monument and the nearby trees. The grove itself is contained within a low, oval-shaped wall constructed of stone. To call it a grove of trees is somewhat misleading as in reality it is a ring of trees planted around the inside perimeter of the oval. Monette remarks that the "introduction of a new wall in a strong geometrical

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<sup>99</sup> Freud, "Uncanny," 234-235.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Monette, "The Peacekeeping Monument," 6.

shape, such as an oval, and built in natural stone, does not relate to the existing architectural vocabulary” of the monument installation, which is linear and uses processed natural elements.<sup>102</sup> Monette also writes that although the “grove is to be reminiscent of an ‘egg,’ representing rebirth and life,” more often than not it is interpreted as a “burial ground.”<sup>103</sup> Many of the words that Monette uses to describe this portion of the monument’s site evoke the maternal body: shelter, life, egg, birth. Reading “against the paternal grain for the maternal,” it becomes possible to suggest that those who interpret the mound as a burial ground are repressing the Freudian desire to return to the womb, the “fantasy of intra-uterine existence.”

Ambivalence, negation of enunciation, and the maternal body are also present in the three bronze figures. Although the figures definitely recall traditional war memorial types in their military attire, once again there is something estranging or uncanny about them. Why are two figures standing and one kneeling? Why do the figures appear so alienated from each other? What is being repressed in this figural composition? The casual viewer might be surprised to find out that the crouching figure is indeed a woman. Although the figure’s sexual identity is ambiguous to the viewer, her role assignment and pose are clearly gendered in contrast to those of the other two figures. Both male figures stand tall and erect. While one is assigned the task of observer, denoted by the binoculars he holds, the other stands guard with his gun: he is the protector. The crouching figure’s job is to communicate. The two phallic male figures are the true subject of the nation. The crouching figure represents the other: woman, the object of the nation. This is the repressed patriarchal nationalist text of the nation. As previously noted, “women are

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

typically constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation but are denied any direct relation to national agency.”<sup>104</sup> As well, Elleke Boehmer writes that “nationalism relies heavily on gendered languages to imagine itself. Gender informs nationalism and nationalism in its turn consolidates and legitimates itself through a variety of gendered structures and shapes.”<sup>105</sup> The upright posture of the male figures marks them as phallic signifiers, like the perpendicular architectural elements that echo around the monument site. The crouching posture of the female figure is more closely linked to the oval shape of the sacred grove, signifier of the repressed maternal body. What is so estranging about the group of figures is the gradual realization that the figure that is treated differently is quite literally the figure of difference - the Other.

The observer, the protector, the communicator - three figures representative of a peacekeeping unit. Although the figures represent a unit and a unified effort, they do not communicate with one another. Unlike their counterparts on the nearby National War Memorial who clearly unite in a common cause, these figures seem strangely isolated from one another. However, what all these commemorative figures have in common is their isolation from the day-to-day reality of the world that exists around them. This is consistent with Louis Marin’s description of the negation of enunciation. He writes:

...no figure is looking at us as viewers, nobody addresses us as a representative of the sender of the message. As viewers-readers we just catch the figures performing their narrative functions. Apparently they do not need us in order to narrate themselves. We are only the distant spectators of a story, separated from it by a ‘spectacular’ distance that is the insuperable distance of the painter-narrator from the story he narrates.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven,’” 90.

<sup>105</sup> Boehmer, “Stories of Women and Mother,” 6.

<sup>106</sup> Marin, “Toward a Theory of Reading,” 306.



The narrator of our story is the mythic discourse of national unity. The three bronze figures of *Reconciliation* perform their narrative function, which is to narrate the impossible unity of the nation, all the while repressing their actual alienation from one another and the true disunity of the modern nation state.

Clearly the Peacekeeping Monument marks some sort of reality or truth. There is no question that the peacekeepers are an extant branch of the Canadian Forces and that the dates and geographic locations of the missions they have participated in are historical facts. But this is merely the surface discourse of the monument. Using Pollock's psychoanalytic methodology of reading against the paternal grain for the maternal, the repressed side of the monument's discourse is revealed and an alternative narrative is created in the dialectic space between monument and viewer. Commemorative public monuments such as *Reconciliation* and *The Response* are the sites where Canada's history and fiction collide, and where its mythic discourse of unity and gender privilege is narrated.

Collective effort and unity of purpose lie at the heart of the narrative created by the figures on both the National War Memorial and the Peacekeeping Monument. As an increasingly mature and confident nation, Canada represents itself on these monuments as a people willing but not eager to fight and sacrifice in order to achieve peace. Both monuments are not about any single person; rather they are meant to represent Canadians as a group. Despite the fact that both monuments are of a military nature, neither glorifies war. Both seem permeated by a desire for peace. In his 1938 article for *Maclean's Magazine*, Thomas Wayling quotes Vernon March's stated intentions for the NWM: "To

interpret and exemplify the spirit of Heroism and Self-Sacrifice, and at the same time to avoid any suggestion of glorifying war.”<sup>107</sup> Writing in 1939 prior to the unveiling of the NWM, Robert W. Southam of the *Ottawa Citizen* observed that “it embodies the spirit of Peace and immortalizes Canada’s defenders, yet it does not glorify war or suggest the arrogance of the conqueror.” Rather, “there seems a finer conception – the suggestion of the inseparable affinity of Peace and Freedom.”<sup>108</sup> More recently Denise Thomson stated that the military figures have “turned their backs” on the “unlimbered bronze cannon,” implying “that they were leaving behind the apparatus of war.” Alan Young also writes that “Canada’s Great War memorials were not created to idealize war, though they use the language of idealism; they were not exercises in jingoistic patriotism, though love of country is celebrated; and they were not created as celebrations of heroism, though those who have died are depicted as heroes.”<sup>109</sup> Canada’s National War Memorial celebrates the country’s entrance onto the world stage as a nation united in and dedicated to achieving peace. The Peacekeeping Monument reinterprets and consolidates that position.

While both monuments offer a collective national identity predicated on peace, both also represent and offer typical and traditional gender roles for men and women in the nation. As well, despite the shift to honouring common Canadians - women included - as heroes, both monuments deny the ethnic diversity of Canadians who fought in the world wars and who continue to serve in the military. As will be seen in the next chapter, as the twentieth century drew to an end voices from the margins increasingly questioned

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<sup>107</sup> Wayling, “Canada’s National Memorial,” 17.

<sup>108</sup> Southam, “Unveiling of War Memorial Highlight of Royal Visit Here,” B3.

<sup>109</sup> Young, “We Throw the Torch,” 20.

the developing master narrative of identity created by the monuments on and around  
Parliament Hill.

## Chapter 4

### Heroes for a New Millennium: The More Things Change . . .

Although the notion of hero was shifting and expanding, the tradition of placing politicians and monarchs on Parliament Hill continued throughout the second half of the twentieth century. A discussion of three such monuments reveals that although carrying on tradition in reference to **who** is represented, these Parliament Hill heroes are somewhat less traditional in reference to **how** they are represented. Each of these three monuments reworks a traditional monument type. *William Lyon Mackenzie King* (Raoul Hunter, 1968) takes a traditional standing figure, but rather than being presented on a conventional raised pedestal the figure is at ground-level; *Lester B. Pearson* (Danek Mozdzinski, 1990) works with the enthroned figure type, but exchanges a throne-like structure for a common office chair; *Queen Elizabeth II* (Jack Harman, 1992) employs a typical equestrian monument with an atypical rider. This trend toward somewhat less conventional representations leads to something of a breakthrough with the new millennium when, in 2000, Barbara Paterson's *Women are Persons!* (Famous Five Monument) becomes the first figurative monument on Parliament Hill to commemorate Canadian citizens other than dead politicians.

Outside the gates of Parliament Hill, along Confederation Boulevard and in the parks abutting the Boulevard, the heroic ideal was also showing outward signs of change with the relocation of two existing monuments and the addition of two new commemorations. *Terry Fox* (John Hooper, 1983) was unveiled at a new location on Wellington Street on July 1, 1998. In 1999 the figure of the Indian scout was removed

from the base of the *Champlain* monument, relocated to Major's Hill Park and officially named *Anishinabe Scout*. As well, the new millennium saw the addition of two new war-related monuments in Confederation Park. In 2001 the *National Aboriginal Veterans Monument* (Noel Lloyd Pinay) was unveiled facing onto Confederation Boulevard, and in 2003 the *Monument to Canadian Fallen* (Korean War Memorial; Yoo, Young, Mun) was also unveiled nearby in the park. While the former pays tribute to First Nations' participation in Canadian wars, the latter remembers Canada's "forgotten war" and for the first time acknowledges children within a national narrative.

Visually, the newly erected and newly relocated monuments appear to address notions of difference and diversity at the turn of the new millennium. But can the same be said for what the monuments reveal at an ideological level? Using monument-specific literature and drawing on ideas expressed by Stephen Slemon, Charlotte Townsend-Gault and others, this chapter addresses that question through a critical analysis of the above-mentioned monuments.

## **On the Hill**

### ***William Lyon Mackenzie King* (Raoul Hunter, 1968)**

In 1966, in order to mark Canada's centennial the following year, Secretary of State Judy LaMarsh proposed commemorating four Canadian prime ministers who had played major roles in shaping the nation since confederation. This proposal was entirely in keeping with a tradition begun in 1895 with the unveiling of the monument to Sir John A. Macdonald. To save time, there was no open competition in 1966: instead specific artists were nominated by an art advisory panel for each statue: Raoul Hunter for the

figure of William Lyon Mackenzie King, Ilek Imredy for the figure of Louis St-Laurent, Marcel Braitstein for the figure of Arthur Meighen and Elford Bradley Cox for the figure of R. B. Bennett. Although commemorating deceased political figures was a tradition on Parliament Hill, the new statues both recall and update the traditional hero statuary discussed in Chapter 2. Hunter's *William Lyon Mackenzie King* (fig. 19) was the first to be completed. It was unveiled on July 1, 1968 by Governor-General Roland Michener

There is no doubt that William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950) was an important nation-shaping figure. In *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders* (1999), authors Jack Granatstein and Norman Hillmer rank King as Canada's greatest prime minister ever despite describing him as "personally unappetizing," "unloved, timid, self-absorbed, opportunistic, puritanical [and] undistinguished."<sup>1</sup> Regardless, King was Canada's longest serving prime minister, leading the Liberal government for almost twenty-two years (1921-1926, 1926-1930 and 1935-1948). After his re-election in 1935, King remained prime minister until he resigned in 1948 after leading Canada through the Second World War. He is often remembered for the introduction of social programs including old-age pensions (1926), unemployment insurance (1940), and the Family Allowances Act (1944).<sup>2</sup> In all, King was active at the federal level of government for nearly fifty years, making his contribution to Canada long and varied and thus presenting the artist with a difficult task: how best to depict a man whose political life spanned a half century and whose accomplishments were so many.

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<sup>1</sup> Jack L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1999), 3, 6. Based on a canvassing of twenty-six academics for a study carried out for *Maclean's* (April 21, 1997), and which served as the basis for their book.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-101.

This task fell to Raoul Hunter, who was born in 1926 in Saint-Cyrille-de-Lessard, Quebec. After finishing first in his class at the École de Beaux-Arts de Québec in 1953, he studied sculpture and design at the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, and art history at the École du Louvre, both in Paris. Hunter made a name for himself as an editorial cartoonist for Quebec's *Le Soleil* from 1956 to 1989, the year he was awarded the Order of Canada. He taught at the École de Beaux-Arts de Québec and the École des arts visuels of Université Laval. His sculptural work is mainly figurative and examples include *Mère Émilie Gamelin* (1999 - located in the Berri-UQAM metro station in Montreal) and the statue of Samuel de Champlain on the façade of the National Assembly in Quebec City.

Unlike its counterparts on Parliament Hill, the King monument is placed at ground level on what might be more aptly called a platform than a pedestal. While the other monuments' pedestals are of sufficient height to allow for the inscription of the subject's name on a vertical surface, thereby assuring easy identification from a distance, the King pedestal - approximately six inches high - is inscribed on the horizontal surface with the prime minister's name. Thus the viewer is forced to approach the monument in order to definitively identify the figure. The ground-level presentation made the monument the most approachable and accessible monument on Parliament Hill to that date. Although this ground-level presentation may seem like a radical departure from what had gone before, a brief survey of the pedestals on Parliament Hill reveals that over time monument bases were becoming lower and less elaborate. The Hill's four earliest commemorations, of Sir George-Étienne Cartier (1885), Sir John A. Macdonald (1895), Alexander Mackenzie (1901) and Queen Victoria (1901), are all presented on pedestals

of considerable height (ten feet or more) and in the case of the three latter works the pedestals are also elaborately adorned with allegorical figures. During the early years of the twentieth century monument bases varied in height and elaboration until 1927, when Joseph E. Brunet's monument to Sir Wilfrid Laurier was unveiled, revealing a low, approximately waist high, simple box-like pedestal (fig. 11). It was thirty years before another commemoration appeared on Parliament Hill. In 1957 Frances Loring's monument to Sir Robert Borden was unveiled on the western corner of Parliament Hill (fig. 12), where it acted as a pendant piece to Brunet's Laurier monument situated on the eastern corner of the grounds. Although making a larger footprint on the ground than the Laurier pedestal, the Borden pedestal maintains the low and simple style that had been introduced three decades earlier. Eleven years later, in 1968, the pedestal all but disappears with Hunter's monument to King.

The move to lower, more accessible and more approachable monument figures during the last decades of the twentieth century was not unique to Canada. In Washington, DC, Robert Berks's larger than life Albert Einstein monument (1974) sits in Potomac Park where the scientist's relaxed and informal pose invites visitors/viewers to climb onto his lap. As well, the Korean War Veterans Memorial, unveiled in 1995 adjacent to the Lincoln Memorial, features nineteen, larger than life, stainless steel soldier figures (Frank Gaylord, sculptor) who warily move through an open space beside a black granite wall that is etched with images of unnamed service men and women (Louis Nelson).<sup>3</sup> Although the viewer is unable to walk among the soldiers, the ground-level presentation nonetheless brings the viewer closer to the figures.

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<sup>3</sup> See Stephen Murdoch, "A Monument for Everyone," *The Globe and Mail*, 16 August 2000, R8.



On Parliament Hill, the ground-level presentation makes Hunter's King monument approachable. The viewers' attention is also drawn to the work by the style of the representation, which differs considerably from that of the other figures on Parliament Hill. Author Terry Guernsey reveals in her handwritten notes for her 1986 publication *Statues of Parliament Hill* that the advisory panel set up to oversee the choice of artists and to judge submissions for the centennial monuments project "was particularly anxious to choose sculptors who would introduce new techniques and contemporary styles" and who would "infuse new life into a traditional and conventional art form." Although the advisory panel did leave the style and medium up to the artists' discretion, it requested "recognizable portrait" figures.<sup>4</sup> Of the four projects, only two were completely realized: Hunter's monument to King and Imredy's to St-Laurent. Cox's proposal for the Bennett monument was rejected at the maquette stage and Braitstein's completed statue of Arthur Meighen was eventually erected during the late 1980s in Lind Park, St. Marys, Ontario, the town where Meighen is buried. In her publication Guernsey explains that LaMarsh's decision to not use these two works was not related to the artistic merit of the works; rather, it had to do with "their suitability as official public portraits." The commissions were not "primarily intended as works of art but as representations to future generations of the statesmen of the past."<sup>5</sup> On viewing the rejected works in 1974, former Conservative prime minister John Diefenbaker described the Bennett model as "'a mummy,' unidentifiable since the time of Tutankhamen," and the completed statue of Meighen as "the greatest monstrosity ever produced - a mixture of Ichabod Crane and

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<sup>4</sup> National Gallery of Canada, Terry Guernsey fonds, Series 1, Box 3, File 7, "King, Wm."

<sup>5</sup> Guernsey, *Sculpture*, 129.

Daddy Longlegs.”<sup>6</sup> In both these unaccepted monuments, artistic vision came into conflict with state requirements for a “recognizable portrait.”<sup>7</sup>

Hunter’s portrayal of King successfully negotiates this conflict. Stylistically, it is difficult to classify Hunter’s monument to King. Whereas previous Parliament Hill monuments employed a naturalistic portrait style, Hunter’s monument is somewhat reminiscent of post-1934 Russian and post-1949 Chinese social realism in its pared-down use of detail. The figure is solid and compact, with simplicity and economy of line and detail. King is shown in a relaxed but firm stance with his right foot slightly forward. The right hand is also positioned slightly forward but against the body while the left hand is held against the small of the back. His clothing is simple and minimally detailed; the overcoat hem blends directly into the pant leg. The slightly pebbled texture of the clothing contrasts with the smooth finish used for the shoes and the head. The hair and facial details are similarly simple but unmistakably those of William Lyon Mackenzie King. Drawing on his skills as a political cartoonist, Hunter achieves an easily recognizable portrait with a minimum of detail. Overall, the monument presents a simple, compact silhouette when viewed from a distance. The lack of detail in the clothing, when compared to existing Parliament Hill monuments, makes it difficult to situate the figure historically, which is entirely appropriate given that King’s political career spanned a half-century. It could be suggested that the monument, like the leader it represents, bridges the gap between the past and the present, between Victorian/imperial tradition and Canadian modernism. While subsequent monuments on the Hill would at times

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> For images of the two rejected monuments see Guernsey, *Sculpture*, 129.

employ the low, approachable pedestal, Hunter's monument to King remains unique in its overall simplicity and economy of detail of the figure.

***Lester B. Pearson*** (Danek Mozdzenski, 1990)

In 1988, it was decided that a statue of Lester B. Pearson would be the next monument to be placed on Parliament Hill. Meeting in January and February, the Pearson Statue Committee outlined its criteria: the sculptor and the material should be Canadian, and the call for proposals would be sent out to a select group of approximately twenty sculptors. By April the field had been narrowed to five finalists who were asked to prepare maquettes of a seated figure. The committee chose the work of Danek Mozdzenski, an Edmonton-born sculptor who had studied at the Vancouver School of Art before spending two years at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow, Poland. On his return to Canada, Mozdzenski spent two years in sculpture at the Alberta College of Art and in 1981 a year at Red Deer College studying bronze casting. By the end of September 1989 the Pearson Statue Committee had approved his proposal for a naturalistic, seated portrait figure. A year later, on September 16, 1990, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney unveiled the monument (fig. 20).

Lester Bowles Pearson (1897-1972), nicknamed "Mike" by his Royal Air Force squadron commander who felt the name "Lester" unwarlike, rose steadily through the ranks of the Department of External Affairs from the 1930s until 1948, when he entered politics and became Canada's foreign minister in the cabinet of Louis St-Laurent. In this capacity he won the Nobel Peace Prize (1957) for bringing together a United Nations peacekeeping force to negotiate the peaceful settlement of the 1956 Suez crisis. In 1958

he was elected leader of the Liberal party and in 1963 he became Canada's fourteenth prime minister. Although prime minister for only five years (1963-1968), he introduced Medicare for every Canadian and in 1965 he gave Canadians their own flag. When looking back on the accomplishments of his political and diplomatic career, Pearson often said that the introduction of the Canadian flag "was the act that had given him the most pride and satisfaction."<sup>8</sup> This sense of pride and satisfaction is evident in the attitude of the relaxed and confident figure produced by Danek Mozdzenski.

While Mozdzenski's seated figure offers a new type of representation to Parliament Hill, it is not without precedent. Fifteen years earlier, Elek Imredy's seated *Louis St-Laurent* (1976) (fig. 28) had finally been unveiled in front of the Supreme Court of Canada, after sitting in storage since its completion in 1969, awaiting the death of St-Laurent. Commissioned at the same time as the monument to William Lyon Mackenzie King, the figure of St-Laurent is stylistically similar to that of King in its roughly textured finish and simplicity of design, but it does not go as far as the *King* monument in eliminating detail. In posture, the figure is reminiscent of Daniel Chester French's (1850-1931) figure at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. (1914-1922, architect Daniel Bacon). Unlike the Lincoln Memorial with its elaborately designed pavilion and raised pedestal accessible only from the front, the figure of St-Laurent is placed on a simple, low, wide, free-standing granite pedestal, engraved across the front with his name. Despite the understated design of the monument, there is about it an air of quiet dignity and forceful authority. From its location in front of the Supreme Court of Canada and facing the Justice Building, with Parliament Hill further to the east, St-Laurent may be

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<sup>8</sup> Bruce Thordarson, *Lester Pearson: Diplomat and Politician* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1974) quoted in "Appendix A, Record of the seventh meeting of the Pearson Statue Committee" NCC file 1722-03-05.

seen to preside over the three areas where he was most influential during his career in Ottawa as a lawyer, as minister of justice and as prime minister.

Historically, the seated or enthroned figure type is not uncommon in the sculptural arts. Egyptian funerary sculpture offers many examples of rigidly posed figures seated on equally rigid thrones, giving an overall effect of power and authority. Roman relief sculpture also offers many examples of the seated figure type, from that of Mother Earth on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Rome, 13-9 BCE) to enthroned figures on many Roman sarcophagi and triumphal arches. Perhaps the most imposing example of the seated figure type in Roman art was that of Constantine (AD 313), in a colossal statue that now exists only in fragments. The head alone measures 8 feet, 6 inches in height and the seated figure would have reached a height of over thirty feet.

Danek Mozdzinski's sculpture of a seated Pearson both references and undermines notions of power and authority that enthroned figures have historically represented. Like the St-Laurent statue, the Pearson monument features a seated figure on a low pedestal. However, while both monuments are accessible, only the Pearson monument offers a genuinely approachable or friendly figure. Although Guernsey writes that Imredy chose a seated figure for the St-Laurent statue so that it would be "simple, quiet and [show] strength without pose,"<sup>9</sup> in fact when contrasted with the Pearson statue the figure of St-Laurent is quite pretentious. The St-Laurent monument offers a formal, indeed formidable figure that distances itself from the viewer. Although naturalistic in style, the St-Laurent figure is angular and block-like (not unlike Egyptian figures). The simple, sharp lines combine with the roughly textured finish to give the figure a cold and austere aura. This is in contrast to the Pearson statue, which draws the viewer in with an

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<sup>9</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 132.

informal, relaxed figure complemented by a smoothly finished surface that asks to be caressed. Approachability is also achieved through the figure's posture, attire and accessories. Instead of sitting bolt upright like the St-Laurent figure, Pearson is posed in a relaxed, almost slouched posture. His figure leans slightly back in the chair, left leg crossed comfortably over the right. The right arm rests on the arm of the chair while the left arm hangs down in the lap where the hands lie loosely and casually one over the other. While St-Laurent is depicted in the formal robes of queen's counsel, Pearson is portrayed wearing an everyday business suit. The sharp lines of St-Laurent's robes are in contrast to the soft flow of material over Pearson's body. St-Laurent sits on an imposing, throne-like seat or bench that may be seen to symbolize the power and authority associated with a court of law. Pearson sits on what is sometimes referred to as his "Commons seat,"<sup>10</sup> but which is more generally recognizable as an office chair and which is certainly not throne-like in any sense. St-Laurent holds a scroll in his left hand which, according to Guernsey, is not a specific document, but rather a "symbol of intellectual work."<sup>11</sup> The scroll links the St-Laurent sculpture to a long tradition in the visual arts and elevates the status of the figure. Pearson has no accessories or attributes other than his ever-present bow-tie. Overall, the Pearson figure is personal and personable in contrast to the formal and traditional St-Laurent figure.

These differences are carried over to the monument pedestals. The St-Laurent pedestal is simply one more reason that the statue is not approachable. Height-wise there is a sense of accessibility because the pedestal is low to the ground - an easy step up. But in fact, the width of the pedestal distances the viewer from the figure by creating a space

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Fife, "'Mike' Back on the Hill Once Again," *Ottawa Sun*, 27 Sept. 1990, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 132.

around it - a space that few viewers would feel comfortable entering even if the figure of St-Laurent himself was more appealing and friendly, and less formal and distant. In contrast, the Pearson pedestal makes the monument even more approachable. It is simple, low and small, thus minimizing the space between viewer and monument. Viewers are able to walk around and touch the statue without having to stand on the base. And touch it they do. The toe of Pearson's left shoe gleams brightly where it has been rubbed free of the brown oxidation that gradually coats bronze over time.

The Pearson monument thus sets itself apart from others in the vicinity because it disrupts the viewer's a priori understanding of what a conventional monument should look like and how it should function. Mozdzenski has taken the traditional enthroned figure and by playing with the pose, the clothes, and the pedestal presentation of the figure, subverted the notion of power and authority commonly associated with this type of statue. Yet the monument commands the viewer's attention for this very reason. The figure of Pearson is relaxed and comfortable, its demeanour and presentation hailing those who pass by and making it difficult not to interact with it. Indeed, viewer participation with the monument space has been occurring since the day the statue was unveiled. Newspaper photographs of the inauguration event reveal just how approachable the figure is. In one photograph three of Pearson's great-grandchildren sit on grandpa's knee while in another, his three-year-old great-granddaughter is seen peeking out from the space under his legs - obviously a good place for children to play hide and seek.<sup>12</sup> In these exchanges, the space between object and viewer is momentarily closed and the viewer actively participates in the monument space. The shiny toe of the shoe is the

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<sup>12</sup> *Ottawa Sun, Ottawa Citizen, LeDroit*, 27 Sept. 1990. While the photograph with the three children on his lap seems formally posed, the photo of the child under the chair appears to be more natural.

material trace of the viewer and is evidence that this monument does not pass unnoticed. It has in some small way reached out to the viewer whose ritual gesture of shoe rubbing momentarily closes the gap between the past, the present and the future in a moment of private reflection. Whether this type of viewer participation was the intention of those who approved the design it is impossible to know, but we do know that this effect was not desirable for all official portrait statues, as the next monument illustrates.

*Queen Elizabeth II* (Jack Harman, 1992)

The idea to erect a statue to honour the queen originated with Ottawa-area MP Bill Tupper, who presented a motion in the House of Commons in 1987. In March 1988 the motion was passed with the declaration that “The Government should consider the advisability of commissioning the structure of a statue to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, to be placed on Parliament Hill in commemoration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of Her ascension to the throne.”<sup>13</sup> The resulting statue was dedicated five years later, in time to celebrate Canada’s 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Confederation and the fortieth anniversary of the Queen’s accession to the throne (fig. 21). It is the only Parliament Hill statue dedicated to someone who was living at the time of its erection. The five-year interval between proposal and completion of the project is not particularly long, but it was marked by the need to negotiate a delicate balance between two seemingly contradictory objectives with regard to the monument: prominence and informality. These criteria were expressed by the Queen’s Statue Committee (a group chaired by John Cole, MP, with George S. Rolfe acting as secretary), which agreed that:

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<sup>13</sup> “Memorandum to Cabinet: Commemorative Statues of Prime Ministers” attached to letter dated July 28, 1988. NCC file 1722-03-07.



- the statue should be prominent in siting and design ie. as significant as that to Queen Victoria and more significant than former P.M.s and Fathers of Confederation;

- its siting should adequately express the dignity and character of her majesty. At the sametime [sic] the statue should express the informality and friendliness Canadians commonly associate with the Queen when she is in our country.<sup>14</sup>

“Prominence” and “informality” are words that turn up over and over in the documents that outline and record the completion of the bronze statue and granite base, and the selection of the monument site.

The Queen’s Statue Committee met for the first time on November 20, 1989, at which time it was decided that an invitation be sent out to about thirty-five sculptors who fit the basic requirements of the committee: “landed immigrant or citizen, proof of skill at monumental portraiture, proof of competence in foundry work involving multiple sections, guaranteed use of Canadian materials and foundry, a willingness to be security checked - and an unstated requirement that the winner possess the savoir-faire to be granted sittings at the palace.”<sup>15</sup> From the resulting proposals three to five sculptors would be chosen to provide maquettes for consideration. The committee felt that an equestrian statue should not be ruled out and that the figure should be the usual monumental size of one and a half times life size, “but that the base or pedestal should be modest and approachable.”<sup>16</sup> A brief note dated December 6, 1989 from the queen’s secretary to the governor-general’s secretary indicated that the queen was “quite happy to approve an equestrian statue of her, 1½ time life size, should be erected on Parliament Hill.”<sup>17</sup> On April 30, 1990, the committee met for a second time to consider proposals by

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<sup>14</sup> “Terms of Reference.” NCC file 1722-03-07.

<sup>15</sup> “Initial Meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee,” 20 November 1989. NCC file 1722-03-07.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> “Buckingham Palace,” December 6, 1989. NCC file 1722-03-07.

fifteen artists, five of whom were chosen to produce maquettes: Jack Harman, Elizabeth Holbrook, Mary-Ann Liu, Leo Mol and Danek Mozdzenski. At this time the committee discussed the possible pose and clothing of the queen, the choice and pose of the horse if used, and the monument base. The pedestal had been mentioned at the first meeting, and at this second meeting the committee members restated their preference for a low base. In this regard, the committee felt “that the statue should be designed on either a very low plinth or perhaps a grade-level pavement so as to maintain the trend evident in other statues on the Hill, that is to say that the Pearson monument, and the Diefenbaker monument, are deliberately designed to be accessible and approachable, rather than raised up high on a pedestal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century manner.”<sup>18</sup> However, although the committee thought it desirable and appropriate to continue what they perceived as the low pedestal trend, the queen had other ideas.

The monument commission was awarded to Jack Harman (1927-2001), and the committee and the queen got their wish for an equestrian statue. Like the enthroned figure type, equestrian monuments have a long tradition in Western art. The freestanding equestrian statue has its beginnings in classical times, the only intact surviving example being the famous bronze statue of Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius on horseback (164-166 C.E.). This over-life-size figure owes its survival through the Middle Ages, when pagan statuary was melted down for re-use of the metal, to the mistaken belief that it represented Emperor Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. During the Renaissance, Michelangelo used the statue as the central focus for his design of the Campidoglio on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. In this large, open, outdoor space, Michelangelo placed the statue on a high oval base located centrally in an oval pavement

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<sup>18</sup> “The Second Meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee,” 10 April 1990. NCC file 1722-03-07.

pattern designed to focus the viewer's attention.<sup>19</sup> Many other artists then and later also found inspiration in the equestrian monument type. Donatello's bronze equestrian statue of Erasmo da Narni, known as Gattamelata (c. 1445- 1450, Padua), for example, presents the armored *condottiere* sitting erect and confident astride a solid and massive horse placed on a high elliptical base. Andrea del Verrocchio's equestrian monument to a Venetian *condottiere* Bartolommeo Colleoni (c. 1483-1488, Venice) also reveals an authoritative, even arrogant figure astride a somewhat more animated horse than that of the Donatello monument. Placed atop an even higher pedestal, Verocchio's soldier and mount express an even stronger image of power and authority. The tradition of equestrian monuments has continued to the present time, often being used to commemorate military figures, one example being Augustus Saint-Gaudens's (1848-1907) tribute to General Sherman, located in Central Park, New York (1903). Another example is Étienne-Maurice Falconet's (1716-1791) tribute to Peter the Great, located in St. Petersburg, Russia (1782).

Jack Harman's proposal for an equestrian monument to Queen Elizabeth II would be the first of its kind in the Commonwealth. Harman certainly met all the committee's criteria. Born in Vancouver, he studied at the Vancouver School of Art and at the Slade and the Hammersmith schools of art in England. After returning to Canada in 1955, Harman established his career in sculpture through teaching and commissions. He cast his own works and those of other sculptors in the foundry that he started in 1965. He had proven his skill in monumental portraiture with numerous commissions for public sculpture. These include Vancouver's *Miracle Mile* (1967), a tribute to Canadian athlete

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<sup>19</sup> It was removed for cleaning and restoration and has since been placed inside the Conservatory Museum in Rome to protect it from the heavily polluted air.

Roger Bannister, who is shown passing John Landy to set the four-minute-mile record. When Harman was awarded the Queen Elizabeth II commission, he was already working on the Peacekeeping Monument, *Reconciliation*.

On July 1, 1990, after a reception given by Governor-General Ray Hnatyshyn at Rideau Hall, Jack Harman met with Queen Elizabeth to get her views on the monument maquette. The meeting reveals the power dynamics at work in this particular situation. Usually, the artist would be responsible to the commissioning body. In the case of Parliament Hill monuments this is normally the federal government or its agents, such as Public Works and Government Services Canada or the National Capital Commission; but in this case the ultimate authority shifted to the queen herself. She voiced her concerns about the draping of her cloak and the inappropriate use of ribbon regalia on it, as well as the position of her hands on the reigns, which she felt implied that “she was not in full control of the horse.”<sup>20</sup> The queen approved the maquette in principle and indicated that she preferred her horse to be in motion as opposed to standing still. With regard to the siting of the monument, she expressed her wish that the monument should be oriented inwards - in other words, pointing toward the Centennial Flame on the central lawn between the Parliament buildings. Problems arose over the base for the monument, however. The queen was told that the committee “would like to recommend a ground level work, a people-friendly piece where visitors to the hill could walk around the statue as they did others on the Hill.”<sup>21</sup> The queen’s response to this was somewhat oblique, according to the report of the interview: “Her Majesty made reference to Her visit to The Hill, and how she has seen people behave during the morning ceremony. She spoke of the

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<sup>20</sup> “Report of an Interview with Her Majesty The Queen on the subject of Her statue on Parliament Hill,” 1 July 1990. NCC file 1722-03-07

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

possibility of people climbing on the horse with her effigy, saying that it would probably provide a first-class vantage point from which to view events that take place on the Hill.”<sup>22</sup> Here in brackets and in italics the report interprets her response to a low base as negative; “The manner in which Her Majesty spoke may be an indication of Her preference for a statue on a higher pedestal. The Secretary to the Committee will seek clarification from Sir Robert [Fellowes, deputy secretary to the queen].”<sup>23</sup> Adding to the queen’s apparent veto of a low pedestal, the sculptor voiced his own concerns regarding both the fragility of some of the bronze work, and vandalism. Clearly, a ground-level statue was unlikely and the base of this queen’s monument became as hotly debated an issue as the siting of Queen Victoria’s statue had been almost a century earlier (see Chapter 2).

The siting of the monument was a relatively simple matter. As set out at the first meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee, three major aspects governed the site selection: that it fit in with grounds renovation work scheduled for the Hill, that it achieve a compatible relationship with the existing monuments, and that it fit with the Parliament Hill master plan that was under development. To these criteria was added the requirement of reconciling “prominence and informality.” The committee looked to the urban design firm of du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier which had recently produced *Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital* (1988), for recommendations regarding an appropriate site for the proposed monument. In a twenty-five-page report titled *Site Selection and Design Guidelines for a Statue of Queen Elizabeth II on Parliament Hill* (n.d.), du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier write:

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

From a political point of view, the Hill should be enhanced as a major national symbol, expressing those attributes which most clearly represent national political ideals and values. The prevailing belief in and practice of democracy in Canada should, therefore, take precedence over the traditions and historical values of the monarchy. The parliamentary ensemble, as the foremost symbol of Canadian democracy, should remain pre-eminent, and should not be compromised by an icon central to another political system, no matter how important from an historical or cultural perspective.<sup>24</sup>

The urban designer's thoughts on prominence and informality are equally insightful. In general, a statue's prominence is expressed in three ways: first, by its size and height, i.e., mounted on a tall base or located on an elevated site; second, by the extent and character of its spatial envelope, i.e., it either commands a large space or is the focus of the space; and finally, by the potency and visibility of its location, in this case prime locations being the parliamentary lawn, near the Centre Block and the formal approaches to the Hill. The report observes that a statue's expression of informality is almost opposite to its expression of prominence.

An informal and friendly statue would be sited and designed to maximize its approachability and to encourage interaction between statue and viewer. The main figure would have a relatively low profile: it would be close to the ground, and possibly on the same level as the viewer, permitting 'eye contact' to be made. The main figure would also strike a pose which is informal and natural rather than haughty and aloof. The statue would be easily accessible and integrated with its surroundings rather than raised and segregated. The base and immediate setting would incorporate amenities such as seating, and shelter from the sun and rain.<sup>25</sup>

The recommended site, north of the East Block and east of the Centre Block, presented "a balanced composition in which the two monarchs on the Hill are symmetrically disposed about the centreline of the building ensemble." In addition, the proposed hilltop site offered the potential for excellent visibility, thereby eliminating the need for a "tall and

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<sup>24</sup> du Toit, Allsopp, Hillier, *Site Selection and Design Guidelines for a Statue of Queen Elizabeth II on Parliament Hill* (Ottawa: NCC, n.d.), 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

alienating plinth.”<sup>26</sup> This site was acceptable to everyone, including the queen. The stumbling block proved to be the monument’s base.

By the fourth meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee, on June 20, 1991, issues with regard to the pose and the clothing had been worked out, and site recommendations and development plans had been approved, but design parameters for the base remained unresolved. The committee was unhappy with Jack Harman’s proposal for “an extremely formal, almost 19<sup>th</sup> Century” base similar to those of earlier Parliament Hill statues because it was not compatible with what they saw to be the “informal” nature of the pose and clothing.<sup>27</sup> The members requested Harman to re-examine his own earlier proposal for a rough-hewn stone base. Unable to find a suitable boulder, Harman provided two more designs for the base, both of which were rejected by the committee. Although Harman favoured a formal base, he agreed to allow others to provide “a free form base following the general parameters of the examples he had provided,” as his own workload did not allow him time to work on other than a formal base.<sup>28</sup> The committee turned to Eleanor Milne (the Dominion Sculptor of Canada, 1961-1993 and Public Works Canada’s advisor to the Queen’s Statue Committee) and George Rolfe (secretary to the committee) to fashion a free form base in consultation with Jack Harman. A letter dated 17 December 1991 to the NCC chronicles the ongoing difficulties encountered by Rolfe and Milne in their attempts to obtain a suitable piece of granite.<sup>29</sup> By February 1992, a piece of Stanstead (Quebec) granite had been set aside; it would raise the statue eight feet above the grass in accordance with the wishes of both the queen and Harman. The

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 19

<sup>27</sup> “The Fourth Meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee,” 20 June 1991. NCC file 1722-03-07.

<sup>28</sup> “The Fifth Meeting of the Queen’s Statue Committee,” 26 October 1991. NCC file 1722-03-07.

<sup>29</sup> NCC file 1722-03-07.

committee determined that the base be rough hewn, with “Elizabeth II” inscribed on both sides, that it be set on a circular podium of flame-polished Stanstead stone, which in turn was to be located in the centre of a thirty-foot circle of concentric rings of pavers made from the same stone as the base. Only four months remained until the unveiling.

On June 30, 1992, the eve of the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of confederation, the world’s first equestrian statue of Queen Elizabeth II was officially unveiled by the queen herself. From coast to coast, newspaper accounts of the Parliament Hill ceremony reported that as the queen tugged at a lanyard, “the blue tarp fell away to reveal a larger-than-life bronze statue of her astride Centennial, the horse given to her on the occasion of the RCMP centennial in 1973.”<sup>30</sup> The completed monument raises some interesting questions. Does it resolve the conflicting requirements of prominence and informality? Does it maintain or subvert Parliament Hill trends and traditions? How may the monument be read within the tradition of equestrian monuments and in relation to the other monuments on Parliament Hill? An overall assessment of the completed commemoration must take into account two separate yet intimately connected aspects of the monument: the figure and the base.

With regard to the figure, it is the queen herself who made the most interesting observation. Although she did not speak at the unveiling ceremony, many newspapers reports quoted her exclamation upon first seeing a model of the statue, “My goodness, I look like a highwayman.”<sup>31</sup> This quote was repeated in Harman’s obituary almost ten

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<sup>30</sup> *Toronto Star*, 1 July 1992; *Vancouver Sun*, 2 July 1992; *Daily News* (Halifax), 1 July 1992.

<sup>31</sup> This comment originated on July 1, 1990 as recorded in “Report of an interview with Her Majesty The Queen on the subject of Her statue on Parliament Hill,” (NCC file 1722-03-07): “After introductions by Dr. Cole, Her Majesty examined the maquette. Her first remark, obviously intended to put everyone at their ease, was ‘Goodness Gracious, I look like a highwayman!’” It was subsequently reported in *Toronto Star*, 1 July 1992; *Vancouver Sun*, 2 July 1992; *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 July 1992.



years later.<sup>32</sup> However, despite this often-repeated observation, which creates an impression of a startlingly daring depiction of the queen, the figure is not particularly daring or controversial, and yet, paradoxically, it is quite innovative. The figure's riding style is a case in point. Traditionally equestrian monument figures are portrayed astride the horse. Although some critics felt that the queen should have been represented riding sidesaddle,<sup>33</sup> a more formal and traditional riding style for a female, the portrayal of the queen astride the horse achieves the goal of informality while simultaneously underlining and maintaining the power and authority of the figure that a sidesaddle figure would have seriously undermined. The figure's accouterments are equally paradoxical. Traditionally, most equestrian monuments are of a military nature and consequently the figure is dressed in formal military garb. The queen is not dressed in a military fashion yet she is not informal either as her cloak would have been worn for public events and state occasions. Perhaps the most informal aspect is the unadorned head. Until recently the Queen's portrait on Canadian coins and paper money has always included some sort of headgear. Since Queen Elizabeth II's crowning in 1952, her image on Canadian coins has undergone four changes. From 1953 to 1964 a young-looking queen was shown in profile with a laurel wreath around her head. In 1965, when she was thirty-nine years old, the laurel wreath was replaced by a simple tiara-like crown. In 1990, a more mature queen was portrayed wearing a larger crown. It was only in 2003, that the queen was finally depicted on Canadian currency with no crown. The recent eightieth-birthday portrait (April 21, 2006), commissioned by the Ascot Authority and painted by Royal Society of Portrait Painters artist Jemma Phipps, depicts the queen in a pink Ascot outfit complete

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<sup>32</sup> Nancy Moote, "B.C. Sculptor's Public Bronzes Raised Eyebrows," *National Post*, 10 January 2001, A12.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* "Even the Queen's equestrian statue raised eyebrows, with some suggesting she should be riding sidesaddle."

with matching hat. Even today, the Queen is rarely seen in public with nothing on her head: indeed she seems to have a hat for every occasion. Thus it may be said that in this regard the actual figure of the queen on the monument is relatively informal, a goal the sculptor and the monument committee wished to achieve. This informality is even more evident when the figure is contrasted with the figure of Queen Victoria on the counterpart monument. While the figure of Queen Elizabeth has few of the familiar and traditional attributes of royalty, Queen Victoria, dressed in robes of state, is portrayed wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. In addition, as mentioned above, Harman's statue is unique because it is the sole example of an equestrian statue of the queen. Regardless of the less than traditional representation of the queen, the equestrian portrait format still references messages of power and authority – messages enhanced by the fact that the statue is mounted atop an elevated base.

The high pedestal has been a part of equestrian monuments dating back to Roman times, and in this regard Harman's monument base upholds tradition, including the idea of equestrian monuments as symbols of power and authority. At the same time, it resists Parliament Hill tradition and trends. Unlike the other high pedestals on the Hill, it does not incorporate any classic motifs such as garlands, pilasters, or columns, and it is not formed by stacking successively smaller, highly polished and finished plinths atop one another. Instead the base is simple and informal, consisting of a rough-hewn, eight-foot-high rectangular block of granite set on a circular, flame-polished plinth. The inscription reads simply "Elizabeth II". Its simplicity is highlighted when contrasted with the massive and dramatic rough-hewn base that supports Falconet's Peter the Great in St. Petersburg. Whether achieved simply or dramatically, the pedestal sets the figure apart

and discourages interaction between viewer and figure, an effect that runs counter to the recent Parliament Hill trend towards lower and more accessible figures as demonstrated by the *King* and *Pearson* monuments. In the final analysis, it may be said that the Queen Elizabeth II monument successfully negotiates a balance between the desired goals of “prominence and informality” - the prominence is achieved by the height of the base, and the informality is achieved through the simplicity of the figure. Ultimately, however, the very nature of the equestrian monument type assures a reading of power and authority no matter how informal or simple the base or the figure. While the Queen Elizabeth II monument resisted the Parliament Hill trend toward lower more accessible figures, it certainly did not reverse the trend, as the next monument reveals.

***Women are Persons!* (Famous Five Monument, Barbara Paterson, 2000)**

Something of a breakthrough occurred with the new millennium when, in 2000, Barbara Paterson’s *Women are Persons!*, more commonly known as the Famous Five Monument, became the first figurative monument to commemorate Canadian citizens other than dead prime ministers on Parliament Hill (fig. 22). The Famous Five monument is atypical and remarkable not only for who it commemorates, but also for the process whereby it found a home on the Hill and for how it (re)presents those it commemorates.

The Famous Five, as they were dubbed by 1920s newspapers, were: Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney, Henrietta Muir Edwards and Irene Parlby – five political pioneers from the prairies who crusaded to have women constitutionally declared to be “persons”. Although women had won the right to vote in federal elections eleven years earlier, in 1918, narrow interpretation of the word “persons” in the British

North America Act denied women the right to be appointed to the Senate of Canada, thereby limiting their opportunities and participation in government and politics. The Persons Case, as it became known, was launched in 1927 by Emily Murphy, a judge at the Edmonton Municipal Court since 1916. After having the case turned down by the Supreme Court in 1928 Murphy and the women who had joined her appealed to the judicial committee of England's Privy Council, which ruled in their favor on October 18, 1929, thus making women eligible to sit in the Canadian Senate. Four months later Cairine Wilson became Canada's first female senator. Given the significance of their contribution to the political, social and legal status of women in Canada, not only through the Persons Case but also individually, this pioneering group certainly deserved recognition for their accomplishments in general and for their 1929 victory in particular. Murphy was Canada's first female judge, McKinney was the first woman to sit in the Alberta legislature, Parlby was elected, in 1921 to the Alberta legislature where she pushed through eighteen bills to improve the lives of women and children, McClung helped Manitoba women win the right to vote in 1916, and Muir Edwards founded the forerunner to the YWCA in 1875 and helped establish the National Council of Women in 1893. They would be the first specific women other than monarchs to be commemorated with a monument in Ottawa.<sup>34</sup> What is surprising, however, is the process whereby the Famous Five found a home on Parliament Hill.

The idea to commemorate the "Famous Five" originated with the Calgary-based Famous 5 Foundation (F5F), a non-profit, charitable corporation established in 1996 by

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<sup>34</sup> There are two busts of specific women in the Parliament Buildings, one commemorating Agnes Macphail, the other Cairine Wilson. Also in the Parliament Buildings is The Canadian Nursing Sisters' Memorial, and the Vietnamese Commemorative Monument at the corner of Preston and Somerset features a non-specific Vietnamese woman.

Frances Wright to “honour the Famous 5 and other Canadian women, commemorate the Persons Case, and inspire, recognize, and celebrate achievement.”<sup>35</sup> Wright and the F5F worked quickly and efficiently to get the monument process rolling as their goal was to produce two monuments, one to be unveiled in Calgary on the seventieth anniversary of the Famous Five court victory (October 18, 1999) and the other in Ottawa the following year. An invitation to artists went out in February 1997 and by June three had been chosen to produce maquettes: Helen Granger Young, Mary-Ann Liu and Barbara Paterson.<sup>36</sup> By September the three maquettes were on display for public viewing at galleries in Calgary and Ottawa, and the site for the Calgary commemoration had been approved (the west end of Olympic Plaza). In October Barbara Paterson’s design was chosen and Frances Wright was in Ottawa checking out potential sites along Confederation Boulevard proposed by the NCC. But Wright and the F5F had their sights set on Parliament Hill, a location that, according to NCC rules, was reserved for dead prime ministers, fathers of confederation and monarchs. It would take an order from Parliament to make an exception.<sup>37</sup> Like the Famous Five before them, the F5F and Frances Wright were undaunted by the challenge and unwilling to take “No” for an answer. They set out to lobby members of Parliament to vote in their favour. It did not take long. On December 10, 1997 an *Ottawa Citizen* headline announced, “Famous Five Make History Again: All Parties Expected to Support Hill Site for Statue.” Although the resolution was supported by all five political parties in the House of Commons, it was opposed by the one independent member of parliament. The next day, after four more

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<sup>35</sup>This is an often-repeated general goal that appears on various communications as well as in “F5F Goals,” which outlines specific goals. NCC file 1722-09.

<sup>36</sup> See Maria Bohuslawsky, “Three Sites Considered for Statue of Women’s Rights Activists, *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 September 1997, B1+ for artist and maquette details, descriptions and illustrations.

<sup>37</sup> Maria Bohuslawsky, “Famous 5 Stake Claim on the Hill,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 November 1997, A1.

attempts, the motion was finally passed unanimously. In defiance of rules and counter to tradition the Famous Five monument found a home on Parliament Hill. On October 19, 2000, seventy-one years after winning the right to be legally declared persons, the first monument to Canadian women was unveiled on Parliament Hill.

In addition to being the first monument on the Hill to commemorate Canadian women, *Women Are Persons!* is unique in how it (re)presents the figures.<sup>38</sup> Located on a site chosen by a five-member committee chaired by Public Works Minister Alfonso Gagliano in 1999,<sup>39</sup> it is fittingly situated in close proximity to the Centre Block and the East Block; the Centre Block being home to the Senate, that body of government to which the group had gained access for women, and the East Block containing many senators' offices. It is equally fitting that the monument to William Lyon Mackenzie King stands nearby as he was prime minister at the time of the Persons Case and he was a strong supporter of women's rights. Like the nearby King monument, and following the Parliament Hill trend towards lower, more approachable commemorations, the Famous Five monument offers a ground-level, walk-through, *mise en scène* presentation that is unique on the Hill.

As reported in the *Edmonton Journal*, Barbara Paterson described the structure and characters:

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<sup>38</sup> It may be noted here that the monument is unique on Parliament Hill in another paradoxical way. It is the first that is not exclusive to the Hill. While it had been proposed that additional castings of deceased prime ministers represented on Parliament Hill be made available for display in communities with "a special affiliation with the former Prime Minister in question" in order to strengthen the links and enhance the image of the capital (Secret Memorandum to Cabinet, "Commemorative Statues of Prime Ministers," 1988, NCC file 1722-03-02), in fact, all Hill monuments prior to the Famous Five are unique to the Hill. In contrast, as noted earlier, the Famous Five monument is the second casting of the statue grouping, with the original casting located in Calgary.

<sup>39</sup> Norm Ovenden, "Prominent Site Picked for First Hill Statue Honouring Women," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 January 1999, A7.

Nellie McClung is holding the newspaper. “In her case this is symbolic because she was a writer and that was her claim to fame. She was always the one in her speeches who was most full of fun and engaging.”

Irene Parlby is pointing to the newspaper. “She was a very smart, elegant woman. Originally from England, she had style. The rest were average women of the times. She always wore striking clothing.”

Emily Murphy is standing by the chair. “She was a primary organizer, along with McClung. She brought the others together partly because they were strong and partly because they needed five signatures. The empty chair symbolizes an invitation for everyone to come in and join them.”

Louise McKinney sits at the table, wearing a hat. “She is striking a pose of gentle excitement. A temperance woman, she is wearing a temperance ribbon.”

Henrietta Muir Edwards is raising her cup. “She was about 80 at the time and she is toasting the fact that the two have come in with the newspaper announcing that women are persons. The tea party is symbolic that they met over tea a number of times. I am not sure if they did it because their husbands thought they were just out for tea rather than plotting.”<sup>40</sup>

The scene unfolds on a large (approximately 15' x 15') ground-level stage composed of brick-like paving stones, set within a ten-inch grey granite border and surrounded by a second, paler, grey granite block frame. The overall effect is carpet-like and gives the impression of containing the figures within a room. The figures are widely spread around the stage but still convey a sense of intimacy through gestures and looks. Although this arrangement is theatrical in presentation, those who visit the monument are not merely spectators or viewers. Inevitably visitors to this monument become participants. The Famous Five monument is without doubt among the most informal and accessible monuments on Parliament Hill. However, while the Lester Pearson and Mackenzie King statues are both informal in pose and accessible due to their low bases, but the Famous Five grouping goes even further in this direction. The low base is replaced by the carpet-like stage that the viewer is free to walk onto from any direction. In addition, the

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

sculpture has been designed so that at least one of the figures is facing the viewer no matter from what direction the monument is approached. The easy accessibility to this room-like stage setting is enhanced by the informality of the figures and the familiarity of the stage props or accessories such as chairs and table, teacups and newspaper. As mentioned above, the empty chair acts as an invitation to everyone to come in and join the women and most visitors to the memorial do just that. Prior to the unveiling, F5F president Frances Wright predicted, "I have no doubt it will be the most-loved monument on Parliament Hill."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, it has become a favorite. On any sunny day, visitors may be seen photographing each other seated on the empty chair beside Emily Murphy, reading the headlines on the newspaper that Nellie McClung holds, or touching the teacups located on the table between Louise McKinney and Henrietta Muir Edwards. Visitors are drawn to the monument by the accessible ground level presentation, the informal and approachable figures and the comfortable familiarity of the tea party setting.

With the Famous Five monument the elusive balance between prominence and informality is finally achieved. Although these objectives were formally set out only in 1989 by the duToit, Allsopp, Hillier report *Site Selection and Design Guidelines for a Statue of Queen Elizabeth II on Parliament Hill*, which builds on the recommendations put forward in *Capital Commemoration: An Urban Design Study for Memorials in the Core of the National Capital* (1988), it seems that this was the direction Parliament Hill commemorations had been headed starting with the lower monument bases of the Laurier and Borden statues and continuing with the ground-level presentation of Mackenzie King. As was mentioned earlier, according to the duToit report statue prominence is expressed "in one or all of three ways: the size and height of the statue, the extent and

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<sup>41</sup> Kate Jaimet, "Famous 5 Statue Ready for Unveiling," *National Post*, 13 October 2000, A11.



character of its 'spatial envelope', and the potency and visibility of its location."<sup>42</sup> The Famous Five grouping achieves its prominence in all three ways. With regard to size, all the figures are considerably larger than life size and the tableau setting gives them a sense of drama. Monument height is achieved not through the use of an elevated base but rather by its location on an elevated site, the hill behind the East Block. The statues gain even greater prominence by being the focus of this spatial envelope. The report states that "[a] statue will be prominent if it commands a large space, and will gain even greater importance if the form and geometry of the spatial envelope emphasize the statue as the focus of the space."<sup>43</sup> The Famous Five grouping manages to visually dominate the site behind the East Block by sheer size and appeal at eye level, thus drawing the viewers' gaze and attention away from the Queen Elizabeth monument despite its raised pedestal, and away from the solitary figure of the Mackenzie King monument despite its ground-level presentation. Clearly, the Famous Five monument is the most prominent commemoration in this spatial envelope.

But what does this monument tell us about women in Ottawa's commemorative landscape? Janice Monk suggests that in general, urban landscapes of Western societies convey "a heritage of masculine power, accomplishment and heroism." As well, Monk observes that in these landscapes "women are largely invisible, present occasionally if they enter the male sphere of politics or militarism." Finally Monk notes that "representation of these women may only be achieved when other women work together to support construction."<sup>44</sup> Indeed, Ottawa's commemorative landscape has historically been dominated by representations of masculine power, accomplishment and heroism.

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<sup>42</sup> duToit, Allsopp, Hillier, *Site Selection and Design*, 7.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Monk, "Gender in the Landscape," 123-126.

Uniquely in this landscape, the Famous Five monument owes its existence to contemporary women. What Janice Monk fails to observe, however, is that even when women come together to alter the commemorative landscape by honouring historic women with monuments, the result may not always be as successful as anticipated. Without doubt the intention of the Famous 5 Foundation was to pay tribute to a group of pioneering Canadian women and to commemorate the Persons' Case and by extension to give the commemorative urban landscape a more feminine face. This desire is hinted at in numerous newspaper accounts. For example: "The monument . . . came as a result of a modernized tilt against the old boys' network," "This is an extraordinary recognition of Canadian women . . .,"<sup>45</sup> and "I believe it's high time this happened, for these women of courage and determination helped to shape Canada and all Canadians deserve to know about them."<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the monument does help to balance the male-dominated commemorative landscape of Parliament Hill by making visible the accomplishments and heroism of five historic Canadian women. Yet, although the Famous Five were pioneering women in their time, commemorated in our time by a thematically groundbreaking, stylistically innovative monument, the latter does not truly change the meaning of the commemorative landscape in Ottawa. Analysis and interpretation reveal how even this contemporary monument, conceived and designed by women, continues to articulate and support stereotypical gender roles and the same patriarchal cultural values established over a century ago.

Admittedly, the Parliament Hill setting inscribes the Famous Five monument with political and national significance, yet a systematic and critical examination and

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<sup>45</sup> Ovenden, "Prominent Site," A7.

<sup>46</sup> Adrienne Clarkson as quoted by Brad Evenson, "Famous 5 Win Another Fight as Memorial Unveiled," *National Post*, 19 October 2000, A6.

discussion of the monument reveals “ways in which the material bases for nationalist imaginings emerge and are structured symbolically,” and exposes underlying binary oppositions, inherent in the monument, that maintain and support a patriarchal status quo. The most obvious opposition is the public/private sphere dichotomy. A quick survey of Parliament Hill monument figures reveals that without exception the male figures are represented in a public sphere. This is made clear by the figures’ attire, the accompanying attributes, and/or the activity engaged in. For example: Cartier is represented dressed in a frock coat, in the midst of debate, and gesturing to an official document held in his hand; Sir John A. Macdonald and Alexander Mackenzie are represented in a similar fashion. George Hill’s monuments to George Brown and Thomas D’Arcy McGee both reveal politicians engaged in public oration; Borden is depicted wearing a greatcoat and clutching the document he brought to the 1919 peace conference following World War I. The most arguably domestic male figure on the Hill is that of Lester Pearson who, as mentioned above, is represented sitting on a chair. Whether the chair is his House of Commons chair or a common office chair is of little importance, as clearly the monument represents a man dressed for work, who although at ease and physically inactive, appears to be deep in thought, or engaged in intellectual, not domestic activity. Over time these Parliament Hill monuments have constructed and maintained an ideology of active male participation in and association with politics and the act of nation-building, thereby naturalizing the image of the male politician as a decidedly public figure.

This contrasts sharply with how the Famous Five women are represented.

Although innovative in its conception, the Famous Five monument places the women in the domestic sphere as denoted by the rug-like platform, the inclusion of household table

and chairs and the teatime ritual activity. Despite the fact that each of these five women actively participated in public and political life, the moment the sculptor has chosen to capture for posterity returns the women to the private sphere of the home where they are represented celebrating their legal victory by raising a cup of tea. It seems ironic that having won the constitutional status of 'persons' for Canadian women, thereby giving women the right to participate in all facets of public life including appointment to the Senate and federal courts, these women are represented in the parlor drinking tea. Their politicized bodies are domesticated: the unruly woman is tamed. Judge Emily Murphy, described by a second cousin as being "incredibly overbearing," "a rabble rouser and a very pugnacious lady who simply didn't take no for an answer," and who "men in the family had a great deal of difficulty understanding" is depicted not in her robes of office, but instead wearing a middy blouse, a popular clothing item of the time worn by women and children and appropriate attire for the home. The unruly outspoken sort like Henrietta Muir Edwards, who campaigned against corsets, urging women to throw them out because "they squash your organs,"<sup>47</sup> sedately raises a cup of tea. Attributes such as scrolls and official documents that accompany the male political monument figures and act as signifiers of the figures' active political lives are replaced by teacups and a newspaper on the Famous Five monument. Whereas the scroll held in the hand of a male politician acts as a sign of his intellectual activity, the newspaper brought into the house by Nellie McClung, although a sign of the public and the political, functions more as a mediator between the public and the private. The newspaper tells their story for them; it becomes their public voice. In effect these five women are silenced and they become mere actors on a stage that bears little resemblance to the reality of their public and

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<sup>47</sup> Maria Bohuslawsky, "Famous 5 Stake Claim on the Hill," *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 November 1997, A2.

political lives. Whereas the male political figures are formal and dignified, these politicized women are informal, intimate and homely. For the most part, the men appear distant and aloof, while the Famous Five women appear friendly and are easily accessible. The women are not themselves, they are other: they are what man is not. As Ailbhe Smyth suggests in her interpretation of the Anna Livia Plurabella monument in Dublin (Eamonn O'Doherty, 1987), woman is an empty signifier, powerless to ascribe any meanings other than those prescribed by culture.<sup>48</sup> Thus the monument strips the women of their individual identities and accomplishments and replaces them by woman as sign and symbol, homebody, not somebody, as the sign of difference.

Another opposition in how the Famous Five women and the male political figures are represented involves the notion of the individual versus the collective. Whereas the men are shown as unique individuals, the women are synonymous with unity and togetherness. This notion of woman as a collective is spelled out in a newspaper article that states that the Barbara Paterson work "shows the Famous 5 gathered in a circle that is meant to capture a feeling of togetherness, not only among the five women but women everywhere."<sup>49</sup> This interpretation of the female solidarity represented by the monument may be contrasted with a reading of the nearby Baldwin/Lafontaine monument (Walter Seymour Allward, 1914) (fig. 9), the only monument on Parliament Hill to commemorate two statesmen on a single memorial. According to Terry Guernsey, the Baldwin/Lafontaine monument is meant to represent the "service and peaceful collaboration between differing peoples which had formed the foundation of the British

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<sup>48</sup> Ailbhe, Smyth, "The Floozie in the Jacuzzi," *Feminist Studies* 17.1 (Spring, 1991): 6-28. Anna Livia Plurabella is a character from James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939).

<sup>49</sup> Maria Bohuslawsky, "'Famous 5' Sculpture Design Chosen," *Ottawa Citizen*, 17 October 1997, D1.

Empire,” in this case the French of Lower Canada and the English of Upper Canada.<sup>50</sup> Robert Baldwin and Sir Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine were important figures in the movement toward responsible government in pre-Confederation Canada. But make no mistake, the figures of Baldwin and Lafontaine do not act as sign of English culture and French culture in Canada; this task is left to the reclining female allegories carved in low relief on the long, curved, wall-like pedestal atop which stand the two political figures. Guernsey describes the allegories thus: “Below Baldwin reclines a partially clothed female figure. Representing Upper Canada, she is associated with a plow, while across from her a similar figure beside the prow of a ship, is identified as Bas Canada.”<sup>51</sup> Symbols of a crown and fleur-de-lis further define each character while other symbols or attributes such as the mace, symbol of government, and the down-turned sword of justice further testify to the characters and ideals of the individual men. They stand together on the same monument but they are separate, each with their own unique identity. The linearity of the Baldwin/Lafontaine monument and separateness of the two named men and what they stand for is far different from the Famous Five circle of women with its single, unified meaning. The female allegories that often graced the pedestals of monuments to famous male historical figures a century ago have been replaced in the twenty-first century memorial landscape by images of real historical women such as Louise McKinney, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Irene Parlby and Henrietta Muir Edwards, who continue to function as abstract symbols of women under patriarchy. Marina Warner writes: “The body is still the map on which we mark our meanings; it is chief among metaphors used to see and present ourselves . . . men often appear as

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<sup>50</sup> Guernsey, *Statues*, 63.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

themselves, as individuals, but women attest the identity and value of someone or something else.”<sup>52</sup>

So what is the identity and the value of women in the nation as represented on the Famous Five monument? It seems that little has changed since the turn of the twentieth century when Victorian culture prescribed an “angel in the house” role for women. The Victorian ideal of woman as domestic goddess, made popular by literary works such as Coventry Patmore’s *Angel in the House* (1854), has proved a difficult model to overcome. A woman’s role according to this model is confined to the domestic sphere and defined by the needs and desires of the family. Despite brief periods during both world wars when many women entered the workforce out of necessity, the prevailing ideology throughout the twentieth century has continued to be that a woman’s place is in the home. Although increasingly women work outside the home, the burden of domestic responsibility still rests largely on women. In 1931, Virginia Woolf expressed her struggle to overcome the “angel in the house” stereotype in a presentation to the Women’s Service League of a paper entitled “Professions for Women”. In her paper Woolf observed that, as a woman writer, killing the “angel in the house” was a part of her occupation, yet “[i]t is far harder to kill a phantom than a reality.”<sup>53</sup> The “angel in the house” phantom is indeed difficult to kill. Even on Parliament Hill, where monuments celebrate and commemorate the lives of public political figures, home continues to be the ‘natural’ place for women.

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<sup>52</sup> Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens* (New York: Antheum, 1985), 331.

<sup>53</sup> Virginia Woolf, “Professions for Women: A Paper Read to The Women’s Service League,” in *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace, 1942), 238.

## **On the Boulevard**

Outside the gates of Parliament Hill, along Confederation Boulevard and in the parks abutting it, the two relocated monuments (*Terry Fox* and *Anishinabe Scout*) and two new monuments (the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, and the Monument to Canadian Fallen) tell a story similar to that presented above but with a slight twist. Just as the Famous Five monument acknowledges the participation of Canadian women in the nation-building process, the *Anishinabe Scout* and the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument acknowledge First Nations while the Monument to Canadian Fallen brings children into the narrative as well. Just as the Famous Five are represented in traditional gender roles, otherness in the monuments continues to be constructed in a patriarchal manner. However, representations of the heroic male such as *Terry Fox* and the soldier on the Monument to Canadian Fallen also reveal the emergence of a new type of masculinity.

### ***Terry Fox* (John Hooper, 1983)**

The Terry Fox story is one that most Canadians are familiar with and it is recorded on the didactic panel located adjacent to the monument (fig. 23). That panel states:

On April 12, 1980 Terry Fox began his dream to run across Canada in support of cancer research by dipping his artificial leg into the Atlantic waters off St. John's Newfoundland. Terry's run, which he called the Marathon of Hope, would do so much more by uniting Canadians in support of his heroic desire to better the lives of others. On September 1, near Thunder Bay, Ontario and 5, 373 kilometers later, Terry's footsteps ceased as cancer reclaimed his body. Ten months later, it would claim his life. Yet Terry's heroism and determination live on in the hearts of not only Canadians but all people worldwide who continue to pursue his dream by raising money annually in the fight against cancer. Terry's steps still echo in the



legacy he continues to weave today through the example he set for all of us: that dreams can come true.

Fox, who had lost his leg to bone cancer, died on June 28, 1981. Since his death he has been the recipient of many honours and commemorations. Numerous streets, parks and schools across Canada now bear his name. His image is on a postage stamp (1982) and in 2005 he became the first Canadian featured on a one-dollar coin.

On July 8, less than one month after Fox's death, the former Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (RMOC) "sought to establish a fitting tribute to Terry Fox, a national hero, which would forever 'record the capturing of the spirit of all Canadians' which occurred when his Marathon of Hope reached Ottawa-Carlton on July 1, 1980."<sup>54</sup> For this purpose the RMOC set aside a sum of \$100,000 "for the creation of a life-size bronze statue, which was to depict a realistic portrayal of Terry Fox on his Marathon of Hope."<sup>55</sup> On the advice of the Arts Advisory Council of the NCC, the RMOC invited five artists to submit maquettes: William McElcheran of Toronto, George Ramell of Vancouver, Leo Mol of Winnipeg, John Hooper of New Brunswick and Joe Fafard of Saskatchewan.<sup>56</sup> Hooper submitted the winning entry. The completed monument shows a somewhat larger than life bronze figure in mid-stride. Hooper's depiction captures Fox's lop-sided gait made famous during the spring and summer of 1980 as he made his way across Canada on his artificial leg. For those who did not see him in person as he ran through each community, the event was followed more and more closely in the printed press and on radio and television news as his journey progressed. The monument depicts Fox's face "contorted in an arresting mixture of concentration and

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<sup>54</sup> "Motion No. 97." NCC file 1722-4-9,

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> David Evans, "Region Unveils Possible Fox Memorials" *Ottawa Citizen* (undated). NCC file 1722-4-9., This short article includes illustrations of three of the five submissions.

pain,”<sup>57</sup> an expression made familiar by the media coverage. The bronze figure is placed on a very simple, smoothly finished, square granite base that is approximately thirty inches high. The monument was first unveiled on September 17, 1983 outside the Rideau Center on the southwest corner of Wellington and Sussex, at the entrance to a pedestrian underpass. The statue was sited facing west to reflect the east to west direction of Fox’s Marathon of Hope.

Although the suitability of the original site was a subject of debate for a number of years as it was felt the below street level location reduced its visibility,<sup>58</sup> it was not until 1997/1998, when Sheila Copps, then heritage minister, got involved, that action was taken to relocate the monument. In October 1997, Copps “announced an initiative to develop a walkway through the capital that would enable Canadians to focus on individuals who, by their actions and example, have contributed to [the] country.” The goal of Copps’s project, known as the “Path of Heroes,” is to broaden Canadians’ “awareness and appreciation of these heroes and, in the process, add a rich dimension to [the] capital.”<sup>59</sup> As a first step toward achieving this goal, Copps proposed the relocation of the Terry Fox monument to a more prominent position on Confederation Boulevard; specifically, the plaza in front of the Capital Infocenter located at the corner of Wellington and Metcalfe, and directly opposite the front entrance to Parliament Hill. Furthermore, Copps wanted the monument moved in time for a Canada Day unveiling, “thus ensuring a truly national audience” for the event. In consultation with the Fox family and the artist and with the approval of RMOC and Marcel Beaudry, then chair of

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<sup>57</sup> Grant Kerr, “On the Move,” *Saint John Times Globe*, 30 June 1998, A1+.

<sup>58</sup> See Joanne Laucius, “Terry Fox Statue May be Headed to Path of Heroes,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 8 March 1998, B1.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from Sheila Copps. to Alfonso Gagliano, M.P., 30 April 1998. NCC file 1722-4-9.

the NCC, the statue was relocated. On July 1, 1998, following the noon-hour Canada Day festivities on Parliament Hill, the monument was rededicated during a short ceremony that included Fox's parents, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Governor-General Roméo LeBlanc and Heritage Minister Sheila Copps. At its new location across the street from Parliament Hill and directly opposite *Sir Galahad, Terry Fox*, along with *Sir Galahad*, offers a fine example of the evolution of the heroic male ideal over the century that separates them. At the same time, however, they "reinforc[e] the ongoing heroism of youth and its role in building this country."<sup>60</sup>

Had Terry Fox lived and died a century ago he might very well have been commemorated in the same way as Henry Albert Harper was – with a statue of Sir Galahad. In reality, Fox, a modern Canadian hero, and Harper, a hero from a bygone era, have more in common than not. Both were young men. Fox died a month short of his twenty-third birthday, Harper, three days shy of his twenty-eighth. Both acted with courage and selflessness. Both lost their lives while attempting to save others: Harper directly and Fox indirectly.

A century ago, the choice to commemorate Harper with a statue of Sir Galahad had both cultural and personal significance. Culturally, Arthurian figures such as Galahad played a large role in Victorian notions of manly chivalry, as witnessed by numerous texts and images of the time (see Chapter 2). At a personal level, Sir Galahad was Harper's hero, a legendary figure whose qualities he strove to emulate and embody. The monument functioned on two levels: as a commemoration of a heroic individual and as a symbol of the manly qualities that were important to the society of the time. One hundred years later, thanks to widespread media coverage, the Terry Fox figure is equally iconic

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

and resonant. While Sir Galahad embodies qualities of both the cerebral/spiritual and the physical, the Terry Fox monument shifts the emphasis to the physical and pushes the cerebral/spiritual into the background. This is a reflection of a shift in Canada from an earlier, more religious population to today's more secular society. Whereas Sir Galahad was on a spiritual quest for the holy grail, Fox was on a secular quest: to raise money for cancer research. Both Fox and Galahad set about their quests with single-minded and relentless determination. In many ways the search for a cure for cancer is the secular equivalent of the search for the holy grail. In legend Sir Galahad had success in his quest, and in real life Terry Fox achieved an equivalent success. To date, hundreds of millions of dollars have been raised for cancer research through the annual Terry Fox runs.

Today's emphasis on the physical qualities of manliness is also reflected by/in the growing trend to honour and commemorate sports heroes. Such is the case of Montreal Canadiens hockey player Maurice "The Rocket" Richard (1921-2000), whose commemorative monument, known formally as *Never Give Up!*,<sup>61</sup> joined that of Terry Fox on the Path of Heroes on June 27, 2001. Located in Jacques-Cartier Park on Laurier Street (a part of Confederation Boulevard that loops into Quebec) in Gatineau, just across the Ottawa River from Parliament Hill and not far from the Museum of Civilization, the bronze statue captures Richard about to fire off a wrist shot as he skates down the ice in full hockey gear. At the unveiling ceremony Sheila Copps declared:

Maurice Richard was one of the greatest athletes of his generation. He was acclaimed by the crowds and admired because he embodied values that were dear to his fellow citizens throughout his life. If he were here today, Maurice Richard would tell young people that passion and determination can move mountains and make dreams reality. He would tell them to "never quit." The Rocket is a model,

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<sup>61</sup>The firm Au Coeur Du Bronze designed the monument, and the statue was rendered, moulded and expanded by Atelier Attitudes under the direction of Jules Lasalle.

an idol and a hero for generations of Canadians.<sup>62</sup>

Richard's son, Maurice Richard, Jr., also present at the unveiling ceremony, stated:

"Today he is not just a legend but a national hero . . . [whose] example will serve as motivation for all who want to succeed in life."<sup>63</sup> Richard's iconic status as sports hero is also revealed in and highlighted by the traveling exhibition organized by the Museum of Civilization in 2004 and entitled *Rocket Richard: The Legend, The Legacy*.<sup>64</sup> In life, both Richard and Fox relied on their passion and determination and in death both are remembered by monuments that put a strong emphasis on the physical aspects of their achievements.

While the image of the heroic male was showing signs of shifting and evolving at the end of the millennium, was the image of First Nations people evolving as well? As illustrated by the relocation of the Indian scout figure from the base of the *Champlain* monument on Nepean Point to nearby Major's Hill Park, the answer is "No."

### *Anishinabe Scout* (Hamilton MacCarthy)

As discussed earlier, the Champlain monument was first unveiled in 1915 to commemorate the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the explorer's second trip up the Ottawa River. The one and a half times life-size figure of Champlain standing atop the substantial pedestal, was joined by the life-size scout figure, which was added to the base of the monument during the early 1920s, some time prior to 1924.<sup>65</sup> As has been explained, the

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<sup>62</sup> Minister of Canadian Heritage Website. News Release dated June 27, 2001, "Maurice Richard Monument Unveiled," <http://www.pch.gc.ca/newsroom/index> (March 13, 2008).

<sup>63</sup> "Rocket Richard Immortalized," *Leader Post* (Regina) 28 June 2001, B3.

<sup>64</sup> Following its showing at the Museum of Civilization, the exhibition was in Montreal at the Musée du Château Ramezay, from December 2007 until April 2008.

<sup>65</sup> A date of 1918 is offered by *Street Smart* a yearly publication of the NCC that acts as "a guide to art on the streets of Canada's Capital Region" (Ottawa: NCC, 2007/08), 23.

scout figure was originally intended by the artist to be seated in a canoe, but by 1920 the sponsoring group, a citizen's committee, had not raised enough funds to complete the original design. Instead, the figure holds a hunting bow rather than a paddle and there is no canoe. A plaque affixed to the pedestal identifies Champlain as, "The First Great Canadian." The scout figure is not mentioned.

It has been observed that "[m]onumental space offer[s] each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage"<sup>66</sup> and throughout the twentieth century, this particular "monumental space" offered Canadians and First Nations an image of themselves with which they were apparently comfortable - that is, until 1996. In June 1996, Ovide Mercredi, then-grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), held a ceremony on Nepean Point during which he covered the scout figure at the base of the Champlain monument with a blanket. Claiming that the crouching figure, naked except for a loin cloth, was demeaning to Aboriginal people, Mercredi gave the NCC one year to remove it. In October 1996, the NCC announced that it would remove the offending figure and place it in storage to await possible future use.<sup>67</sup> Public reaction to the news was swift and mixed. Within days, the NCC had received dozens of telephone calls - mostly negative - and of the five hundred callers to the *Ottawa Citizen's* touchline, about three-quarters were opposed to the statue's removal.<sup>68</sup> While many callers felt that "history" should not be changed to suit the times, most also acknowledged the uneven power relationship the monument was now seen to signify.

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<sup>66</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans., Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 220.

<sup>67</sup> Jack Aubry, "NCC Agrees to Remove 'Offensive' Indian Statue," *Ottawa Citizen*, 1 October 1996, A1.

<sup>68</sup> Jack Aubry, "Indian Scout Figure on Disputed Statue Was Late Addition," *Ottawa Citizen*, 3 October 1996, C1. And Kelly Egan, "The Battle of Nepean Point," *Ottawa Citizen*, 4 October 1996, D3. It is impossible to know the cultural background of each caller, although some callers did self-identify.

Dennis Reid, curator of Canadian art at the Art Gallery of Ontario, observed that “as soon as you set up relationships between figures, you create a hierarchy” and that here “it’s clear the great hero is Champlain.”<sup>69</sup> Madeleine Dion Stout, then a professor of Canadian Studies at Carleton University, remarked that this type of representation of the “noble savage” was common at the turn of the twentieth century and that removing the statue might simply “erase our memory of that part of history,” whereas renaming the monument to reflect the partnership of the two figures might be a better solution.<sup>70</sup> Others suggested that the position of the two figures be altered placing the scout on top and Champlain below.<sup>71</sup>

On October 1, 1999, the Anishinabe scout was moved from the base of the Champlain monument to its new location at the north end of Major’s Hill Park, a site agreed upon by the NCC and the AFN (fig. 24). The move brought no further outcry and the controversy seemed to be resolved to the satisfaction of those involved. At the inauguration, Phil Fontaine, national chief of the AFN, said that “the new site, with the scout looking up-river, is an excellent choice. This ‘magnificent’ work of art is a noble figure that reflects the strength of our community and our place in society. Above all, it is no longer at the feet of one inaccurately portrayed as a founder of this land.”<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the Anishinabe scout was no longer at Champlain’s feet, but had he really escaped the colonial system of signification in which he was created and in which he had existed over the decades?

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<sup>69</sup> Christopher Hume, “Is Removing Indian Statue Tampering With History?” *Toronto Star*, 13 October 1996, A18.

<sup>70</sup> Jack Aubry, “Sculptor’s Family Vows to Fight NCC,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 7 October 1996, D2.

<sup>71</sup> Egan, “The Battle of Nepean Point,” D3.

<sup>72</sup> Graham Hughes, “Native Statue Receives Own Spot,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 October 1999, A3.

The answer is suggested in Stephen Slemon's essay entitled "Monuments of Empire." The author writes that whereas some figures and events have the capacity to signify, "colonized cultures must always remain uninscribed. Their communal practices of quotidian existence, their cultural acts of self-definition and resistance, are written out of the record; and in the process, subjugated peoples are 'troped' into figures in a colonial pageant, 'people without history' whose capacity to signify cannot exceed that which is demarcated for them by the semiotic system that speaks for the colonizing culture."<sup>73</sup> In other words, moving the Indian scout out of Champlain's shadow does not remove him from the semiotic system of the colonizing culture. Although the signs and significations are more subtle, the scout continues to be read against codes of Western culture. He remains Other. Removed from the base of the Champlain monument, the figure loses its historical specificity and instead becomes a timeless, ahistorical figure - a stereotype of Indianness, the "noble savage" of Western culture's imagination. Whereas the scout used to be in plain sight, set atop Nepean Point, he now lurks among the bushes and trees at the north end of Major's Hill Park where he has been, quite literally, returned to nature. Despite his 'natural' setting/siting, when viewed or photographed from almost any angle the scout is framed against culture, most notably the National Gallery of Canada to the east, and Parliament Hill to the west. Detached from the base of the Champlain monument, the scout's near nakedness goes from being merely exotic to openly erotic. The viewer/voyeur is now free to circle the crouching figure, to admire and photograph the 'magnificent' physique from any angle, a point made amply clear by Jeff Thomas in

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<sup>73</sup> Stephen Slemon, "Monuments of Empire: Allegory/Counter-Discourse/Post-Colonial Writing," *Kunapipi* 9.3 (1987): 5.



his photographic essay “Scouting for Indians.”<sup>74</sup> The exotic/erotic nature of this figure type was not lost on the Lise Watier cosmetic company, which used a crouching Indian figure to promote a new perfume in 2003 (see fig. 25). Clearly, the scout continues to signify otherness – he has changed location, but not meaning.

Yet this new “monumental space” seems to offer most Aboriginals and other Canadians an acceptable image of First Nations membership in Canadian society.<sup>75</sup> At the inauguration Phil Fontaine expressed the AFN’s position that the figure “reflects the strength of our community and our place in society.” NCC chairperson Marcel Beaudry noted that “the commission is sensitive to, and supportive of, the appropriate representation of the Aboriginal peoples.” Hamilton MacCarthy’s great grandson observed that “the statue now takes its rightful place in the capital.”<sup>76</sup> We are comfortable with the Anishinabe scout. Is this not perhaps at least in part because, in its new location, the figure is now closer to the “Indian” of our imaginations - the solitary “noble savage,” alone with, and at home in, nature? The Anishinabe scout remains a figure in the colonial pageant, a figure without history whose ability to signify cannot exceed the semiotic system set by Western culture. This raises the question: Does Noel Lloyd Pinay’s National Aboriginal Veterans Monument (unveiled on Confederation Boulevard, 2001) manage to challenge this semiotic system?

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<sup>74</sup> Jeffrey Thomas, “Scouting for Indians,” in *Bearings* (Ottawa: Gallery 101, 2001): 47-59.

<sup>75</sup> Jeff Thomas (from the Onondaga tribe) is one who questions stereotyped First Nations images in general and the AFN’s actions in particular with regard to the Champlain monument.

<sup>76</sup> Hughes, “Native Statue Receives Own Spot,” A3.

### **National Aboriginal Veterans Monument (Noel Lloyd Pinay, 2001)**

Canada's monument to Aboriginal veterans was dedicated on National Aboriginal Day, June 21, 2001 (fig. 26). As a monument to both the historic involvement of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian wars and a symbol of their spiritual values, this relatively recent public sculpture is a rich source of iconographic detail. Paid for by funds raised through the National Aboriginal Veterans Association (NAVA), and designed by an Aboriginal artist, the monument is located in Confederation Park, site of a number of other war-related monuments such as Hamilton MacCarthy's South African War Memorial (1902). Facing onto Confederation Boulevard (Elgin Street), it is a short walk south from the National War Memorial. In the discussion that follows two important questions are addressed: Does the monument truly add an(o)ther voice to our national history? And does the monument successfully challenge the semiotic system of Western culture mentioned above?

The monument is the work of Noel Lloyd Pinay, a status Indian from Saskatchewan, who at the time of the commission in 1996 had already completed commissions for the Royal Saskatchewan Museum and at Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan. More recently his statue honouring Chief Whitecap (Wapahaska) was unveiled in Saskatoon in 2006. While working on the Aboriginal veterans monument, Pinay expressed his hope that it "might play a part in correcting the historical record."<sup>77</sup> Steve Arnold of the *Hamilton Spectator* reveals some of that historical record: "Native people volunteered in a ratio far ahead of their actual population, despite the facts they couldn't vote or buy a drink." "One in three native men of eligible age for service – about 4,000 – enlisted during the First World War. During the Second World War at least 3,090 natives

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<sup>77</sup> "Monument Will Honor Contribution of Native Vets," *Windspeaker* 14.8 (December 1996): 4.

enlisted, including seventy-two women. More than 200 were killed and seventeen earned decorations for bravery in action.”<sup>78</sup> Official figures reflect only status native volunteers, and do not account for non-status natives, Métis, Inuit, and natives from Newfoundland, which officially joined Canada in 1949. NAVA estimates the true figure for both wars at closer to 20,000.<sup>79</sup> Many were compelled to renounce their treaty status in order to enlist and on returning to Canada after the First World War found themselves caught in limbo between status and non-status government policies and were denied or simply not told about benefits they were entitled to. Arnold writes that “supporters of the monument project admit it won’t erase those past insults, but it will at least acknowledge they happened.”<sup>80</sup>

The National Aboriginal Veterans Monument is not easily identifiable as a war memorial. The familiar iconography of uniformed soldiers and military weapons commonly found on figurative war memorials is replaced by First Nations figures, and symbols. At the 2008 *International Day for Monuments and Sites* presented by the NCC (an occasion for visitors and residents to learn more about monuments located in the heart of Ottawa), the interpretive guide offered an explanation of some of the symbols: the eagle at the top of the monument represents the creator of all Aboriginal people. Below the eagle are four human figures (visible from the waist up) representing different Aboriginal groups. The Métis figure holds a rifle, while the Inuit holds a spear. The First Nations man holds a peace pipe, while the West Coast woman holds an eagle feather. The two weapons (rifle and spear), are balanced by the two spiritual items (peace pipe and feather), implying that peace is often achieved at the cost of war. Below the human

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<sup>78</sup> Steve Arnold, “Hoping Memories of Bravery Soar Again,” *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1998, F5.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

figures, four animals (also represented from mid-body upwards) act as spirit guides: the wolf symbolizes intelligence; the bear, power; the bison, strength; and the elk, agility and speed. The entire bronze ensemble is set atop a square granite base that is approximately eight feet high. A bronze panel on the front of the base explains that the monument is meant to honour the contribution of all Aboriginal Canadians in war and peacekeeping operations.<sup>81</sup> In her speech at the unveiling ceremony Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson said: “For as much as this Monument commemorates specific battles and campaigns, it also honours the eternal spiritual elements that are so essential to the culture of Aboriginal peoples. For it has been erected by Aboriginal peoples themselves. Its message of respect and honour will travel in the four directions and be heard by all who listen.”<sup>82</sup> On the surface the monument does seem to be an(o)ther voice in Ottawa’s commemorative landscape, but does it manage to challenge the semiotic system set by Western culture?

It is not a monument of empire. It does not represent a hierarchy of human figures like the Champlain monument once did. And it does not use the semiotic system of the colonizing culture, but rather uses signs and symbols from Native culture. Charlotte Townsend-Gault has observed that since the mid-1980s the purposes revealed in the works of many Native artists are: “to condemn, to overturn, to instruct, to translate across cultural boundaries, and yet to withhold translation, to make beautiful things, according to various ideas of beauty, and, sometimes, riotously and discomfitingly, to entertain.”<sup>83</sup> Several of these attributes are present in Pinay’s sculpture; several others are not. It does

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<sup>81</sup> Other bronze panels destined for the base and depicting the wars have yet to be completed.

<sup>82</sup> “Governor General Honours Aboriginal Veterans on National Aboriginal Day,” *Canada NewsWire*, 21 June 2001, 1.

<sup>83</sup> Charlotte Townsend-Gault, “Hot Dogs, a Ball Gown, Adobe, and Words,” in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (New York: Routledge, 1999), 113.

not condemn or overturn, but it does seek to instruct. It seems to want to translate across cultural boundaries, and yet to withhold translation, and this is where it partially fails. The difficulty of translating across cultural borders was remarked by Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, who wrote: “The struggle to inscribe the reality of Indian experience in the memories of others is a disquieting task.”<sup>84</sup> In the case of the Aboriginal monument, this struggle has resulted in a disquieting, hybrid monument: a cross between Western war memorial and Native totem. Henry Hunt’s *Kwakiutl Totem* (1971) is located nearby in Confederation Park. March’s National War Memorial is located nearby in Confederation Square. In between the two is the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument; a monument that struggles to signify a single unified meaning to two different and divergent cultures. The hybridization that blurs native and non-native sculptural traditions also blurs the monument’s meaning. Ironically this failure to communicate contributes to the monument’s success at drawing viewers’s attention. Unlike the solitary soldier figure on MacCarthy’s nearby South African War Memorial, with its ubiquitous and familiar war memorial iconography that barely garners a second glance, the Aboriginal monument’s unfamiliar symbols draw viewers over to investigate the monument’s meaning. By choosing bronze, a medium traditionally used by Western cultures to commemorate historic events and heroes, and combining it with traditional Native signs and symbols, the artist does in fact challenge the semiotic system, unlike the relocation of the Anishinabe scout figure. Yet its signs and symbols are still read against the mainstream.

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<sup>84</sup> Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, “Postcards of My Past: The Indian as Artefact,” in *Relocating Cultural Studies*, eds Valda Blundell, John Shepherd and Ian Taylor (New York: Routledge, 1993), 160.

*Monument to Canadian Fallen* (Yoo, Young Mun, 2002)

Whereas otherness in the guise of women and First Nations remained largely marginalized in the monument landscape at the turn of the new millennium, the heroic male ideal continued to grow and evolve with the dedication of a new war memorial in 2002. If the Peacekeeping Monument makes the female presence on the war memorial landscape almost invisible (discussed earlier), the adult female disappears altogether and, for the first time, children appear in the Korean War Memorial, dedicated in 2003.

The *Monument to Canadian Fallen* (fig. 27), as it is formally known, came about through the initiative and efforts of Vince R. Courtenay, a Canadian Korean War veteran who conceived of and designed the monument that was sculpted by Korean artist Yoo Young Mun. Two identical monuments exist, one in Ottawa and the other in the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Busan, Korea (dedicated in 2002). The Ottawa monument, according to the nearby NCC interpretive panel, was situated in Confederation Park so that the depicted Canadian volunteer soldier faces toward its twin in Busan, South Korea's largest harbour city and staging area for UN troops during the Korean War (1950-1953). The panel also informs the viewer that Canadian veterans from across Canada contributed funds and that the project received support from the people of Canada and the government of the Republic of Korea. Prior to its permanent installation in Ottawa, the monument was displayed in Windsor, Ontario, Vince Courtenay's home town. In Ottawa, the monument was unveiled in time to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Korean War armistice.

The monument is comprised of three bronze figures set on a low oval base. The three figures include a standing male soldier holding a female child on his right arm with

a male child standing at his left side. The single standing soldier figure is reminiscent of the numerous solitary soldier monuments that proliferated after World War I but the imagery has shifted considerably. The soldier on Hamilton MacCarthy's nearby South African War Memorial offers an example of the imagery that would become so popular and a contrast to the figure on the Korean War memorial. On the older monument the figure is in uniform and he holds his rifle with bayonet attached. An ammunition belt is slung over his shoulder. The newer monument reveals a soldier who, although dressed in military uniform, is hatless and bears no weapons. No symbols of war are present. The former figure raises his helmet in victory, while the latter figure is in the company of two children who both carry bouquets: she holds a bouquet of maple leaves, symbol of Canada, while he holds a bouquet of maple leaves and roses of Sharon, the national flower of Korea. The static quality of the life-size figures is more reminiscent of the Peacekeeping Monument figures than of the dynamic and dramatic, larger-than-life figures on the National War Memorial. Despite the monument's quiet presence in the commemorative landscape, it does speak loudly about notions of imagined Canadian identity and gender roles at the turn of the new millennium.

The presence of Korean children on the *Monument to Canadian Fallen* signals the importance of children in the national narrative: they are, after all, the future of any nation. However, the children also signal and support the naturalized gender roles embodied by patriarchal culture. This is apparent in the binary oppositions at work in the posture and gaze of the two children. The boy stands on his own whereas the girl is held on the arm of the soldier. He is free to move about while her movement is restricted. He is active, she is passive. The gaze of the figures also supports distinct gender roles. The

boy, like the adult male soldier, stares straight ahead. The two male figures look out at and return the gaze of the monument's viewers. Conversely, the girl gazes intently up at the soldier's face, thus presenting her profile to the viewer. She is on display. The children reflect the power inequalities between the genders and hint at their future unequal access to power. In relation to each other, the male child is the subject and the female child is the object, yet in relation to the soldier figure both children become objects in the Canadian national narrative, thus bringing the discussion to another level of meaning. Clearly the soldier is the subject of the monument, and the children are meant to act as foils to his character in the same manner that the female figures on the previous monuments functioned. As such, the Korean children reflect and reinforce the Canadian soldier's protective, father-figure status. The soldier also acts as a role model for the young boy who stands by his side, mimicking his posture. As well, he offers gentle guidance as suggested by the placement of his left arm behind the boy. Who is he? *He* is the nation. He represents how Canada has come to imagine itself as a nation on the international stage – mature, caring, and giving: willing to fight but preferring the peaceful approach. The children are a metaphor for Korea, the “immature” nation that requires protection and guidance. He is the West: they are the East. He is the subject of the nation: they are the object or the Other.

Through the mediation of *Reconciliation* the shift in symbolism and imagined identity from the earlier National War Memorial to the more recent *Monument to Canadian Fallen* becomes clearer. The earnest young military figures on the earlier monument give way to a single, solemn, unarmed soldier on the more recent monument, reflecting a shift in Canada's youthful enthusiasm to prove itself as a nation on the



battlefield to a more recent and mature image of itself as international peacekeeper. Interestingly, the new soldier figure incorporates the qualities of both the male and female figures on the National War Memorial - he is both soldier and caregiver. The clearly identifiable female figures on the National War Memorial become ambiguous on the Peacekeeping monument and disappear altogether on the Korean War memorial, where they are both subsumed into the figure of the caring male and replaced by children as sign of otherness. The female/child role on all of these monuments remains the same - their role is metaphoric or symbolic whereas the male role is metonymic. As Kirk Savage has noted, women (and, I would add, children), have little place in the commemorative scheme, except perhaps as the occasional foil against which heroism can be better depicted. The master narrative of progress defined by a male elite continues to unfold and the Canadian heroic ideal continues to evolve.

## Conclusion

In writing this dissertation I have, at times, had to resist the temptation to pursue interesting lines of inquiry that have arisen during my research in order to remain focused on my topic. For example, future research may look at how the image of Canadianness created by Ottawa's commemorative landscape compares to other capital cities. In her 1997 publication, *Nations and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia*, author Lyn Spillman explores the creation of national identity by comparing the centennial and bicentennial celebrations in those two nations.<sup>1</sup> A comparison between the narratives constructed by Ottawa and Washington, D.C.'s monuments would be an equally interesting opportunity to reveal the similarities and the differences in how Canadians and Americans imagine themselves through their respective heroes. Canberra, Australia offers a particularly interesting contrast to Ottawa. Both Australia and Canada are former British colonies. Both have similar histories with regard to their relationships with the Aboriginal peoples. As well, Canberra, like Ottawa, was chosen as the capital over larger, better-established cities: Melbourne and Sydney. One area for investigation in a comparison of Canadian and Australian monuments could focus on depictions of royalty. I earlier argued that the Queen Victoria monument in Ottawa offers a uniquely Canadian viewpoint. How does/did the image of the monarch vary from colony to colony? An examination of Victoria monuments at the height of the British Empire could reveal interesting similarities and differences. As I observed in my

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<sup>1</sup> Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).

Introduction, the topic of collective memory or identity, as manifested in public commemorative monuments, offers rich possibilities for theoretical and analytical study.

In the Introduction I also cited Graham Dawson's essay "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and Imagining of English-British Masculinity" and said that his ideas are similar to, and resonate with my own hypothesis that the recent representations of 'otherness' in Ottawa's commemorative monuments may actually work to strengthen the original, dominant position with which the more recent monuments are in dialogue – a point I have been arguing throughout the thesis. Graham Dawson also makes this particularly apt observation given a recent set of commemorative monuments lining Confederation Boulevard. Dawson says: "Among the most durable and powerful imaginings of idealized masculinity within Western cultural traditions are those which have crystallized the figure of the soldier as hero."<sup>2</sup> The recent addition I refer to is Marlene Hilton Moore and John McEwen's *Valiants Memorial*, inaugurated in Confederation Square in November 2006 (fig. 29). Located just steps to the east of the National War Memorial, it consists of nine busts and five close to life-size statues, representing fourteen individuals who made notable contributions to Canadian military history over the past four centuries. The busts include: Comte de Frontenac, Governor of New France during the French Regime (1534-1763); John Butler who fought during the American Revolution (1775-1783); War of 1812 General Sir Isaac Brock; pioneering army nurse Georgina Pope and Corporal Joseph Kaeble, who both served in World War I; as well as Lieutenant Hampton Gray, Captain John Wallace Thomas, Major Marc Triquet, and Pilot Officer Andrew Mynarski who all served in World War II. The full-

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<sup>2</sup> Graham Dawson, "The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, Imperial Adventure and Imagining of English-British Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 119.

size figures include: from the French Regime, ship commander Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville; Mohawk warrior and statesman Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) who supported the British during the American Revolution; professional soldier Charles-Michel d'Imberty de Salaberry and civilian Laura Secord who both helped to repel the Americans during the War of 1812; and First World War General, Sir Arthur Currie. The bronze figures and their interpretative panels are arrayed around the railing of the Sapper's Stairway, which leads down to the Rideau Canal. A large bronze panel, located on the wall at the bottom of the stairway, is inscribed with a line from Virgil's *Aeneid*: "No day will ever erase you from the memory of time," and in Latin "Nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo."

The monument came about through the efforts of The Valiants Foundation (consisting largely of veterans and military historians) and its president, Hamilton Southam, who died recently (July 1, 2008). Southam, who founded the National Arts Centre, and was instrumental in establishing the new Canadian War Museum, was also the driving force behind the *Valiants Memorial*. Historian Jack Granatstein is quoted in one of Southam's obituaries as saying, "I don't think the Ottawa bureaucracy was interested in the Valiants, but he simply swept everyone along with him whether they wanted to go or not."<sup>3</sup> The addition of the *Valiants Memorial* offers an opportunity for continued research and investigation into the ongoing construction of an imagined Canadian identity and the notion of the heroic individual. The monument raises many questions. For example: Does the inclusion of the two women, Laura Secord and Georgina Pope, change the place of women in the nation as I have theorized it in the preceding chapters? And what about the life-size figure of Joseph Brant who is depicted

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce Ward, "He Was an Unstoppable Force," *Ottawa Citizen*, 3 July 2008, A4.

in native dress? Does it merely confirm Catherine Higginson's observation that "Anglo-Canadian memorializing of Brant has tended to facilitate the location of the Iroquois as *historic* [author's emphasis], rather than present, constituents of the [Canadian] community"?<sup>4</sup> Or is a more nuanced reading possible given that Brant's own preference was for just such attire.<sup>5</sup> As well, one may ask why, in the twenty-first century, is Canada's history still being written mainly from a military/political viewpoint and represented in this manner? Despite its human scale and street-level presentation, is it even possible for a monument such as the *Valiants* to offer a satisfying image of Canadianness to a majority of viewers? As commemorative monuments of the human figure type continue to be placed along Confederation Boulevard they offer the opportunity to further question the unfolding narrative of national identity they construct.

In looking at the image of the Canadian hero over time, as represented by the sculptural monuments on Parliament Hill and along Confederation Boulevard in Ottawa, it is possible to state that images of men dominate the commemorative landscape. It is also possible to observe that the heroic male ideal has shifted over time as seen in the examples of *Sir Galahad* (the Harper Memorial) and *Terry Fox*, or as evidenced by the shift in soldier type revealed by the comparison between the figures on the earlier National War memorial and the more recent Korean War monument. Although images of women and First Nations appeared as early as the *Victoria* and *Champlain* monuments, it is only recently that a diversity of Canadian hero-types has become more evident with monuments such as the Famous Five and the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument.

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<sup>4</sup> Catherine Higginson, "Shelly Niro, Haudenosaunee Nationalism, and the Continued Contestation of the Brant Monument," *Essays on Canadian Writing* (Fall 2003): 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

However, despite the visual diversification of the hero-type within the commemorative landscape, the underlying ideology and the identity constructed by the monuments discussed in the earlier chapters remains very similar to that of a century earlier. That is because the master narrative continues to be written from within a patriarchal culture. The new male ideal suggested by the figures on the Korean War memorial and the Peacekeeping monument and by images of men such as Terry Fox and Lester Pearson, represent an “adaptation in masculinity,” a hybrid masculinity that co-opts otherness in order to be “better able and more suited to retain control.” As Rowena Chapman points out, “One of the features of patriarchy is its resilience, its ability to mutate in order to survive, undermining threats to its symbolic order by incorporating their critique, and adjusting its ideology.”<sup>6</sup> Like Graham Dawson’s “Blond Bedouin,” Lawrence of Arabia, who, in identifying himself with the Arab Other, by “empathizing with it, taking its side, and imagining himself in its terms, is then able to repossess those qualities,”<sup>7</sup> the heroic Canadian male has become a kinder and gentler person. Even the military figures on the *Valiants Memorial* have become more approachable in their human scale and street-level presentation. To rephrase Rowena Chapman, it is in men’s interest to co-opt otherness.<sup>8</sup> Despite the fact that their voices are now being heard and their images seen, women and First Nations still speak from the margins. Thus, the subject who is built up through the multiple images of the hero in Ottawa’s commemorative landscape continues to be a male subject – the true subject of the nation.

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<sup>6</sup> Rowena Chapman, “The Great Pretender: Variations on the New Man Theme,” in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988), 235.

<sup>7</sup> Graham Dawson, “The Blond Bedouin,” 136.

<sup>8</sup> Chapman, “The Great Pretender,” 248.

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## **Archival Material**

### **National Capital Commission**

*Anishinabe Scout*. File # 1724-24.

*Harper Memorial* (Sir Galahad). File # 1722-3-7.

*Monument to Canadian Fallen* (Korean War Memorial). File # 1722-2-20.

*National Aboriginal Veterans Monument*. File # 1722-2-10.

*Queen Elizabeth II*, File # 1722-3-2, and 345163.

*Reconciliation, Peacekeeping Monument*. File # 1721.7.

*The Response, National War Memorial*. File # 1722-8 and 193718.

*Samuel de Champlain*. File # 1722-2-4.

*Terry Fox*. File # 1722-4-9 and 232130.

*Women Are Persons!* (Famous Five Monument). File # 1722-09 and 345217.

### **National Gallery of Canada**

*Terry Guernsey fonds*.

Series 1, "Ottawa Sculpture. ca. 1982-1986."

*Champlain Statue*. Box 2. File 7.

*Galahad*. Box 3. Files 1, 2, and 3.

*King*. Box 3. File 7.

*Monuments to Terry Fox*, Box 2. File 17.

*McGee/Brown Statues*. Box 4. File 8.

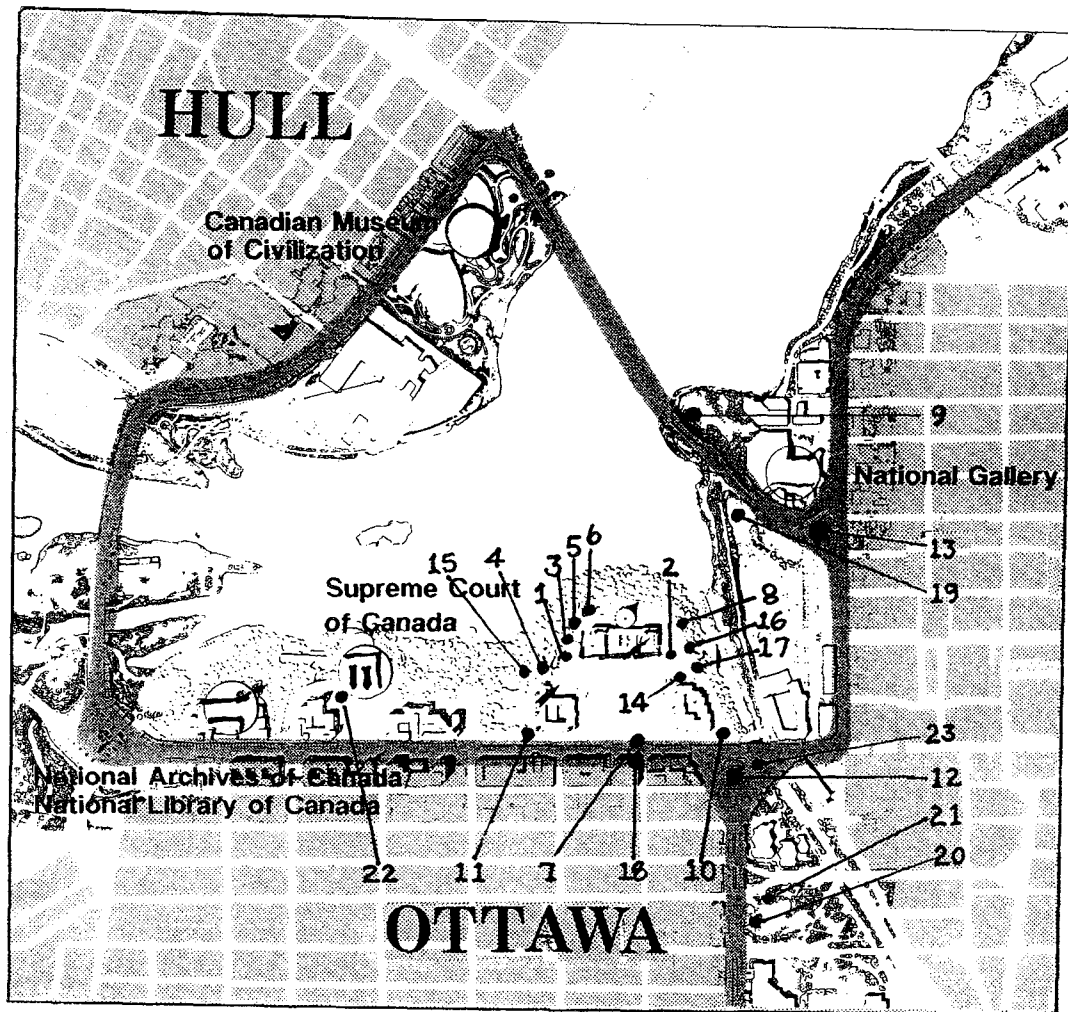
*Statue - Sir John A. Macdonald*. Box 4. File 4.

## **APPENDIX I**

### **FIGURES**



**Figure 1.** Map of Confederation Boulevard showing location of monuments.



- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Sir George Étienne Cartier</i> | 13. Peacekeeping Monument                 |
| 2. <i>Sir John A. Macdonald</i>      | 14. <i>William Lyon Mackenzie King</i>    |
| 3. <i>Alexander Mackenzie</i>        | 15. <i>Lester B. Pearson</i>              |
| 4. <i>Queen Victoria</i>             | 16. <i>Queen Elizabeth II</i>             |
| 5. <i>George Brown</i>               | 17. <i>Women are Persons!</i>             |
| 6. <i>Thomas D'Arcy McGee</i>        | 18. <i>Terry Fox</i>                      |
| 7. <i>Sir Galahad</i>                | 19. <i>Anishinabe Scout</i>               |
| 8. <i>Baldwin and Lafontaine</i>     | 20. National Aboriginal Veterans Monument |
| 9. <i>Samuel de Champlain</i>        | 21. <i>Monument to Canadian Fallen</i>    |
| 10. <i>Sir Wilfrid Laurier</i>       | 22. <i>Louis St-Laurent</i>               |
| 11. <i>Robert Borden</i>             | 23. <i>The Valiants Memorial</i>          |
| 12. National War Memorial            |   |

Figure 2. Louis-Philippe Hébert. *Sir George Étienne Cartier*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1885. Photograph by author.



Figure 3. Louis-Philippe Hébert. *Sir John A. Macdonald*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1895.  
Photograph by author.

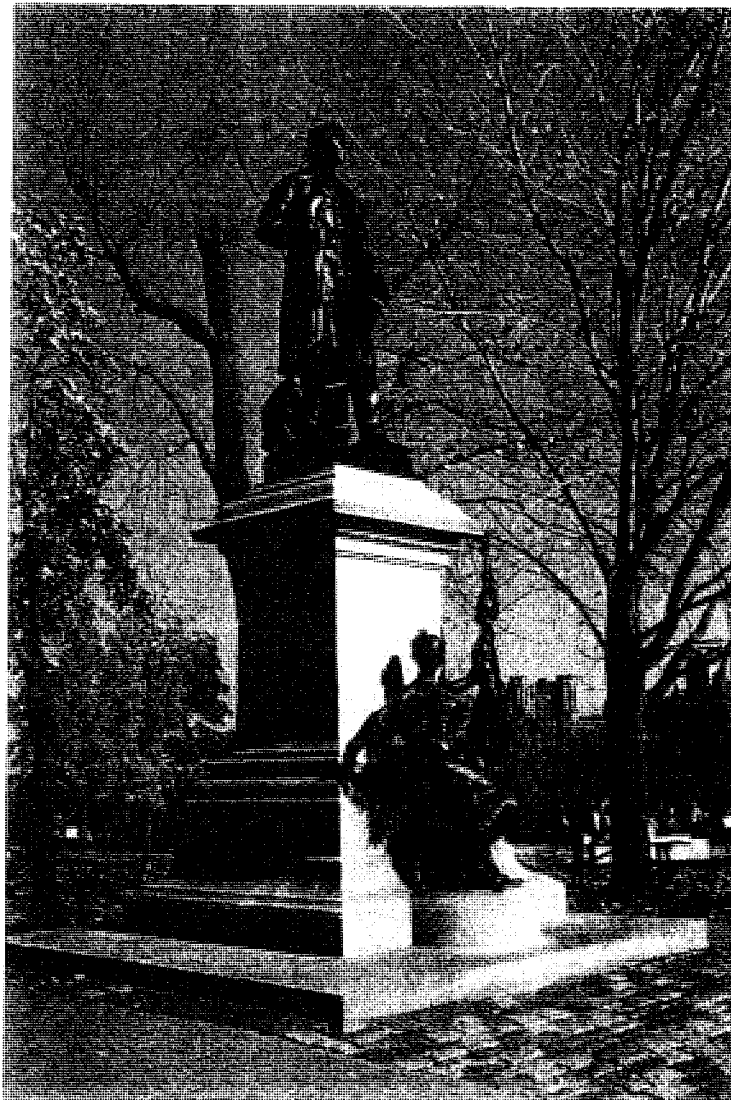


Figure 4. Louis-Philippe Hébert. *Alexander Mackenzie*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1901.  
Photographs by author.



**Figure 5.** Louis-Philippe Hébert. *Queen Victoria*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1901.  
Photograph by author.



Figure 6. George W. Hill. *George Brown*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1913. Photograph by author.



Figure 7. George W. Hill. *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1922.  
Photographs by author.

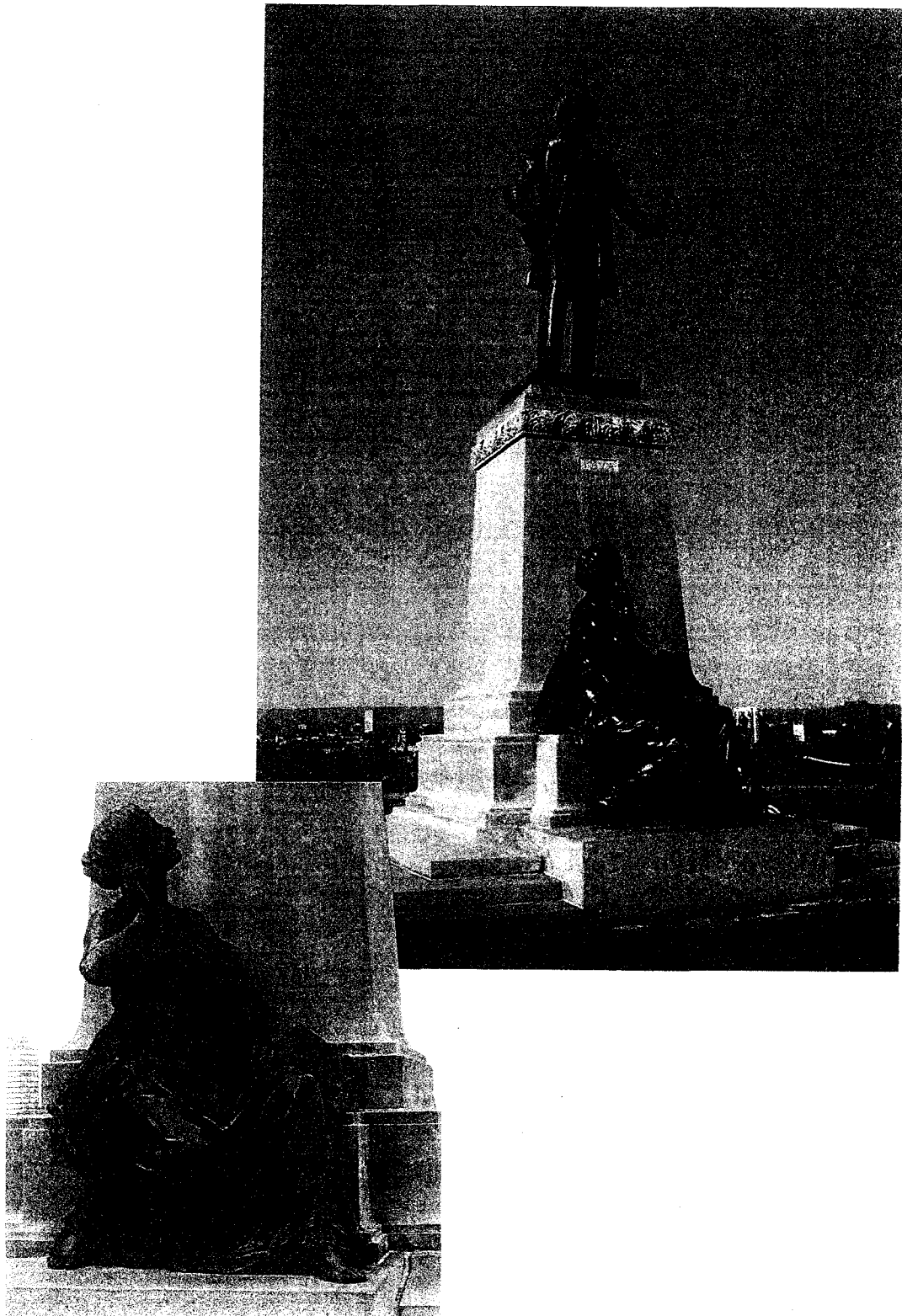


Figure 8. Ernest Wise Keyser. *Sir Galahad* (The Harper Memorial). Wellington at Metcalfe, Ottawa, 1905. Photograph by author.





Figure 9. Walter Seymour Allward. *Baldwin and Lafontaine*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1914. Photographs by author.

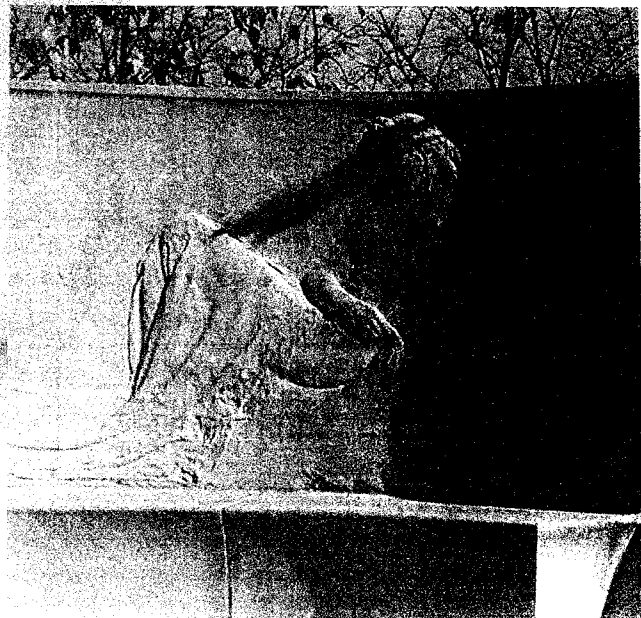


Figure 10. Hamilton MacCarthy. *Samuel de Champlain*. Nepean Point, Ottawa, 1915.  
Photograph by author after the 1999 removal of the scout figure from the base.



Figure 11. Joseph-Émile Brunet.  
*Sir Wilfrid Laurier.*  
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1927.  
Photograph by author.

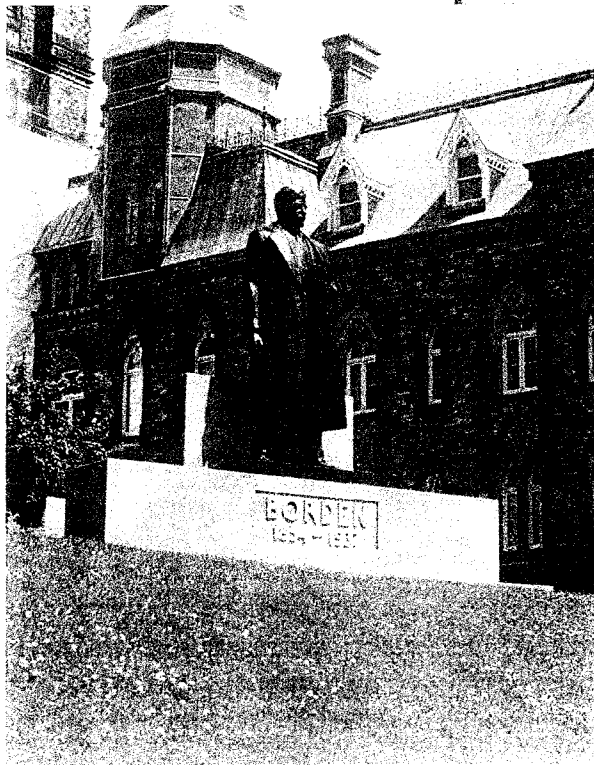


Figure 12. Frances Loring.  
*Sir Robert Borden.*  
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1957.  
Photograph by author.

Figure 13. Coeur de Lion MacCarthy. War Memorial (*Winged Victory*). Windsor Station, Montreal, Quebec. 1923. Photograph by author.



**Figure 14. Emanuel Hahn.**  
War Memorial. St. Lambert, Quebec.  
(dedicated post WWI).  
Photograph by author.



**Figure 15. George Hill.**  
War Memorial. Montreal West. Qc.  
(dedicated post WWI).  
Photograph by author.

**Figure 16.** Coeur de Lion MacCarthy. War Memorial. Verdun, Quebec (dedicated post WWI). Photograph by author.



Figure 17. Vernon March. *The Response* (National War Memorial). Confederation Square, Ottawa (dedicated 1939). Photographs by author.

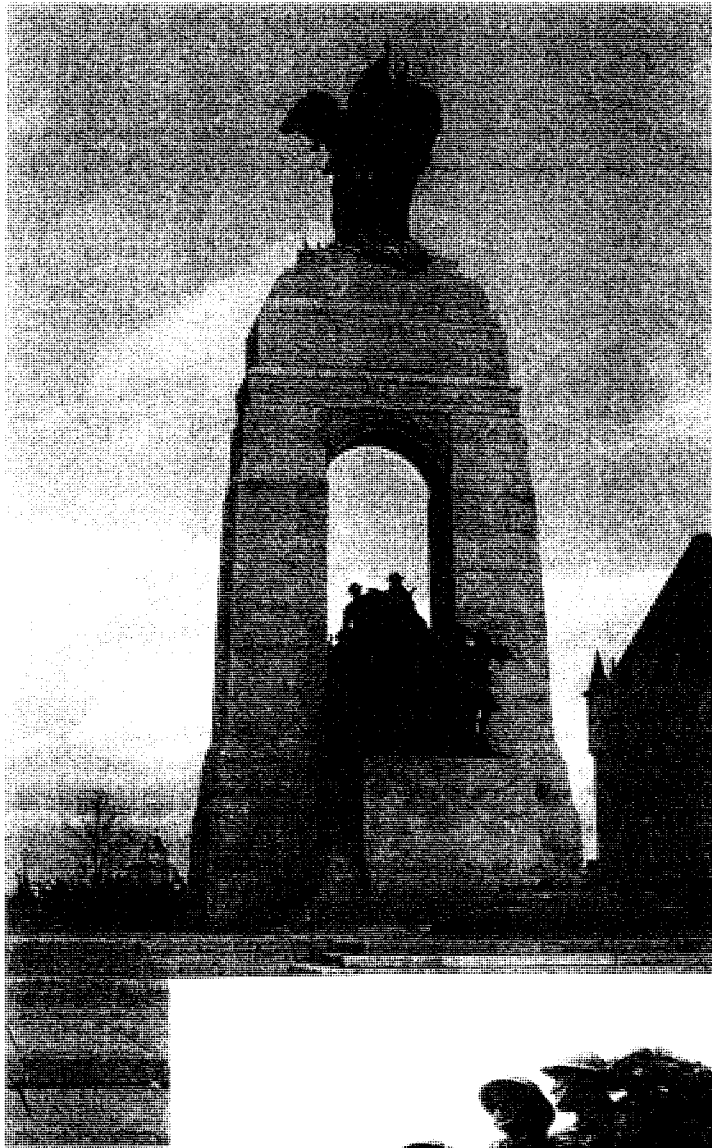


Figure 18. Jack Harman. *Reconciliation* (Peacekeeping Monument). Sussex at Mackenzie, Ottawa, 1992. Photographs by author.

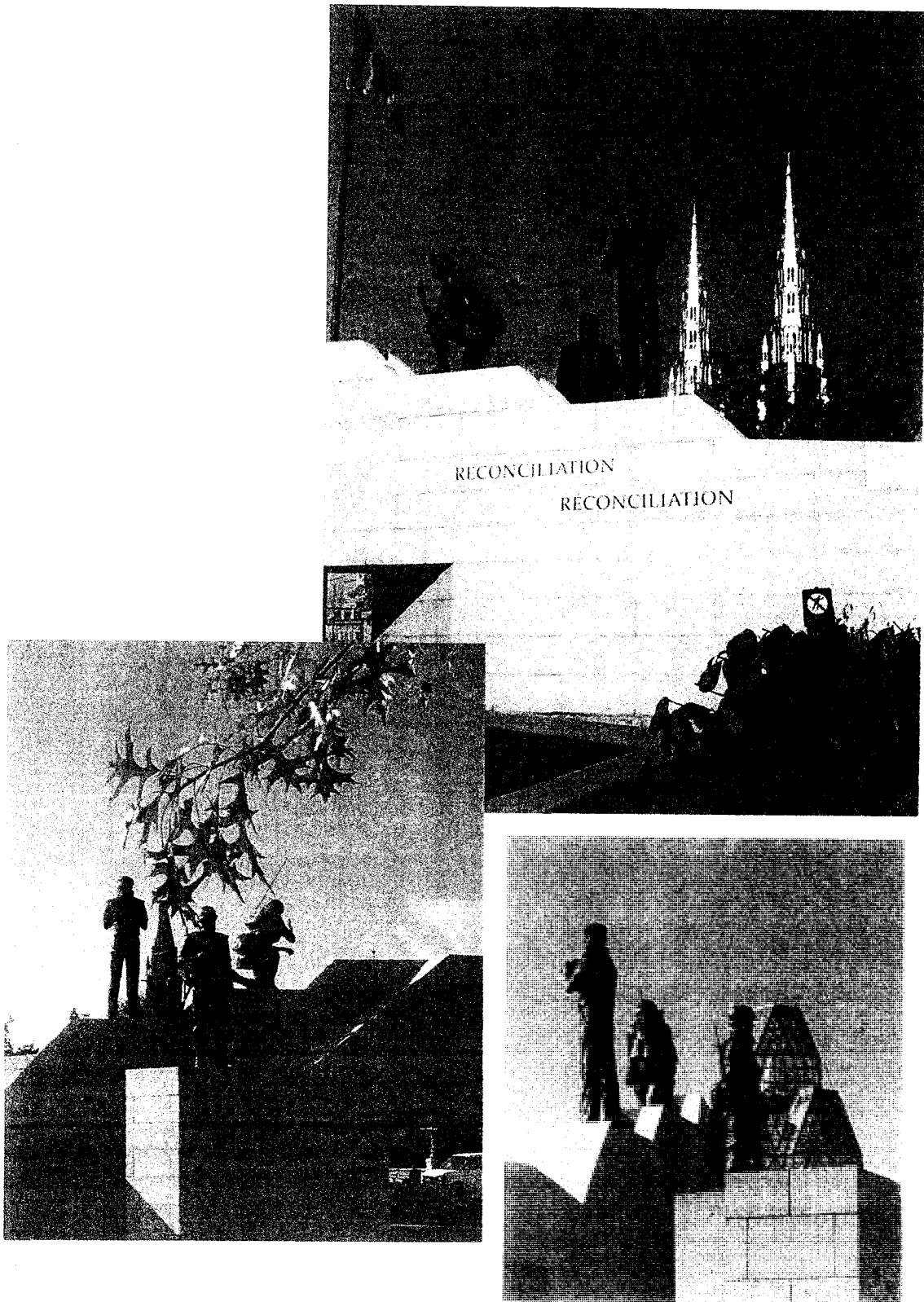




Figure 19. Raoul Hunter. *William Lyon Mackenzie King*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1968.  
Photograph by author. *King* in the foreground. Famous Five in the background.

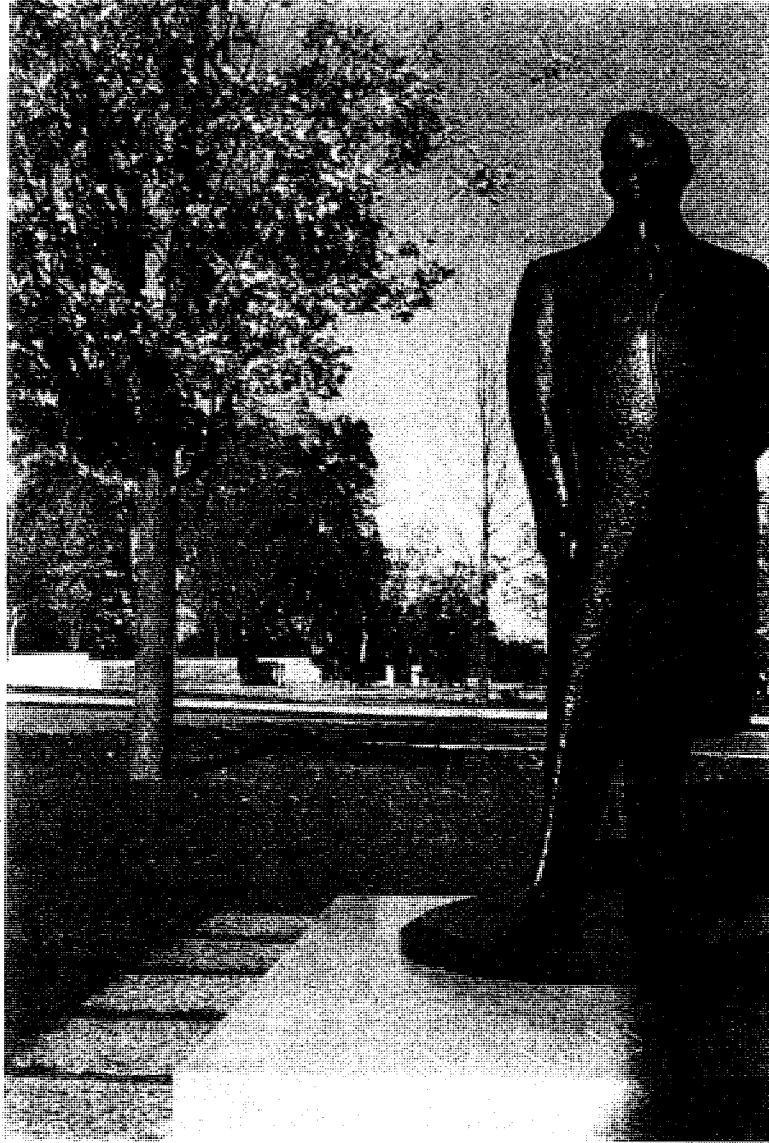


Figure 20. Danek Mozdzenski. *Lester B. Pearson*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1990.  
Photographs by author.

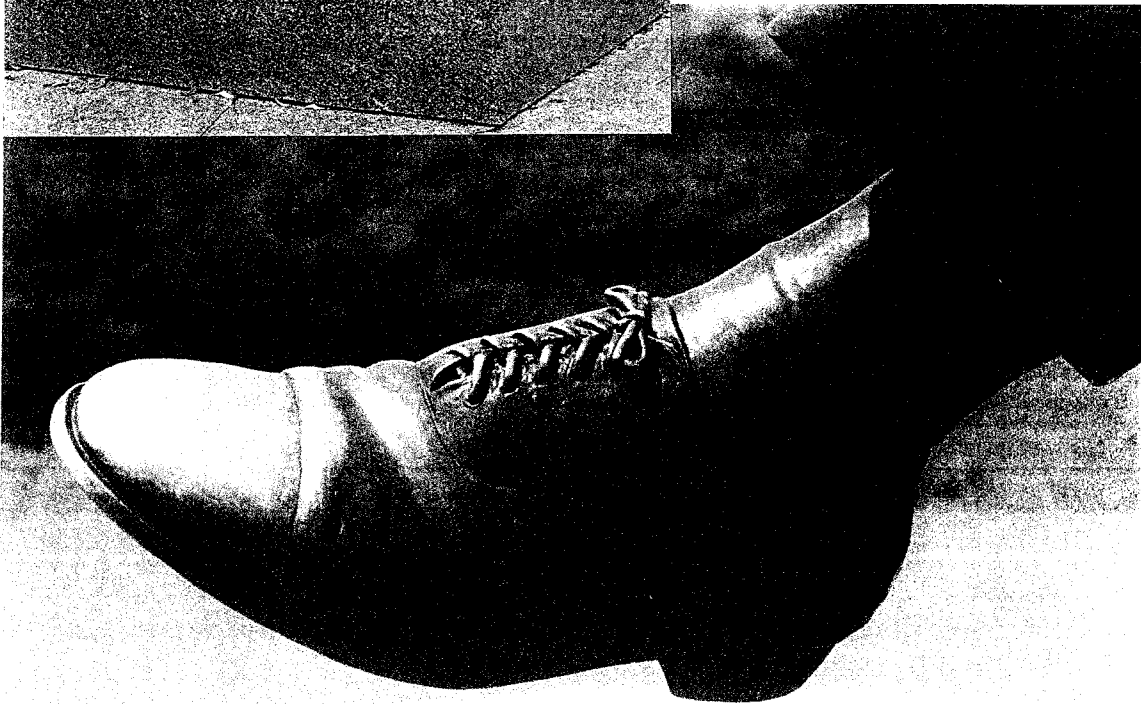


Figure 21. Jack Harman. *Queen Elizabeth II*. Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1992. Photograph by author.

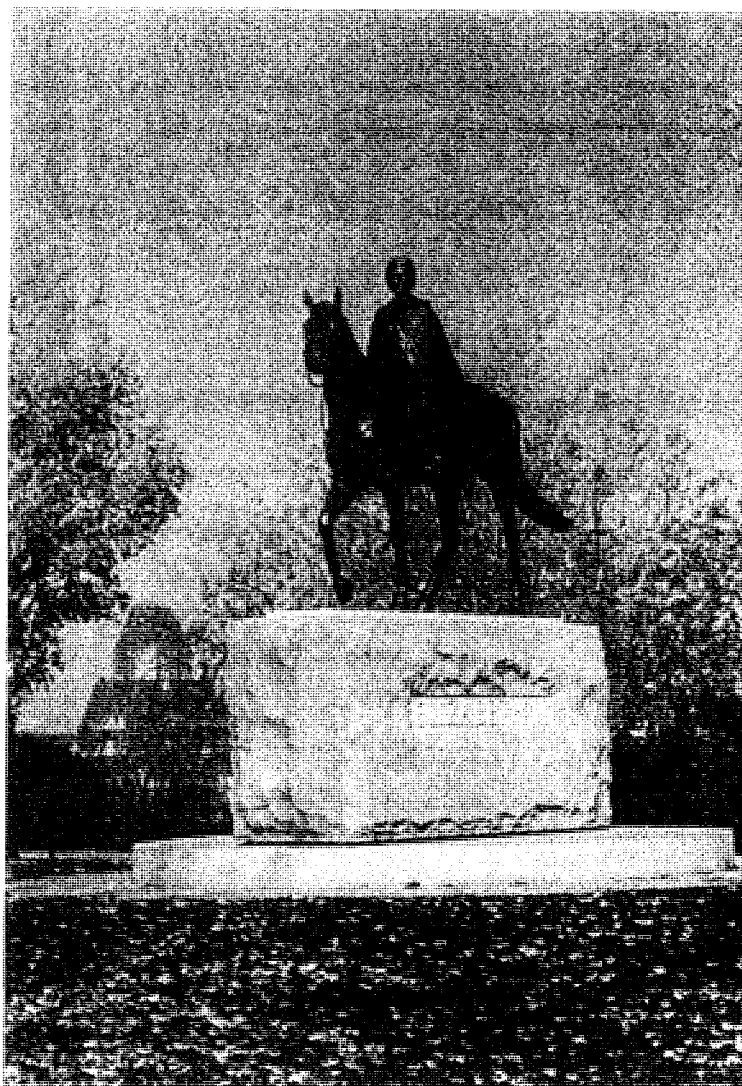


Figure 22. Barbara Paterson. *Women are Persons!* (Famous Five Monument). Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 2000. Photographs by author.

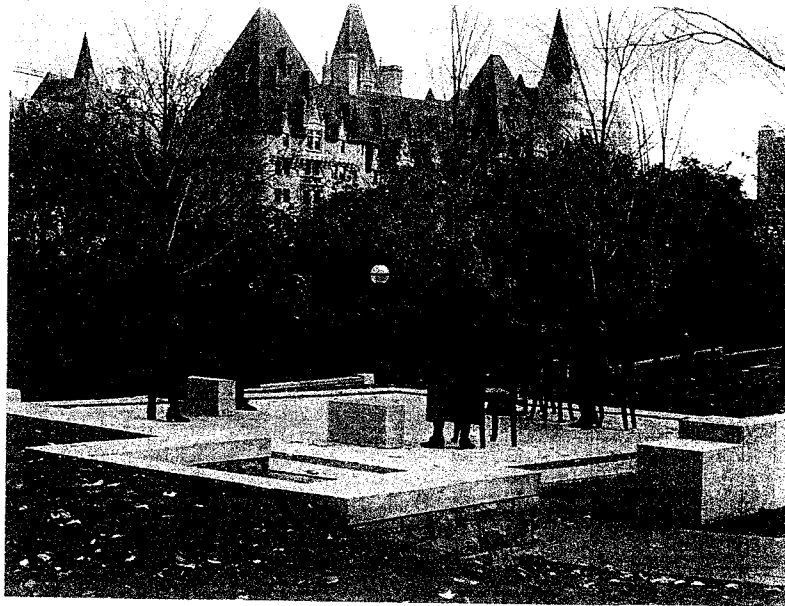
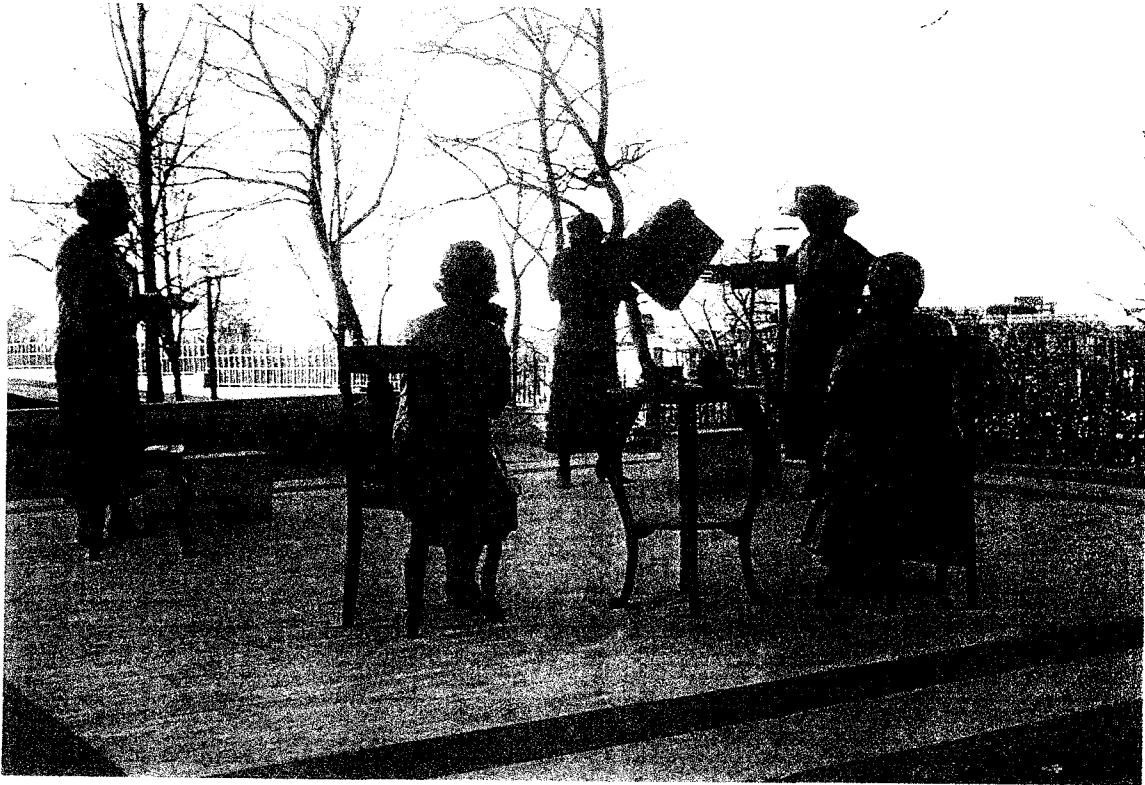
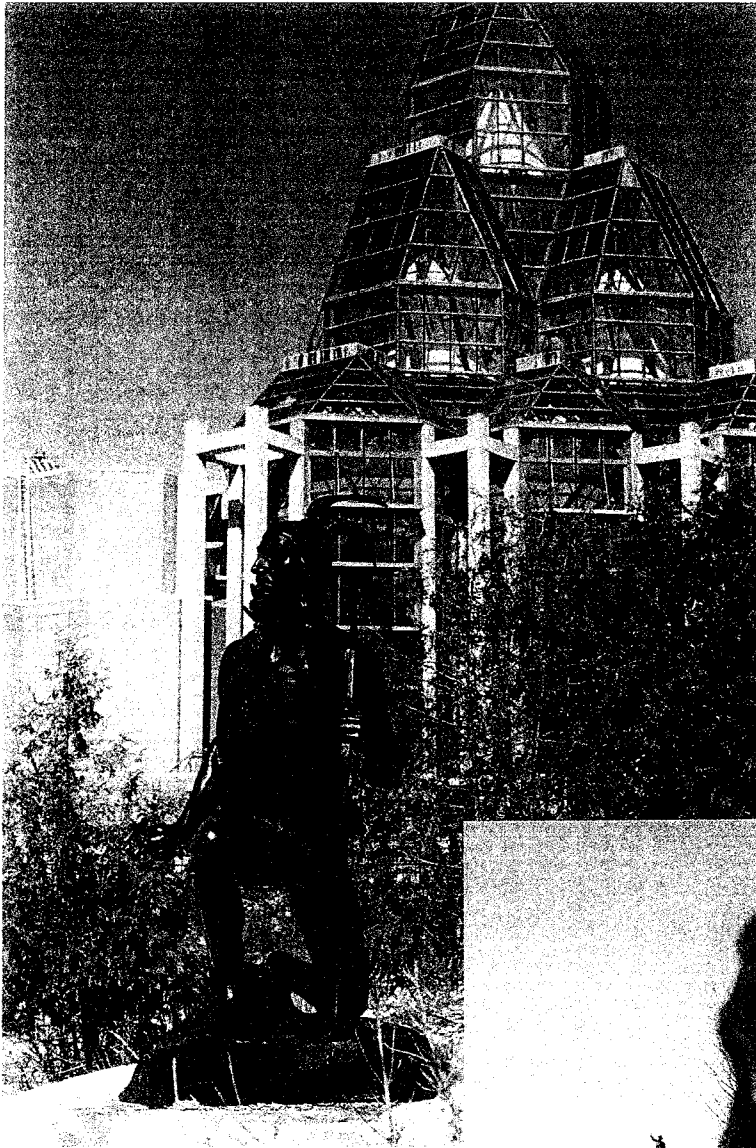


Figure 23. John Hooper. *Terry Fox*. Wellington at Metcalfe, Ottawa, 1983. Photograph by author.



Figure 24. Hamilton MacCarthy. *Anishinabe Scout* (c.1920). Major's Hill Park, Ottawa.  
Relocated and dedicated 1999. Photographs by author.



*Scout* detail - foreground  
*Champlain* – background

Figure 25. Lise Watier billboard advertising new fragrance. Montreal, 2003.



Figure 24. Hamilton MacCarthy.  
*Anishinabe Scout* (c.1920).  
Major's Hill Park, Ottawa.  
Photographs by author.



Figure 26. Noel Lloyd Pinay. National Aboriginal Veterans Monument. Confederation Park, Ottawa, 2001. Photographs by author.

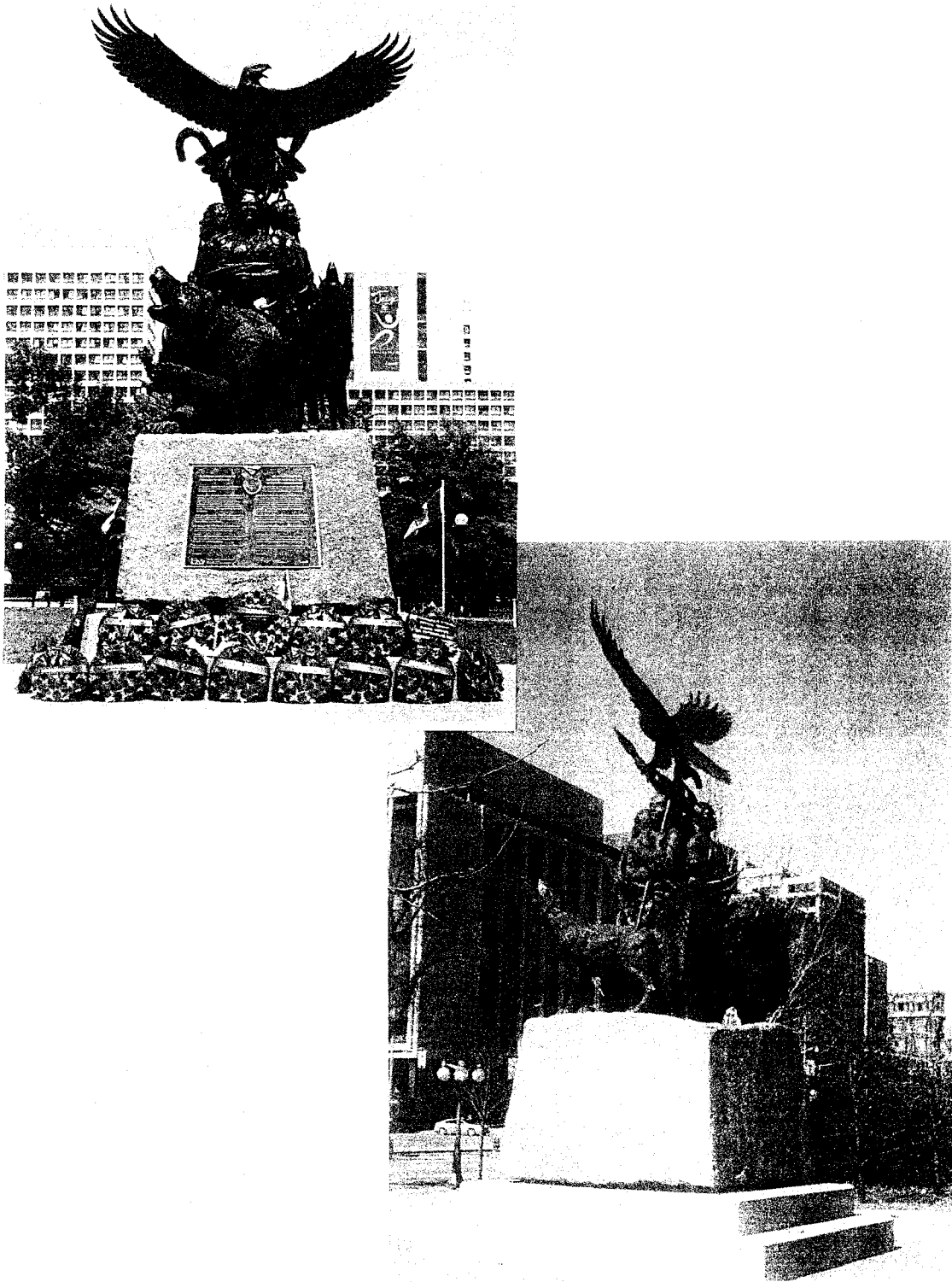




Figure 27. Yoo, Young Mun. *Monument to Canadian Fallen* (Korean War Memorial).  
Confederation Park, Ottawa, 2002. Photograph by author.



Figure 28. Elek Imredy. *Louis St-Laurent*. Wellington Street, in front of the Supreme Court, Ottawa, unveiled 1976. Photographs by author.

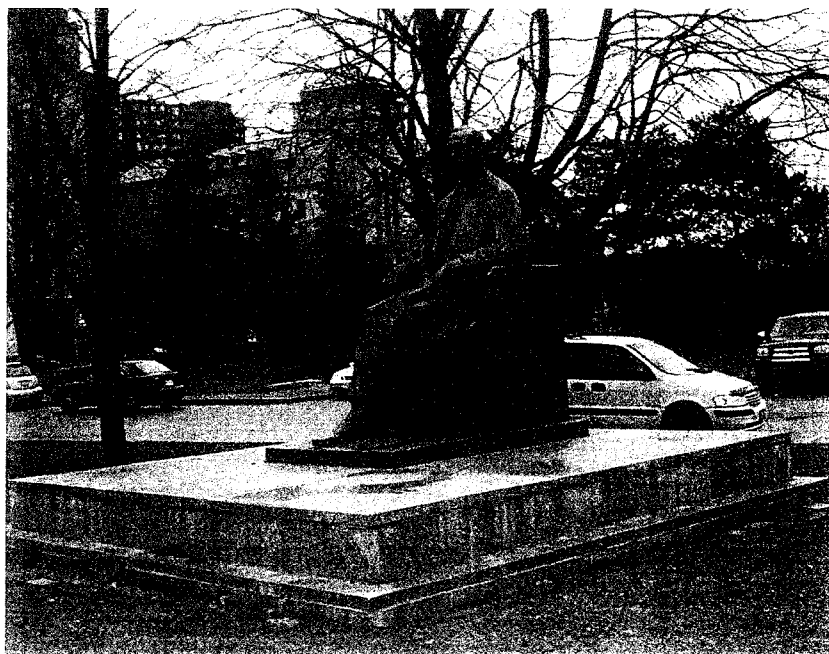
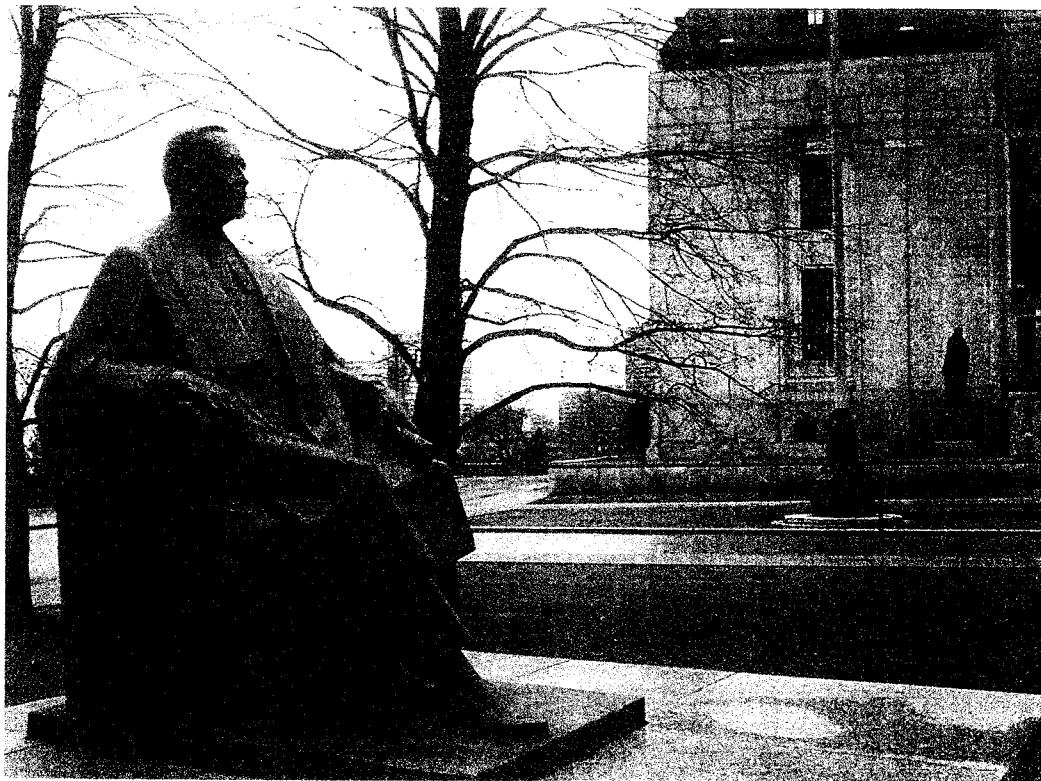
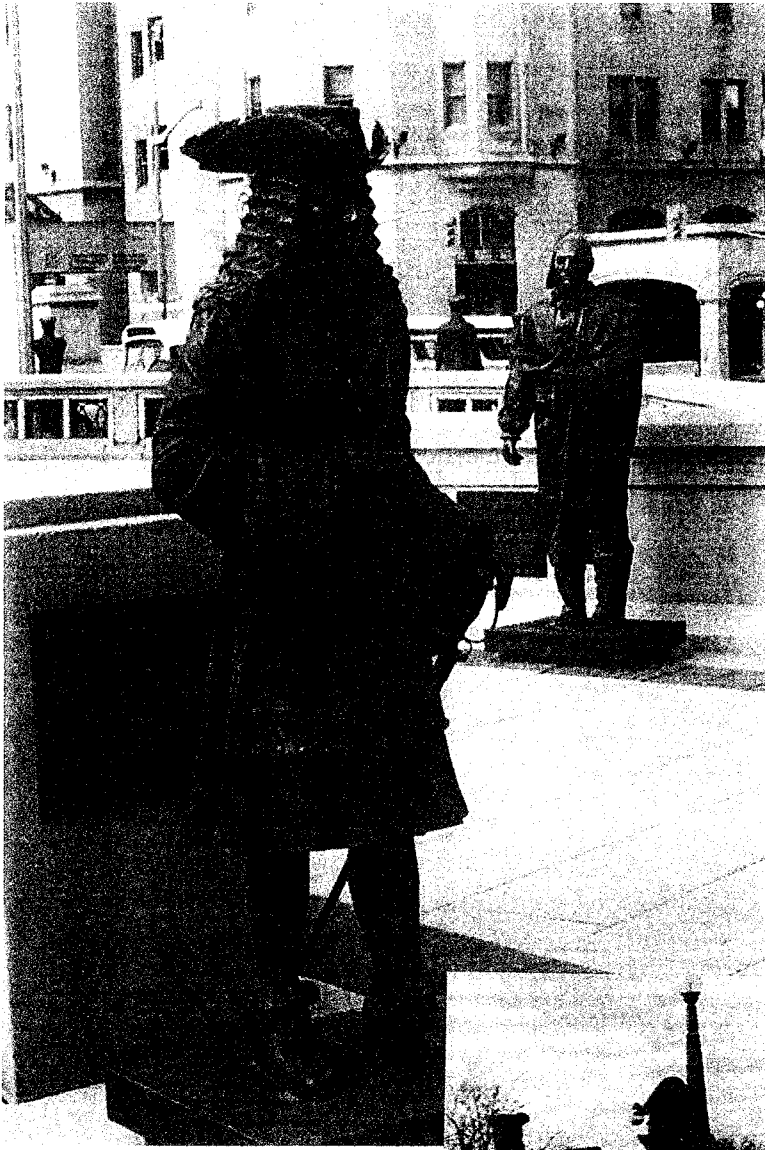


Figure 29. Marlene Hilton Moore and John McEwan. *The Valiants Memorial*.  
Confederation Square, Ottawa. 2006. Photographs by author.



Foreground – *d'Iberville*  
Background – *Joseph Brant*

