

De-Colonial Intersections of Conservation and Healing:

The Indian Residential School System

By:

Catherine McBain

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Architecture

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

© 2021

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Fig. 01 Gate Entrance to Lebret Residential School. Alberta Native News

SUPPORT RESOURCES

This thesis discusses the realities and collective memories related to the Indian Residential School Systems in Canada. This research may be triggering to readers that have experienced both the ongoing and hereditary trauma associated with Canada's colonial project. Below is a list of resources provided for residential school survivors and communities.

National Indian Residential School Crisis Line (24-Hour):

1-866-925-4419

Indian Residential Schools Resolution Health Support Program (Health Canada):

<https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1581971225188/1581971250953>

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the spatial conditions related to the territorial and architectural practices pertaining to the Indian Residential Schools [IRS] (1831-1996), in the Indigenous territories known today as ‘Canada.’ It investigates the violent juxtaposition of Eurocentric spatial hierarchies within Indigenous epistemological frameworks, to illustrate the multi-scalar means of assimilation. The project alludes to illustrative futures whereby residential school landscapes, architecture and territories can intersect with conservation for reflection and healing. This thesis proposes a series of futures, suggestive of frictional embodied experiences, that subvert the residential school memory; to unsettle its visitors and interrogate the buildings’ socio-spatial hierarchies. Explored through three case studies; the St Eugene Mission, the Brandon Industrial Institute, and the Mohawk Institute, the thesis presents interventions for futures that recognize spatial fragments, provide territorial reclamation, and subvert existing architecture. The *encounters* suggest hybrid frameworks that encourage re-connection with erased cultural landscapes, while challenging current Eurocentric conservation practices.

PROLOGUE

I chose this thesis topic because of my personal lack of frictional encounters with this part of ‘Canadian’¹ history. Removed from the physical and emotional trauma endured by ‘Canada’s’ First Nations, Inuit, Metis populations and IRS survivors, I recognize my bias throughout this research. I chose to discuss the Indian Residential School system, ready to listen and learn about Indigenous histories, collective memories, and epistemologies. It is my personal willingness to unlearn colonial glorification and challenge my Western architectural education and preconceptions of settled space, through the journey of this research.

I embark on this research as a ‘Canadian’ national defined at birth, challenging my personal *conquistador-settling*² inheritance, by recognizing the land upon which I write is situated in the unceded Algonquin territory of the Anishinabek Nation. The intention of this research is to contribute to the reconciliation process from an architectural conservation perspective, which positions the Residential Schools as a spatial witness to the past, and

¹ Unceded Indigenous territories will be referenced in quotations, as so-called ‘Canada,’ ‘North America’ and ‘United States of America.’

² The term *Conquistador-Setter* refers to Tiffany Lethabo King’s *Black Shoals*. Refer to definitions on page xv.

present, wrongs of the ‘Canadian’ assimilation project, and the policies it continues to stand by. The explorations of this thesis present the current states of Indian Residential Schools (IRS) including the demolished, repurposed and restored, as opportunities for education, reconciliation, and healing beyond the understanding of architectural conservation as a historical artefact. My personal intentions for this thesis were to inquire how their architectural testimony, often overlooked by their physical absence, can begin to imagine futures where the trauma can be recognized and heard by settler populations, in an effort to de-colonize places that continue to devastate Indigenous communities.

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I would like to thank my advisor, Natalia Escobar Castrillon for her guidance and expertise this year. You are an inspiration for women in the field of architecture and conservation.

Thank you to the many professors with whom I had productive and enriching conversations.

To my parents and sister, thank you, not only this year but every year. I would not be where I am without your love and support. Thank you to the numerous friends I have made in the past 6 years, and to my partner Etai, for your unwavering support.

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DEFINITIONS

The intention of this definition exercise is to reflect and reattribute meaningful definitions with the intention of resurfacing notions of genocide and violence that are often disregarded. The term **Indigenous** will be used in this thesis to reference people and the descendants of people that lived, and now live, on the territories known as North, South and Central America, prior to the 15th century and contact with Europeans. Tiffany Lethabo King's, *Black Shoals*, situates both Black and Native studies within a post-colonial context to reinvent the speculative futures of decolonization theory. By examining Indigenous genocide and Black Slavery in the Americas, her work will be referenced throughout this thesis by framing definitions that disrupt current Eurocentric epistemology.

The terms “**conquistador**” and “**settler**” are terms often used in Indigenous studies to define the White colonial settling population. The former includes connotative resonance of violence and genocide that the latter often fails to include in its definition, generally referencing the relationship to land and/or territory and its occupation. For the purpose of this exercise and thesis, the term **conquistador-settler** will be used, accrediting King's work, to define the White populations within the Americas. This term evokes both the violence and possession of land associated with the suffering of Black and Indigenous Peoples. The term **Indigenous**, will define the populations

who have survived under these relations of conquest, that are often tethered to the death of the ‘Other.’”³

The term **Indigenous Peoples** will be used to describe the population that have survived as a result of this continuous negotiation for existence and survival, based on relations with the **Conquistador-Settler**.⁴ This definition aligns with Lakota Hillary Weaver’s definition of **Indigenous Peoples**, which includes the multi-faceted constructions of identity in the face of oppression and colonization; self-identity, self-community identification, and external identification.⁵ The purpose of these definitions, while drawing parallels with Indigenous epistemologies in Lethabo-King and Weaver’s work, is to disrupt the White colonial discourse and indoctrinated Eurocentric perspective that often disregards the ways in which both Black and Native death are connected to colonization.

³ Tiffany Lethabo-King, 2019, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, xi.

⁴ Ibid, xi.

⁵ Hilary N. Weaver, 2001, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?” *American Indian Quarterly* 25 (2): 240–55.

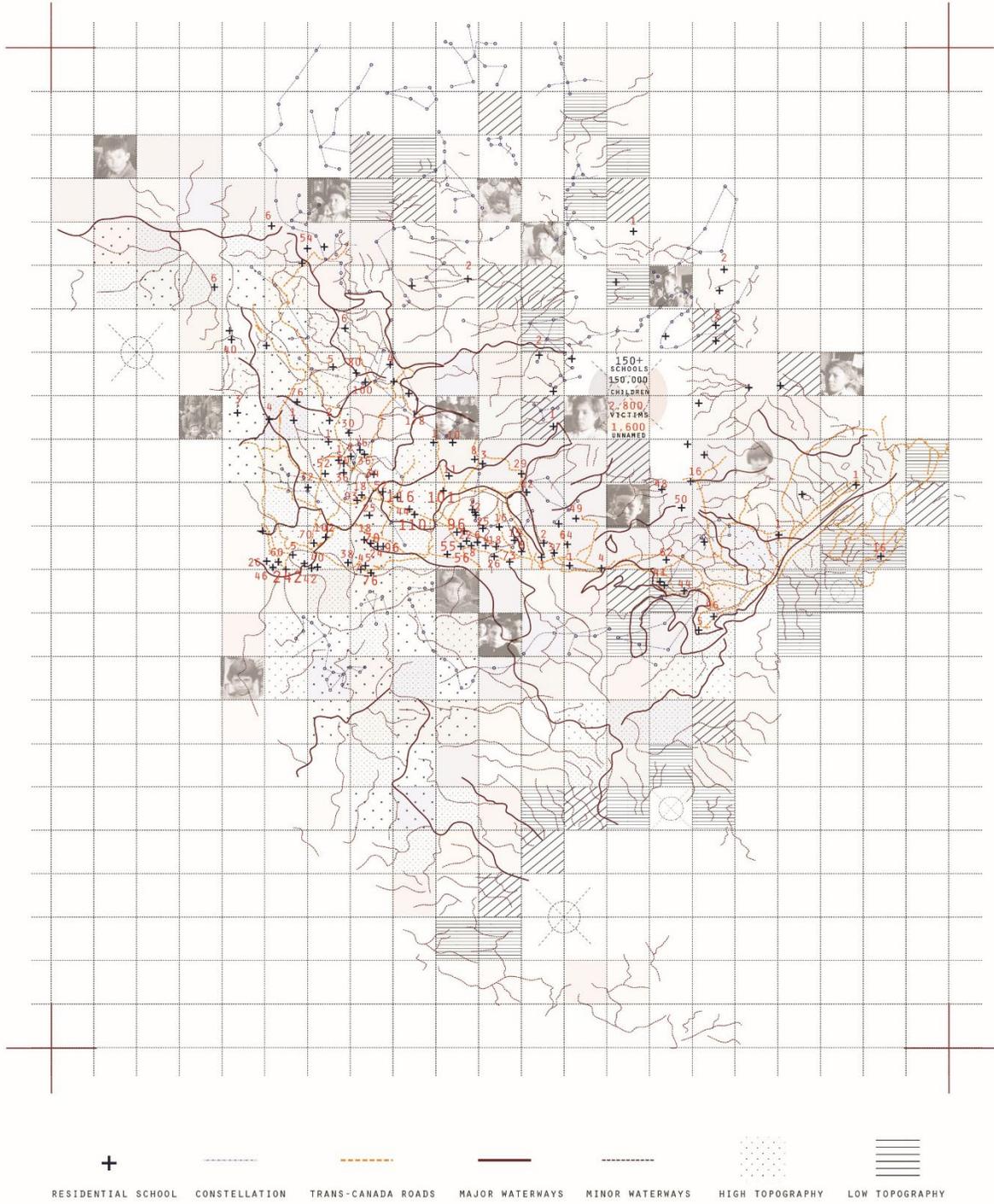


Fig. 02: *Marking Colonialism*, identifying ‘Canada’s’ colonial project in ‘North America.’

My Mother sits by the window, crying,

Her heart is breaking,

It's the same memory every fall.

The plane has taken her children away,

They are gone for all winter

It's time for them to go to school.

School is ninety miles away,

We will not see them again,

For ten months.

-Going to the Dorm, Shirley Flowers

INTRODUCTION | RECONCILIATION AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION

On June 11th, 2008, nearly a decade after the last IRS⁶ closure in 1996, Prime Minister Stephen Harper offered a formal apology to the Indigenous peoples of 'Canada' for the imposition of the Indian Residential School System.⁷ As part of what seems to be a global effort to reconcile based on politics of regret, the 'Canadian' government extended symbolic reparations including the conception of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, (TRC) to reveal previously suppressed histories and current exclusionary practices that continue to live among Indigenous IRS survivors and victims of hereditary trauma. The dual functionality of reparation programs, both as repairing the past and proactively rebuilding society as it navigates trauma founded on colonial violence, offers symbolic support for rehabilitation, satisfaction, and reintegration.⁸ This complex and multi-disciplinary effort to repatriate the past includes the architectural memory of demolished IRS buildings and

⁶ IRS (Indian Residential Schools) will be used throughout this thesis, alludes to the 'Canadian' Federal system that allowed missionary and state-led institutions to assimilate Indigenous populations across 'Canada' into Western society as a form of recognized cultural genocide.

⁷ Geoffrey Carr, "Atopoi of the modern: revisiting the place of the Indian Residential School," *English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 109+. Gale Academic OneFile (accessed September 29, 2020). https://link-gale-com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/apps/doc/A228994880/AONE?u=ocul_carleton&sid=AONE&xid=2260d01c

⁸ Ruth Rubio-Marín, *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies While Redressing Human Rights Violations*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009,) 383.

the conservation of existing infrastructure. The IRS's spatial memory remains both figuratively and literally, as a testament to the extorsion of land and assimilative agenda within the settler-colonial narrative, defined as 'Canadian' history.

Existing infrastructures of former IRS provide opportunities to interact with their histories, otherwise overlooked by their physical absence. The IRS system was implemented in all provinces and territories⁹ representing the lingering associative trauma that continues to devastate Indigenous communities. The schools, which sought to assimilate students by instilling basic fluency in English or French supported by Christian traditions, served first and foremost as a place of instruction of skills related to specific labouring activities. These activities included agriculture and domestic arts, under the belief that Indigenous Peoples were best served with training in trades to support colonial economics.¹⁰ The assimilative process, constructed socio-economic barriers that limited Indigenous Peoples to labouring trades with second class status in 'Canada'.¹¹ The IRS's legacy of eroding familial and cultural ties through the policies of removal,

⁹ Except for New-Brunswick and Prince-Edward-Island.

¹⁰ Jean Barmen, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, *The legacy of the past: An overview' in Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1--The Legacy*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 1-22

¹¹ Sarah De Leeuw, "Intimate Colonialisms: The Material and Experienced Places of British Columbia's Residential Schools," *The Canadian Geographer* 51 (3), 2007, 339-59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2007.00183.x>.

institutionalization and assimilation, remain abstract concepts for many ‘Canadians’ due to the lack of frictional interactions with Indigenous memory and heritage.¹²

The testimonial evidence of the IRS infrastructures and landscapes represents opportunities to implement collective reparations¹³ through the renegotiation of historic narratives and is worthy of a discussion for their futures. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s [TRC] *94 Calls to Action* demonstrates the pressing need to readdress the legacy of the residential school system, and advance the process of ‘Canadian’ reconciliation.¹⁴ The Commission calls upon commemorative actions to “Revise the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada’s national heritage and history.”¹⁵ In conjunction with this thesis, reaffirming history through collective

¹² Brieg, Capitaine and Karine Vanthuyne, *Power through Testimony: Reframing Residential Schools in the Age of Reconciliation*, (Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2017)

¹³ Collective reparations can take many forms, ranging from political legislation to grassroots organizations that recognize the group-based nature of violations to contest stigmas associated with the demographic in question as described by Ruth Rubio-Marín, *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies While Redressing Human Rights Violations*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009,), 379.

¹⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015)

¹⁵ Ibid.

reparations can extend to the conservation of IRS infrastructure and landscapes, arguably using the site as a place for frictional commemoration and reflection, to reaffirm Indigenous histories erased by colonialism. With growing interests in heritage discourses of restitution, restoration and material artefactual values related to sites of violence, lies opportunities for reconciliation and cultural resurgence as part of sustainable development strategies.¹⁶ However, within these speculative futures for IRS infrastructure and landscapes lies no prescribed solution or intervention technique, as individual spatial conditions remain an intimate form of trauma for many IRS survivors and inter-generational victims.

Through illustrating inherent architectural design and landscapes that disrupted Indigenous senses of place and identity, the purpose of this research is to provide a discussion for reconciliation, healing and spirituality to collide with the recognition and reflection of 'Canada's' political wrongs.¹⁷ Discussing ideas of de-colonialism and intersections with heritage conservation within the context of the IRS infrastructure and landscapes, may disrupt previously held Eurocentric perspectives that have contributed to the ripple-effect of on-going colonial trauma. This intersection presents

¹⁶ Ferdinand De Jong and Michael Rowlands, "Postconflict Heritage," *Journal of Material Culture* 13 (2): 131–34, 2008
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183508090894>.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Carr, "Atopoi of the modern: revisiting the place of the Indian Residential School," *English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 109+.

architectural conservation as a tool to de-colonize through means of recognition, reconciliation, and healing.

It is important to note the current state of IRS infrastructure in ‘Canada,’ which includes the demolished, abandoned, restored, and rehabilitated infrastructures and landscapes. Three schools will be explored at multiple scales in this thesis, further strengthening the idea that IRS conservation is not to be looked at as a single instance, but as a system within ‘Canada’s’ colonial project, and inclusive of subjective collective memories.



Fig.03: Robert Houle, *Sandy Bay Residential School Series*, 2009, [Oil stick on paper] University of Manitoba, Cedric Bomford.

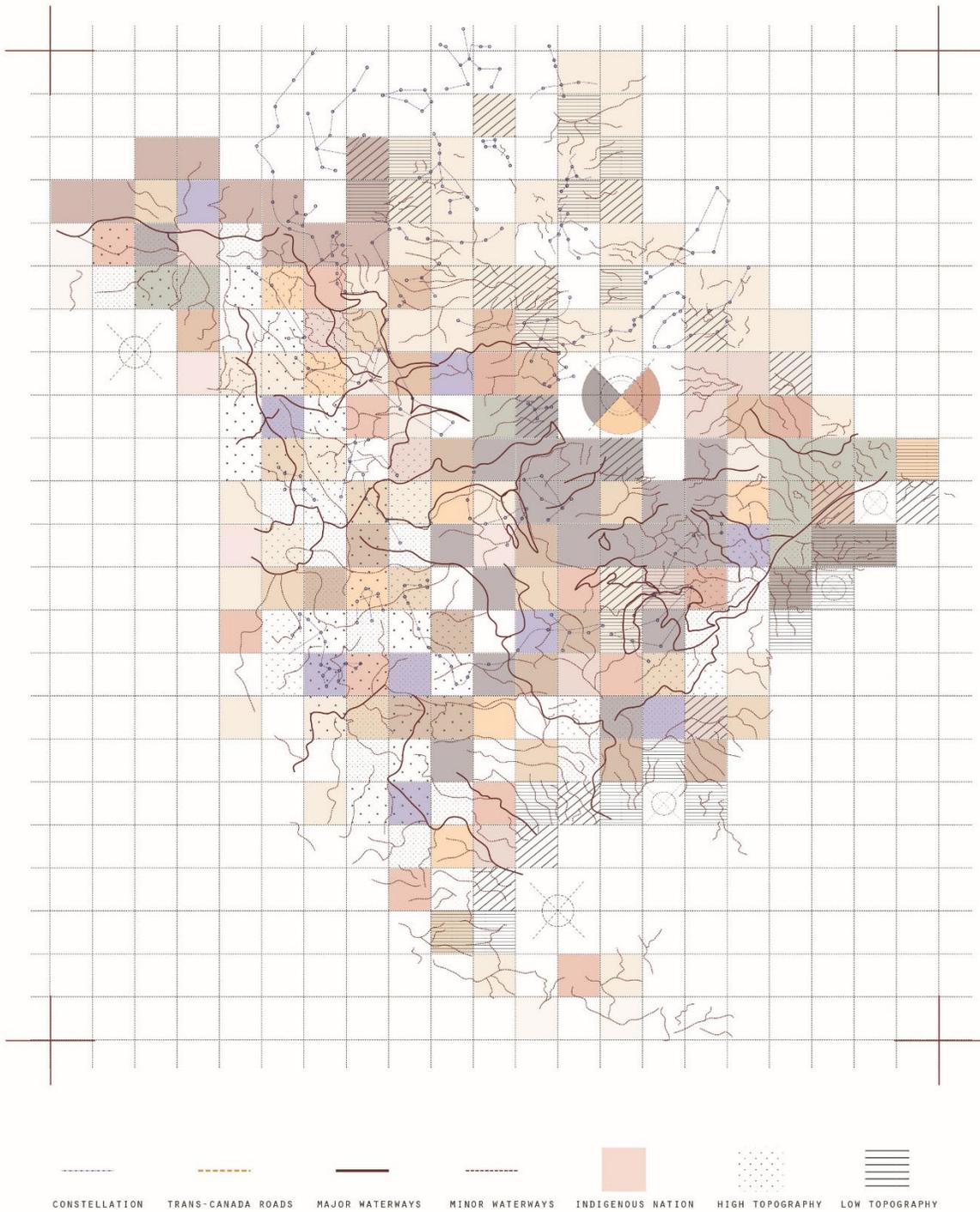


Fig. 04: *Terrain and Spatial Memory* of 'North America.' An exercise to de-colonize Eurocentric cartography inspired by Indigenous epistemologies.

“when defining our “land,” Inuit do not distinguish between the ground upon which our communities are built and the sea ice upon which we travel, hunt, and build igloos as temporary camps. Land is anywhere our feet, dog teams, or snowmobiles can take us.”

-Inuit Circumpolar Council. *Sea Ice Is Our Highway: An Inuit Perspective on Transportation in the Arctic*

CHAPTER ONE: TOWARDS AN ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

01.1 Indigenous Cartography and Imaginaries of Place

The discussion pertaining to the Indigenous perspective of using, understanding, and creating space is foundational regarding modes of depicting territory and spatial relationships. The representation of place is not unanimous among all Indigenous Peoples but does recount similarities that blur the divide between culture and nature, through the interconnectedness of bodies and *place*. The term *place* in lieu of *space* is an important phenomenological difference when challenging Eurocentric representation in geography and the broader realms of architecture. Taking to the Western phenomenological tradition *space* is defined as the universal, abstract and quantifiable spatial extension often deployed in scientific fields, and *place* refers to the qualitative, historically emergent or experiential mode of inhabiting within personal and collective significance.¹⁸ Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith recounts a perspective based on her Indigenous experience, which defines *place* as one's connectedness to

¹⁸Peter Whitridge, "Landscapes, Houses, Bodies, Things: 'Place' and the Archaeology of Inuit Imaginaries." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11 (2): 213–50, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JARM.0000038067.06670.34>.

nature, the universe and the environment.¹⁹ As she explains; “to be connected (to all beings) is to be whole.(...) Connecting is related to issues of identity and place, to spiritual relationships and community wellbeing.”²⁰

For the purpose of this chapter and greater discussion of this thesis, the term *place* will be used to include the experiential qualities related to territory and landscapes, as understood by Indigenous Peoples. The term *space*, in the context of this thesis resonates with the territorial expansion of colonialism and settler-colonial structuralism, which views territory as an ongoing opportunity to conquer. This intentional phenomenological difference intends to criticize colonial narratives in Eurocentric mapping. Understanding the experiential spatial qualities of *place* requires deconstructing Eurocentric means of territorial representation by substitution with ecological approaches that include the interconnectedness of body and the environment. This substitution can be powerful and provide for de-colonial representation in both architecture and territorial mapping. Notable inter-being relationships and connectedness to environment include the experiential qualities related to sensory relationships, and its inclusive conception. Indigenous ways of depicting *place* often include experiences related to various spatial conditions that exist together,

¹⁹Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London; New York: Dunedin, N.Z.: New York: Zed Book; University of Otago Press; 1999)

²⁰ Ibid, 149.

producing complex representations of knowledge, practices, and maps, conceptually intertwining spiritual symbolism and geographical phenomena.²¹ These means of representation existed for thousands of years before the becoming of modern geography, which in its current state, dismisses Indigenous knowledge on the basis that it does not include scientific criteria.²²



Fig. 05: *Inuit Map of the Crown Prince Islands, Disco Bay, Greenland*. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Accessed November 6, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3382c.ct001822/>.

²¹ Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

²² *Ibid*, 30.

Sensory relationships relating to Indigenous methods of representing *place* can be described as an experience and grounded in traditional ways of knowing.²³ Past and present Indigenous mapping exercises comes in many forms such as tree carvings, sewing Wampum belts and oral stories as a means for way-finding and spatial ordering.²⁴ From an Indigenous epistemological perspective, mapping is a process-oriented activity indicative of a way of “seeing,” or in foundational sensory terms, *experiencing*.²⁵ An example of such is the Inuit cartography of carved wooden pieces representing the shoreline of islands and land formations in the arctic landscape (Fig. 05). As a navigational aid and communication tool, the maps were buoyant, compact, and understood among many arctic cultural groups. Arguably, Inuit cartography and representation of *place*, illustrates ways of navigating the territory in response to a sensory experience. Indigenous means of depicting *place* tend to use inclusive symbolism related to the existence of inter-personal relationships.²⁶ Including the existence of all beings presents opportunities to de-value the Eurocentric obsession of categorizing and dividing “us” and “other,” while

²³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London; New York: Dunedin, N.Z.: New York: Zed Book; University of Otago Press; 1999)

²⁴ Thomas J. McGurk, and Sébastien Caquard, 2020, “To What Extent Can Online Mapping Be Decolonial? A Journey throughout Indigenous Cartography in Canada,” *The Canadian Geographer*, 64 (1): 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12602>.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 51.

²⁶ Winichakul Thongchai, 1994, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press)

providing a holistic approach to understanding territory as an extension of humxnity.²⁷

Another distinction is how *place* is defined as a personal and subjective experience. Contrasting with Eurocentric means of mapping, typically reserved for white males defined as a “Cartographers” by trade, Indigenous map-making reflects personal experiential relationships within the terrain that are not defined by gender, age or social status.²⁸ The inclusion of experiential qualities pertaining to genderless experiences can offer insight into understanding implicit bias in the Eurocentric representation of *space* that further constructs the notion of the “other.” Depictions of terrain and Indigenous Peoples as “other” are found in the earliest European depictions of ‘North America’ and are grounded in systems of religion, race, and gender. An example of such is Reverend André Lacombe’s *Tableau Catéchisme* (Fig. 06), a missionary cartographic



Fig. 06: Reverend André Lacombe, *Tableau Catéchisme* (Pictorial Catechism), 1874. Marquette University Archives. ▶

²⁷ Humxn or humyn, often used in feminist literature, references biology and the X and Y chromosomes. As a reference to Yessica D. Rotsan’s *Erasing Colonial Lines between Humxn and Nature*, humxn will be used to reference both male (XY), female (XX) and non-binary individuals, due to the common X chromosome to all people regardless of gender, race, and sexual identity.

²⁸ Robert A Rundstrom, "A Cultural Interpretation of Inuit Map Accuracy," *Geographical Review* 80, no. 2 (1990): 155-68. Accessed November 6, 2020. doi:10.2307/215479.

illustration of the ‘North American’ Indigenous Peoples’ journey to salvation in the Christian Faith.

The cartographies of interaction between Indigenous Peoples and conquistador-settlers generated a change in the purpose of mapmaking from a mode of communication to a tool for territorial dispossession and construction of “otherness.”²⁹ The intersection of Indigenous mapping for communication purposes and the Eurocentric cosmovision, represents the becoming of the representation of ‘North America’ as a vast, unexplored territory in Western cartographic exercises.³⁰ As a result, Indigenous mapping was faced with the confrontational nature of the conquistador-settler’s requirements for precise, standardized and rational mapmaking practices.³¹ It is in this very interaction that the Indigenous perspective was disregarded from the historical narrative, silenced by cartographies that replaced instances of ephemeral mapping and oral histories with documented instances of the ‘scientific’ absolutism.³²

²⁹ Thomas J. McGurk, and Sébastien Caquard, 2020, “To What Extent Can Online Mapping Be Decolonial? A Journey throughout Indigenous Cartography in Canada,” *The Canadian Geographer* 64 (1): 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12602>.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 52.

³¹ *Ibid*, 52.

³² *Ibid*, 52.

01.2 De-Colonialism and Ecology of Cultural Landscapes

The reintegration of *place* at the humxn³³ scale in colonial cartographies, provides colonial relief and ecological resurgence by including relationships that are free from barriers of race, gender, and socio-economic constructions. Current means of IRS documentation represent a fictional experience of a conquistador-settler, disregarding the history, stories, and relationships that pre-dates their arrival. The Eurocentric (documented) version of history excludes the humxn experience embedded in Indigenous history that takes form in traceless storytelling and intangible culture.

Through de-colonial theory, one would argue that *Canadian* history is historical fiction, or as what ‘American’ historian Hayden White describes as being a “very small portion of reality.”³⁴ This subjective fictional discourse, written within a colonial context, is continuously indoctrinated into the ‘Canadian’ education system, recounting versions of history that promote the colonial narrative, excluding alternate versions that existed within the same time and space. Colonial forms of domination as explained by Mischa Berlin in *Decolonial Praxis*, “maintains that coloniality has

³³ Refer to footnote definition on page 13.

³⁴ Hayden White, “Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality,” *Rethinking History* 9, no. 2–3 (June 2005): 147–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520500149061>.

reshaped the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivized expression, intellectual or visual as a result of enacting European hegemony.”³⁵ What is discarded from the narrative are the versions rendered unfamiliar to the Eurocentric understanding of history. Interestingly, the core of Indigenous epistemology is based on the ontological relationship between humxns and landscapes.

Part of this consciousness is related to ways in which history was recorded, particularly as visual representation of territory through the act of mapping. The concept of borders and provinces within ‘Canada’ are colonial constructions based on notions brought forward by the Western understanding of territorial needs, following war and conquest. This Eurocentric reality transcended into a tool to further a colonial agenda; the idea that invisible lines are definitive points representing thresholds and limits irrelevant to the Indigenous understanding of territory. Indigenous perceptions of limits were embedded in the change of identifiable occurrences such as hydrography, topography, or geology. This brings into question current approaches to mapping, led by the “Doctrine of

³⁵ George J. Sefa Dei, and Meredith Lordan, *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*, (New York Bern Frankfurt; Berlin Bruxelles Vienna Oxford Warsaw: Peter Lang, 2016), 165

Discovery” and characterized by an attempt to put a patina of legality on the armed confiscation of the assets of the Indigenous Peoples.”³⁶

Both as a contribution to ideas of de-colonization in cartographic representation and locating the IRS system in ‘Canada’, a series of mapping exercises were rendered in conjunction with this thesis to illustrate the extent of ‘Canada’s’ colonial project. Part of these explorations include mapping recalling Indigenous notions of *place*, illustrated in Fig. 07 and Fig. 08. These exercises provided insight into the experiential relationship of place and body, described as the *encounter* one has with the environment. Through the multitudes of scales explored in this thesis, symbols typically used in architecture and cartography are challenged by notions of reclaiming cultural landscapes. These strategies include but are not limited to; hydrology, taxonomy, and topography; intentionally stripping the map bare of colonial characteristics and replacing them with the physical boundaries shaped by territorial instances. Arguably, the healing process of colonialism can begin with depiction and a breakaway from Eurocentric methods of the representation, documentation, and foremost, education.

³⁶Kathryn W. Shanley, and Bjørg Evjen, 2015, *Mapping Indigenous Presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives*, Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 11



Fig. 07: *Mapping from Memory*, as defined by the *encounters* around Ottawa's Arboretum. Personal explorations of cartographic representations of *place*.

From a de-colonial perspective, ecological approaches provide an opportunity for progressing beyond a colonized setting. As explained by Yessica Rotsan, environmental and Aboriginal justice converge on many levels and often converse during direct-action events, “by asserting that in their unified hopes, they are fighting to eliminate the colonial norm that supports the Canadian dominion system that claims the privilege of pillaging the earth and displacing the original humxn beings for its own wealth and security.”³⁷ Conquistador-settlers have much to learn from Indigenous Peoples with regards to restoring humxn-environment

³⁷ George J. Sefa Dei and Meredith Lordan, *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*, (New York Bern Frankfurt; Berlin Bruxelles Vienna Oxford Warsaw: Peter Lang, 2006), 21.

relationships. Arguably, starting with the representation of IRS landscapes, territory and infrastructures could be a contribution to restoring ecological relationships within colonial landscapes and de-colonizing Eurocentric representation, constructions, and experience.



Fig. 08: *Taxonomy - 'Mapping from Memory'*, exploring experiential qualities of *place* d in conjunction with alternative cartographic qualities.

“As we are freed from the old limits of frame and boundary – preconditions for the survey and ‘colonisation’ of wilderness areas – the role of mapping will become less one of tracing and re-tracing already known worlds, and more one of inaugurating new worlds out of old. Instead of mapping as a means of appropriation, we might begin to see it as a means of emancipation and enablement, liberating phenomena and potential from the encasements of convention and habit.”

-James Corner, *Agency of Mapping*

01.3 Re-Imagining History and Terrain Through De-Colonial Intervention

The borders associated with the map of ‘North America’ are, although not physical, the legal representation of colonialism. The past and present invisible limitations appropriate territory and land ‘gained’ through war by the conquistador-settler population, which by default, contained Indigenous Peoples within previously inconceivable territorial branding. Fluid boundaries that defined the overlap between Indigenous nations and territory, often manifested by topography and hydrography, were replaced with straight lines that currently constitute the reserves and limitations of legitimacy. The ever-changing but continued use of linear borders, is a visible scar of the geographical violence engrained in colonialism. The post-colonial context and awareness of said border-inflicted violence, provides opportunities to question these limits through re-representation. As explained by landscape architect and theorist James Corner, the exercise of mapping can provide both a liberating and limiting experience depending on the creator’s bias, situating “mapping as a collective enabling enterprise, a project that both reveals and realizes hidden potential.”³⁸

³⁸ James Corner, “The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention.,” *The Map Reader*, edited by Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin, and Chris Perkins, 89–101. (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2011), 89. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587.ch12>.

Alternative mapping exercises in relation to this thesis has helped provide a de-constructivist approach to understanding the land mass that has been labeled as ‘North America.’ The removal of the Eurocentric labels, provides relief to the ideologies that accounted for, or as what has been defined by legal geographer Nicholas Blomley as the geography of violence; “[...] the space of the savage was one of the absence of law and property, and the concomitant presence of violence.”³⁹ Within the colonial present, it is crucial to understand the direct implications of representation, and how, the continued use of the linear colonial maps fail to represent the Indigenous population in both history and current geography. This, as defined by Blomley, is a direct consequence of imperialism; “the relation between imperialism and land is a fundamental one: At some very basic level, imperialism means thinking about, settling on, and controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and often involves untold misery for other.”⁴⁰ The untold misery remains unrevealed as Western discourse continuously represents the physical world through a Eurocentric lens. What is North? What is labeled? Or what is skewed? However, this selective representation fails populations beyond the *Mercator Projection*’s inherent issues. It is the physical manifestation of the exploitation of Indigenous and Southern Hemispheric populations, that de-humxnizes and

³⁹ Nicholas Blomley, "Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no. 1 (2003): 121-41. Accessed September 24, 2020.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 128.

separates the West from the rest; including the demographic that predates rectilinear land claims. Nakona professor Kathryn W. Shanley describes this relationship as the following:

[Western discourses of nature] represented a radically new mapping of global space through one common language [Latin]. [...] Domination and exploitation through taxonomies of nature and maps of indigenous peoples and their lands go hand in hand with discourses as identifying Indigenous people as ‘savages’, by either a way of corruption or their innocence, unable to govern themselves or provide oversight to their homelands and resources.⁴¹

This linearity transcends into the very institutions that visibly targeted Indigenous populations, as well as their culture, beliefs, and relationship to the land. The exploration of the linearity that defines territory on a macro scale, is also evident on a micro scale, through the architecture of Residential schools. Mapping at various scales of architectures and landscapes, reveals the linearity of neoclassical architecture, implying a structured order of the ideology behind the institution’s architecture and the Western imperialist narrative. The Vitruvian relationship between classical architecture and its proportional rationale of the human body illustrates how “Artists and

⁴¹ Kathryn W. Shanley, and Bjørg Evjen, *Mapping Indigenous Presence: North Scandinavian and North American Perspectives, Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015)

architects assumed the ideal body to be universal- Implicitly, raced bodies in their particularity were distant from this ideal.”⁴² This further enforces the ideology that race and religion are foundational in the imperialist motive that exploited Indigenous populations, both in macro scales of defining territory and in micro scales of imposing dominance through architecture and institutionalisation.

Canadian Art Historian Charmaine Nelson argues that the historical representation of landscape exerted control over geography, natural systems, and Indigenous Peoples, who were perceived as expendable or an obstacle to Eurocentric notions of progress.⁴³ These notions apply to current means of spatial and territorial representation that impose Eurocentric conceptions of mapping. A study conducted by Bennett et al, compared current government mapping of the Canadian Arctic to Inuit-led groups and concluded that current cartographies of the Canadian North continue to abide by settler-colonial narratives with limited consideration of Indigenous land claims.⁴⁴ This demonstrates the urgency for including

⁴² María Fernández, *Cosmopolitanism in Mexican Visual Culture*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014) Accessed September 28, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁴³ Charmaine A. Nelson, “Interrogating the Colonial Cartographical Imagination,” *American Art* 31 (2): 51–53, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.1086/694062>.

⁴⁴ Mia M. Bennett, Wilfrid Greaves, Rudolf Riedlsperger, and Alberic Botella, 2016, “Articulating the Arctic: Contrasting State and Inuit Maps of the Canadian North.” *Polar Record* 52 (6): 630–44. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247416000164>.

Indigenous perspectives in the historic narrative of territory and more extensively the representation of *place*.

This discussion is equally as valid when discussing the Indigenous experience of the architectural condition, in which architectural design becomes the physical manifestation of a “capitalist property regime built on the back of broken treaties.”⁴⁵ The dichotomy of *place* and IRS architecture confuse destination with assimilation; the former, representing the Indigenous experiential relationship with territory and the latter, as a tool to pursue a colonial agenda. Given the abandoned, restored, and demolished states of the Indian Residential Schools across ‘Canada’, representation is at risk of being limited to archival architectural drawings that fail to include the Indigenous narrative. The dismissal of the Indigenous experience in architectural and cartographic representation, not only reinforces a colonial ideology, but would be a failed opportunity for cultural resurgence given the ongoing and hereditary trauma associated with the residential school system. Indigenous knowledge resurgence in architecture is explored in Joar Nango’s work including *Girjegumpi* (Fig. 09), a library where visitors are invited to peruse potentials for expanded Indigenous perspectives in architecture.

⁴⁵ Pierre Bélanger, 2020, “No Design on Stolen Land: Dismantling Design’s Dehumanising White Supremacy,” *Architectural Design* 90 (1): 120–27. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.2535>.



Fig. 09: Joar Nango, *Girjegumpi*, a nomadic Sami library in Jokkmokk, Sweden.
Photo by Ingrid Fadnes.

As a contribution to this discussion, I argue that the current “post-colonial” cartographies can learn from Indigenous ways of mapping, both as a decolonization exercise but also as a form of Indigenous knowledge resurgence. Current architectural theory that interrelates space and memory can learn from Indigenous means of mapping that value the process, memory and performance of understanding *place* and territory.⁴⁶ These experimental modes of mapping can mobilize the strength of oral and performative formats as a means of transmission of Indigenous knowledge, and present opportunities for narrative resurgence pertaining to the

⁴⁶ Thomas J. McGurk, and Sébastien Caquard, 2020, “To What Extent Can Online Mapping Be Decolonial? A Journey throughout Indigenous Cartography in Canada,” *The Canadian Geographer*, 64 (1): 49–64.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12602>.

Indigenous experience in the IRS system.⁴⁷ The Indigenous methods of mapmaking and understanding *place* becomes especially important regarding the discussion surrounding anti-colonial depictions of architecture and experience. What this thesis proposes, is that within the architectural conservation of IRS infrastructures and landscapes, should include notions of *place* that capture experiential qualities beyond commemorative plaques. Inspiration from Indigenous artists and architects who seek to de-colonize through their work, resonates powerful ideas related to heritage conservation. What this thesis presents, are speculative futures for IRS sites in ‘Canada’ that consider de-colonial and ecological approaches.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 52.

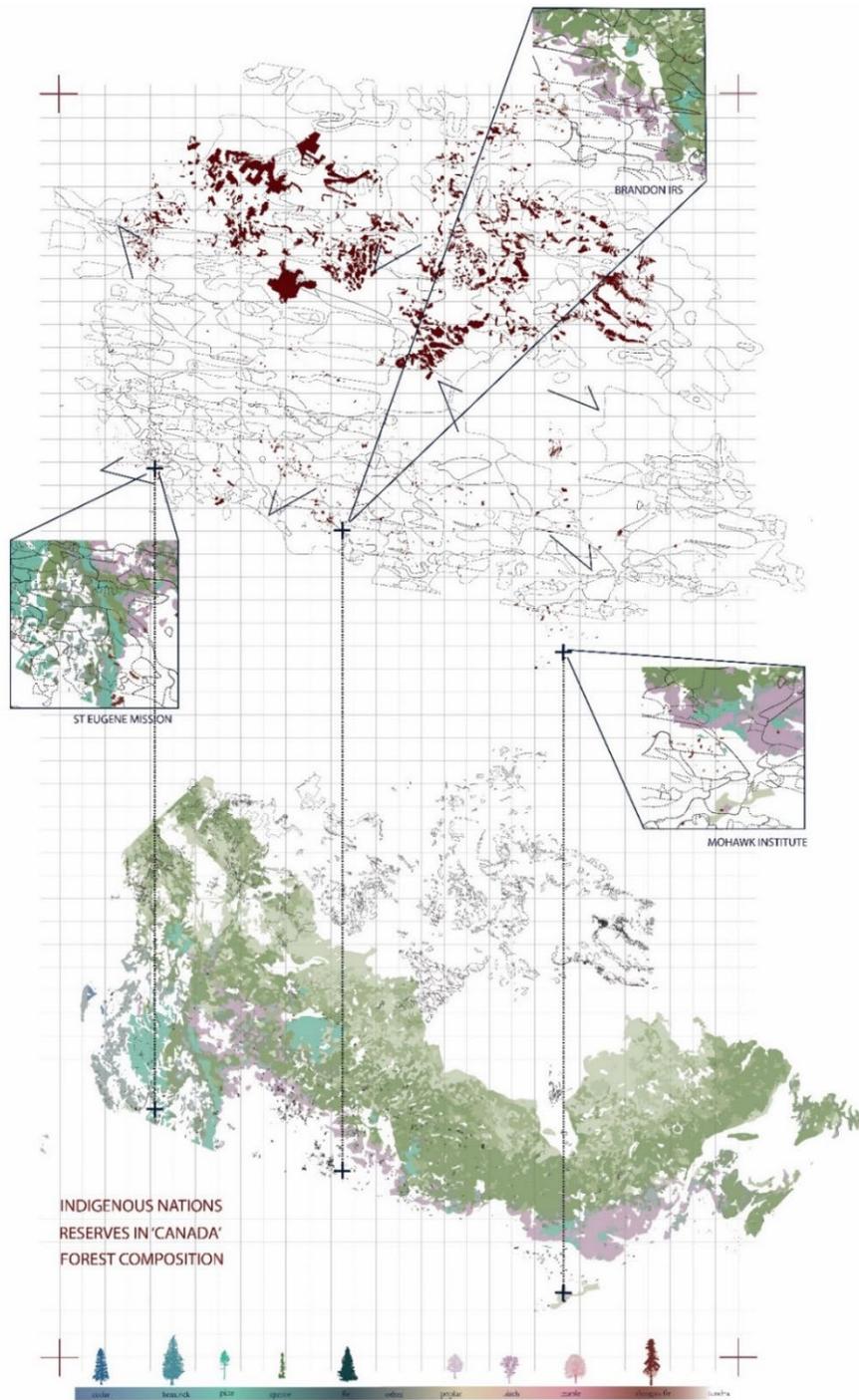


Fig. 10: Map locating reserves in 'Canada' juxtaposed with Indigenous plant species and traditional territories.

*“How would you feel if someone came and took your
child?”*

-Witness Blanket Project

02.1 Systems of Territorial Violence in IRS Landscapes

As described by Kanaka Maoli professor J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Settler Colonialism is a structure not an event.”⁴⁸ This structure is foundational in current settler-colonial means of representation related to our current worldview and approach to cartography and *place*. The scientific criteria that codify maps, depict the current borders, land and codes associated with contemporary *place*. Recalling ways in which maps are subject to change in relatively short periods in history, often as a result of peace and war, illustrates the shifting boundaries that render all depictions of space as temporary. While borders shift and treaties are signed, the foundational narrative of *place* is disregarded which becomes an important part of the discussion of IRS landscapes.

When referring to the sites and infrastructures of Residential Schools across ‘Canada’, one must understand the deliberate attempt of assimilation, while identifying colonial violence at territorial, site specific and architectural

⁴⁸ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “‘A Structure, Not an Event’: Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity.” 2016. *Lateral* (blog). June 1, 2016. <https://csalateral.org/issue/5-1/forum-alt-humanities-settler-colonialism-enduring-indigeneity-kauanui/>.

scale. Mapping exercises related to the topographic qualities as part of IRS landscapes reveals many intersections of *place* and cultural landscapes; including blurred borders of Indigenous cultural groups and, trading routes juxtaposed with the boundaries defined by water and topography. The intersection of redefining IRS landscapes in conjunction with Indigenous knowledge recovery is in itself an anti-colonial effort, that challenges centuries of colonialism's efforts to methodically eradicate Indigenous ways of seeing, being, and interacting with the world.”⁴⁹ As part of the discussion related the research, this thesis questions the ways in which current cartography related to IRS landscapes, and ways of representing IRS sites, can become de-colonial while also providing Indigenous knowledge resurgence. What kind of shifts can we include in symbolism, architectural intervention/conservation, materials, experiential qualities, taxonomy, and natural systems to challenge current Eurocentric depictions of the IRS as space rather than *place*?

⁴⁹ Angela Waziyatawin Wilson, “Indigenous Knowledge Recovery Is Indigenous Empowerment,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 28 no. 3–4, (2004): 359–73

Three case studies of Residential Schools in ‘Canada’ have been investigated as part of this research, to demonstrate the multi-scalar implications that contributed to ‘Canada’s’ assimilation project. Investigations of St-Eugene’s Missionary School in Cranbrook British Columbia (Repurposed), the Mohawk Institute in Brantford Ontario (Restored) and the Brandon Industrial⁵⁰ School in Brandon Manitoba (Demolished), all illustrate the territorial, site specific and architectural conditions that have contributed to the colonial project. These case studies represent a small fraction of extreme cases of architectural conservation techniques, or lack thereof, from a collected sample of 145 Residential Schools categorized as representing the restored, repurposed, or demolished categories (Appendix A).

In conjunction with the territorial mapping exercises, common identifiers of IRS locations across ‘Canada’ show both their early stage of the assimilative project (pre-confederation) and their territorial expansion beyond early colonial settlements. Navigation along rivers were an important mode of transportation in Indigenous cultures which, to their

⁵⁰ Industrial schools were first established as day schools in the 1880’s in ‘Canada’ to assimilate Indigenous children by teaching skills related to religion, farming, and labouring work. Boarding schools, led by religion, existed at the same time. After 1923, the term became Residential Schools, merging the teachings of the Industrial schools with the structure of the boarding schools “to develop the great natural intelligence of the race and to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment.” Despite the change in name, their functions essentially remained the same. J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 140-141

demise aided in expanding 'Canada's' colonial project. Intersections of large water ways through Indigenous territories were used to bring children to residential schools across the country, illustrating their strategic placement within colonial fabric. The territorial map of 'British Columbia' (Fig. 11) shows the intersectionality of Indigenous trading routes with rivers and IRS locations. Islands of current reserve land contrasts with the traditional movement of Indigenous groups within the wider territory. The St Eugene's unusual brick construction, contrasted the more widely known timber constructions of Western 'Canada,' generating a sense of alienation tethered to the fear of an institutional architectural scale for Indigenous children.⁵¹

⁵¹ Geoffrey Carr, "Atopoi of the modern: revisiting the place of the Indian Residential School," *English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 109+. *Gale Academic OneFile* (accessed September 29, 2020)

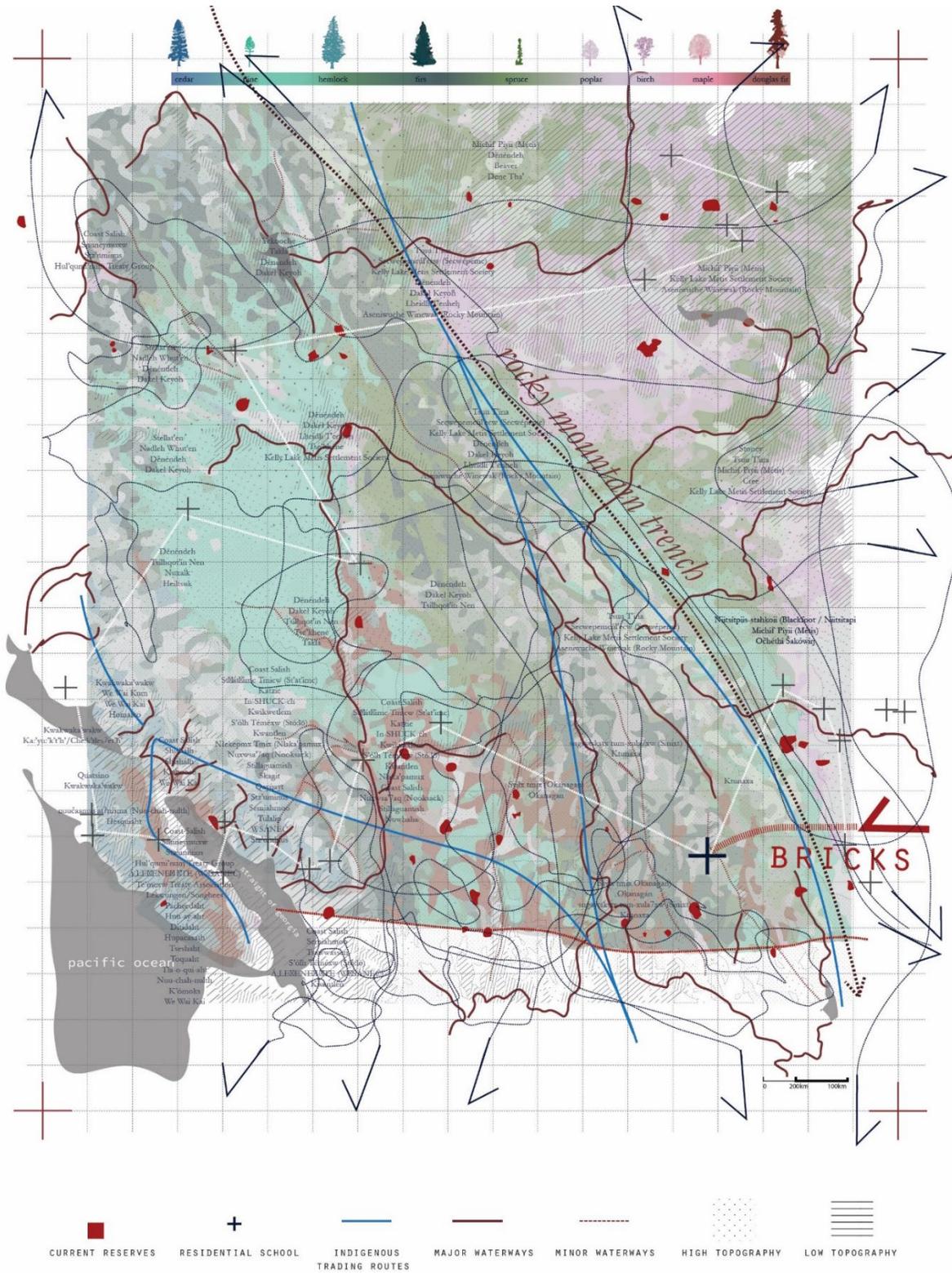


Fig. 11: *Mapping Territory, St Eugene Mission near Cranbrook, 'British Columbia.'*

The territorial violence's associated with the former Mohawk Institute (Fig. 12) illustrates other colonial strategies, including the network of settlements within the country's central location; bringing children from a variety of Indigenous groups, extending from arctic communities to what is currently the 'United States.' The Mohawk Institute was the first established residential school in the country, dating to pre-confederation in 1828, with its current building having been constructed in 1904.⁵² The neighbouring Six Nations of the Grand River Band, is made up of six Iroquois nations; Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora and some Algonquin Delaware nations. Situated in otherwise intersecting; Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Anishinabewaki, Attiwonderonk, Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation and Mississauga territories, the Six Nations of the Grand River Band is comprised of Indigenous groups directly affected by displacement during the 'American' War of Independence.⁵³ Documented as loyalists according to conquistador-settling historical narratives, the Six Nations Band was granted 950,000 acres of land under the Haldiman Proclamation, in which only 46,000 acres remains reserved (a mere 5%).⁵⁴

⁵² Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*, (Waterloo: Heffle Pub, 1997)

⁵³ *Ibid*, 39.

⁵⁴ "Active History on the Grand: We Are All Treaty People," *Active History* (blog), April 4, 2011, <https://activehistory.ca/2011/04/active-history-on-the-grand-we-are-all-treaty-people/>.

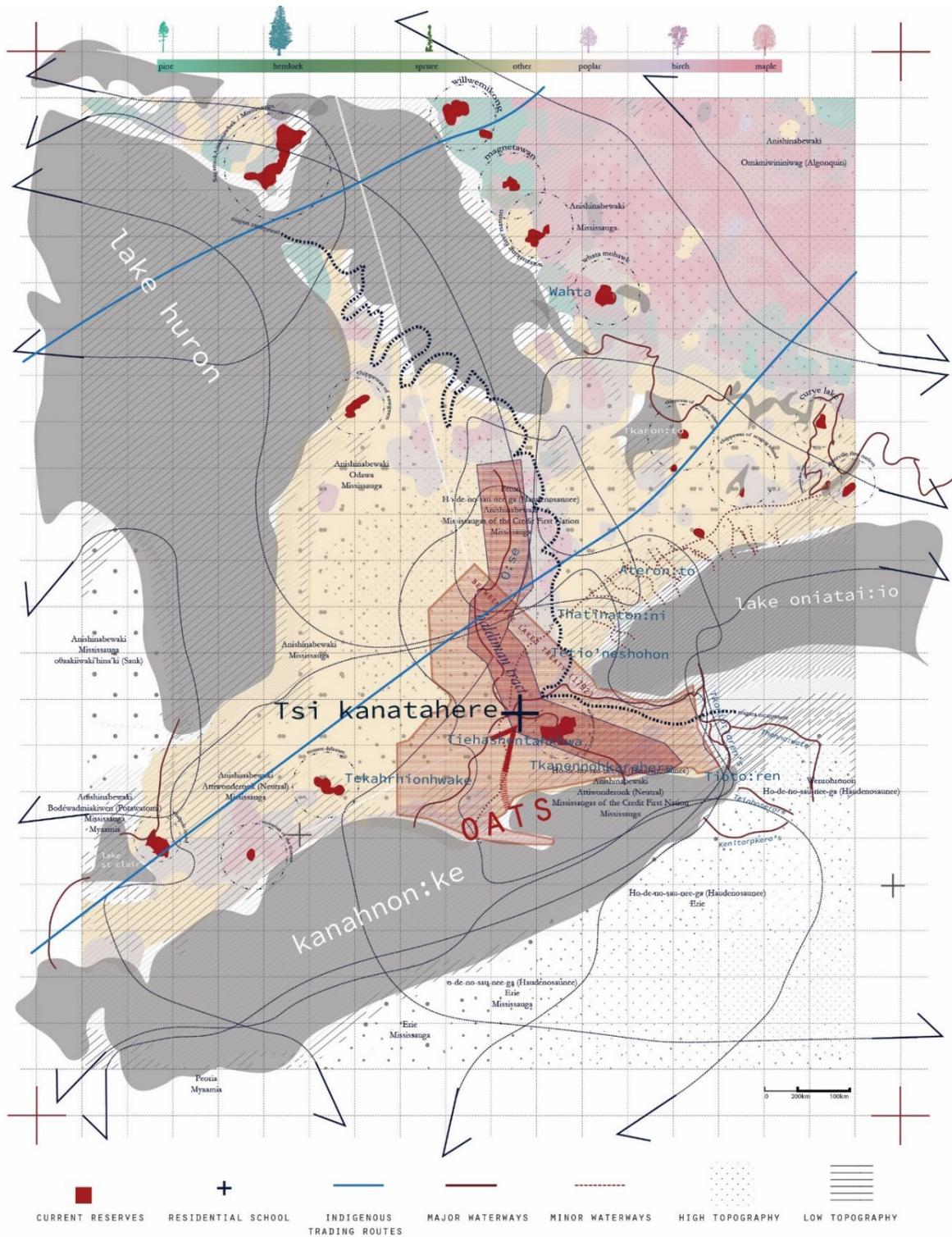


Fig. 12: Territorial context of former Mohawk Institute in Brantford, 'Ontario.'

The territorial map of the Mohawk Institute, illustrates the shrinking land claims and refers to the territory in the Haudenosaunee language⁵⁵ as a form of de-colonial mapping.⁵⁶ Similar to the ways in which the St-Eugene Mission included subtle foreign implications such as the use of brick construction, the former Mohawk Institute is recalled often by its name as “*The Mush Hole*” to reference the porridge that the students ate for the majority of their meals.⁵⁷ The oats, that were not grown on-site, were imported from neighbouring agricultural settlements and their use in porridge were alienating to Indigenous children who were not familiar with the meal.⁵⁸ Such instances illustrate the colonial incentives within territory and the physical displacement of children from their homes, which produced deliberate fear and domination, resonant within inter-generational trauma of IRS survivors.

⁵⁵ It is without mentioning, that the Haudenosaunee names represent one of many Indigenous languages spoken within the territory.

⁵⁶ “NativeLand.Ca.” n.d. Native-Land.ca - Our Home on Native Land. Accessed December 7, 2020. <https://native-land.ca/>.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*, (Waterloo: Heffle Pub, 1997)

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 39.

The territorial mapping of the IRS landscape of the Brandon Industrial Institute in ‘Manitoba’ (Fig. 13) re-iterates the relationship between territorial expansion and the colonial project as a direct consequence of the conquest of land. As colonial fabric grew along the Southern borders of the ‘United States,’ Indigenous communities were forced into reserves further North. The geological complexities of the territory characterize the landscape with various lakes and rivers along the Canadian Shield, generating strong cultural ground among Indigenous Plains groups, Northern Cree, and Métis. Waterways were used as an advantage to bring Indigenous children to residential schools, as was an expanding rail system and other transportation infrastructures. The territorial mapping of ‘Manitoba,’ reveals how residential schools were constructed both near Indigenous communities, and embedded in colonial fabric, the latter being a strategy for the conception of the Brandon Industrial School.

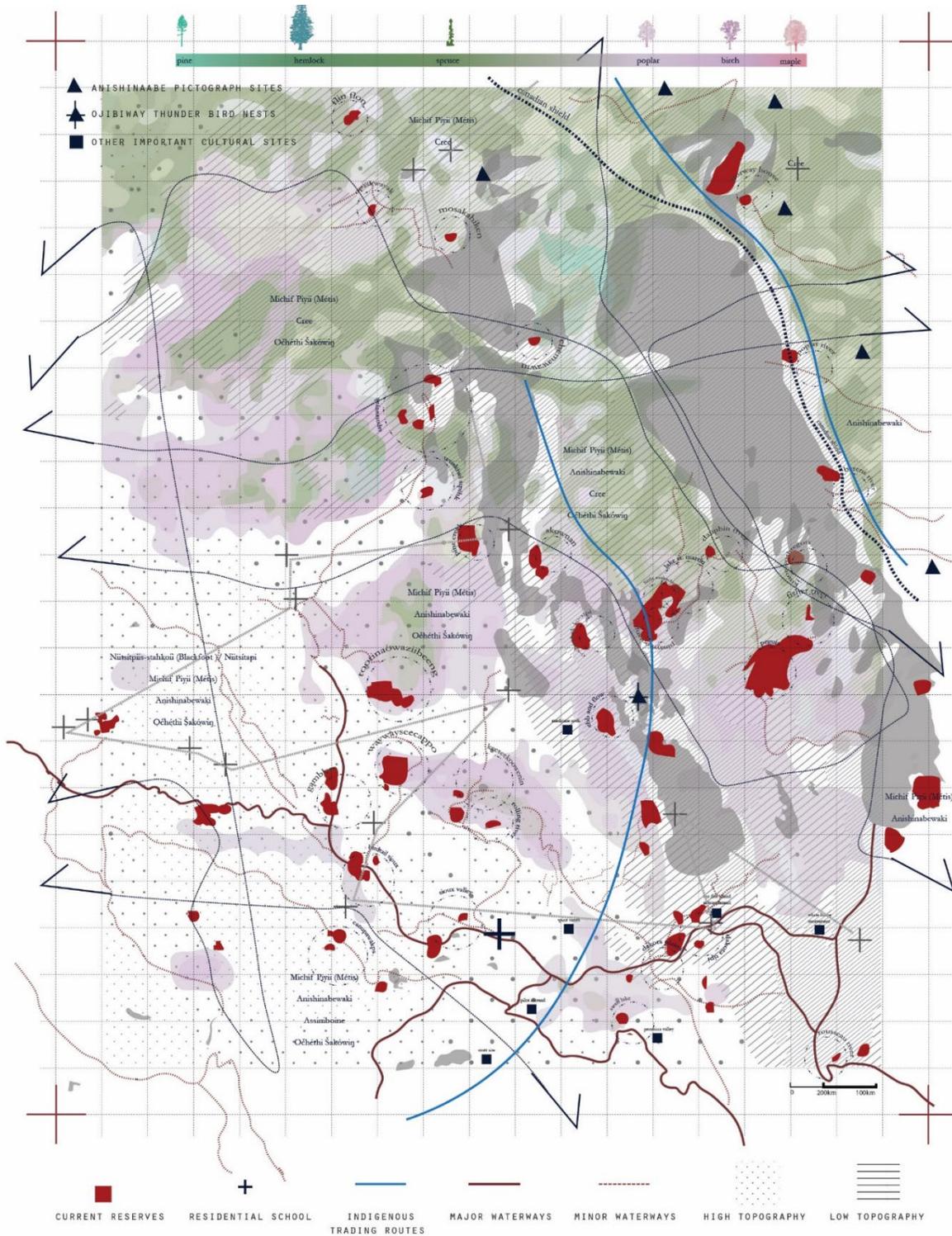


Fig. 13: Territorial Context of former Brandon Industrial Institute in Brandon, ‘Manitoba.’

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"Did your School have a graveyard?"

-Witness Blanket Project

03.1 The Architecture of Assimilation

The IRS infrastructure must be distinguished as a colonial strategy which coincided with the neoclassical architectural movement of the 18th and 19th centuries. Neoclassicism was influenced by both the French nationalist tradition of the cartesian line of thought based on certainty and mathematics, and the British Empirical system of ordering.⁵⁹ This influence, guided by the Greco-Roman laws of architecture, represents absolutist doctrines affixed to authority, natural law and reason.⁶⁰ The reuse of classical geometry and ruled construction became the standard during the renaissance, depicting the “ideal” to reminisce classical archaeology. The depiction of a rationale “ideal” became the catalyst for large scale urban planning projects in Europe and the ‘Americas’.

The adoption of neoclassical architecture as a national style at the height of the colonial empires, provided an opportunity to build new without the

⁵⁹ Robin Middleton, *Neoclassical and 19th Century Architecture*. (Ellyn Childs Allison, New York, 1980)
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015049558888>.

⁶⁰ Alan Colquhoun, *Modernity and the Classical Tradition: Architectural Essays, 1980-1987*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), 4.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015014091493>.

restrictions of “palimpsestrial” medieval planning, while fulfilling a propagandistic national agenda that represented morality, self-control, and scientific absolutism. Strict geometries and symmetry inspired by the Greco-Roman aesthetic and rationale, transcended into the development of ordered spatial qualities, coherent with Eurocentric epistemologies that aspired to emblemize truth, democracy, and justice.⁶¹ The use of the neoclassical style in ‘North America’ epitomizes the assumption that architecture could regain its sense of order and truth; with the intention of establishing “Athens In America.” This contrasted with what was perceived as, by conquistador-settlers, as *unorderly* or *savage* in Indigenous cultures.⁶² The juxtaposition of this ideology in Indigenous territory was an intentional declaration of power, imitating the ideal depiction of ‘nature’ explored, while suggesting architecture should be treated as the ‘natural’ phenomenon itself.⁶³

The intersection of the enlightenment and the era of colonialization, produced specific spatial qualities that divided, expropriated, and implemented an ideological architectural style emblematic of the

⁶¹ Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis, and Mabel O. Wilson, 2020, *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, University of Pittsburgh Press.

⁶² Arthur S Marks, *A Capital Problem: The Attic Order and the Greek Revival in America*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2013.

⁶³ Alan Colquhoun, *Modernity and the Classical Tradition: Architectural Essays, 1980-1987*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), 61.

government at a macro scale.⁶⁴ These spatial moments, often characterized by gridded urban plans and open public vistas, served militaristic purposes of control and protection from other European conquistador-settlers with essentially identical colonial agendas. The juxtaposition or imposition of the cartesian symmetry in unceded Indigenous territory, alienated and destabilized Indigenous ontological hierarchies of society, economics, and community.⁶⁵ The outcome led to unrecognizable invisible boundaries through a series of land claims which purposely alienated and intimidated Indigenous Peoples.⁶⁶

The Indigenous experience related to the Indian Residential School system is an example of this juxtaposition. Specifically, the use of neoclassical architecture as a tool for a civilizing process meant to disrupt the cultural, political, and social structure of Indigenous populations, while pursuing a sense of Eurocentric order and truth exacerbated by Christian missionaries.⁶⁷ As an investigation into the geometrical layout, a typical IRS floor plan is telling of the thresholds that defined privacy as a right reserved for staff members. The open floor plans in student spaces contrasted with the smaller and more private spatial conditions reserved for staff. This

⁶⁴ Ibid, 62.

⁶⁵ Geoffrey Carr, "Atopoi of the Modern: Revisiting the Place of the Indian Residential School," *English Studies in Canada* 35 no.1 (2009): 109+

⁶⁶ Ibid, 112.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 125.

spatial ordering, unfortunately supported predatorial abuses of power. The geometric structure of the institution and its associative trauma began at the removal of young children from their family and community structure, which represents the deliberate bottom-up re-education approach to assimilation through institutionalization. The geographic violence of removal was strengthened by the IRS locations as removed from Indigenous communities, where students were “scooped” from their homes, often by train, or bus, to attend residential school.⁶⁸ This marked the initial stage of cultural genocide, by severing ties with their culture and allowing for minimal contact with parents, all while discouraging students from running away.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 116.

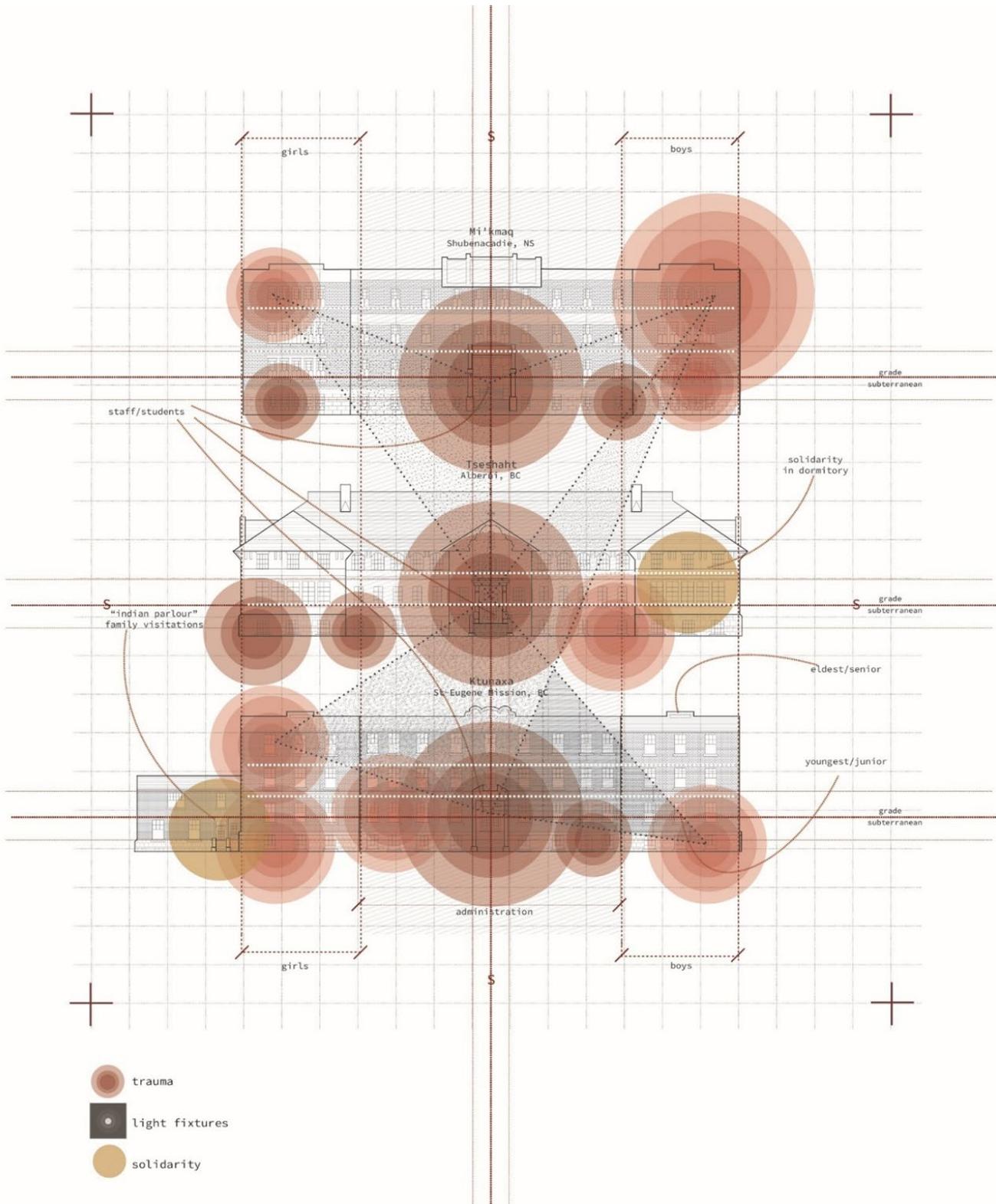


Fig. 14: *Identifying Trauma and Solidarity* within residential schools in elevation and the presence of symmetry.

The timing of their removal during an impressionable period for childhood development, erased the possibility for an alternative cultural influence and sense of self. As described by Canadian art history professor, Geoffrey Carr:

“Indigenous communities, as a result of sustained inhabitation, derived a great deal of their societal cohesiveness and identity from a nested set of relations defined by topography, oral histories, seasonal travel, cultural practices and religious ritual. The IRS system disrupted the cluster of comprehension both by the production of physical space apart from ancestral communities but also with a narrative disjunction.”⁶⁹

The juxtaposition of an impressionable mind within an alienating setting was the trigger for many Indigenous children, resulting too often in inter-generational trauma. This geometric rigidity was spatially characterized by the residential school’s architectural planning, its construction material, its temperature, supported by a strict curriculum and religious agenda. It should be noted however, that neoclassicism was not reserved for residential schools, but was a common architectural style among institutional buildings intended for the use of conquistador-settlers. The neoclassical style, from a Eurocentric understanding of space, did not produce these traumas. Carr

⁶⁹ Ibid, 125.

describes this praxis and dissection of the Western curriculum as “an atomized and instrumental lesson, alien to Indigenous children who typically received technical and spiritual instruction from multivalent spaces.”⁷⁰ The architectural layout of the institutions epitomized an economic philosophy that replaced Indigenous epistemologies of spiritual interconnectedness and communal ownership, with the Eurocentric model of the privatization of land, wage labour, economic production and consumerism.⁷¹ The symmetrical form and function provided an efficient aesthetic that responded to the teachings of Western curriculums and religious devotion. Telling of the colonial architectural agenda, the spatial condition of the IRS evoked a set of strategic power-relations and government rationales.⁷² In contrast with Indigenous epistemologies related to economy, society and education, the IRS’ construction induced fear, and destabilized its survivors, transcending into hereditary trauma in response to current urban and societal constructions in contemporary ‘Canada.’

⁷⁰ Ibid, 124.

⁷¹ Ibid, 124.

⁷² Ibid, 115.

03.2 Evidence of Resistance and Agency

Although this project borrows from Indigenous epistemologies, Western philosopher Michael Foucault will be used simultaneously to analyze the school's colonial designs. Foucault deeply theorized the relationship between power and architecture, and his theories are relevant to discussions of dissecting prescriptive power hierarchies in architecture. Within the context of Foucault's description of *Discipline and Punish*, the IRS can be described as containing spatial moments intended for surveillance, resonant of panoptic condition. These conditions include the central hallways servicing all 'public' spaces, such as dormitories, classrooms, and washrooms. Evidently, the intention aligned with surveillance while providing intimate and private spaces for staff. This lack of lateral visibility, or what may be described as a lack of spatial transparency, places the IRS as the epitome of a panoptic condition. Its purpose be that of removing the Indigenous body's access to spatial connections between rooms and programs, that are not joined by the main circulation corridor. Lateral invisibility can also be identified in the lack of communication between gender and siblings, separated by the symmetrical gendered wings with the intention to sever familial ties. The planning rendered physical surveillance unnecessary, by creating an architectural condition dictated by order, to monitor Indigenous bodies in space. Clear separations and openings in a

repetitive geometric fashion, created planned instances of visibility, while denying communication between students. This panoptic condition is what Foucault describes as a “mechanism that arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately.”⁷³

From a social systems perspective, the IRS’ panoptic qualities relative to the Indigenous body’s experience, is one that defines a procedure of subordination—increasing the utility of power, state and religion. The separation of sex, siblings, and age destabilized Indigenous children with the intention to ‘re-educate’ within the Western ontological teachings. The inherent divisive form and controlled community space, challenged the intentions of the assimilative curriculum, often leading to secret meetings between students and a sense of community grounded by a common traumatic experience. However, the most prevalent contributing factor to this trauma was the restrictions of personal freedoms by association with discipline and fear.⁷⁴ Foucault describes the panoptic condition as

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ A parallel can be drawn to Sociologist Erving Goffman’s definition of the *total institution*, which describes a place of work and residence that departs from modern western society, lead as an enclosed and formally administered round of life. The *total institution* is similar to Michel Foucault’s conception of the *heterotopia of deviation*, which defines what type of storage, circulation, marking, and classification of humxn elements should be adopted in a given situation in order to achieve a given end. These theories strengthen the idea that colonialism is engrained in the spatial ordering of the *other*, to “benefit” the colonial economy and societies. Both theories also denote the conception of an incompatible space, that in relation to the IRS would have disrupted Indigenous ontologies, ecologies, and economies. (Christie Davies, "Goffman's Concept of the

responsible for a 'political anatomy,' who's outcome depends not on the relationships of community, but rather a relation of discipline.⁷⁵ Testimonial evidence can attest that the IRS experience produced many forms of discipline independent from its architectural planning, where remain instances of resistance, disobedience, and agency. Within the framework of control and punishment, exists evidence of various forms of agency, such as the inscription of names into brick, mouldings, and walls at the former Mohawk Institute (Fig. 15). While suggesting parallels between the residential school and the panoptic condition, its architecture can present the idea of lasting agency, in response to the system and the architecture it upheld.

Total Institution: Criticisms and Revisions," *Human Studies* 12, no. 1/2 (1989): 77-95; Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16 (1): 22, 1986)

⁷⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995)



Fig. 15: Evidence of Agency as part of the Woodland Cultural Centre's *Save The Evidence Campaign*, Woodland Cultural Centre.

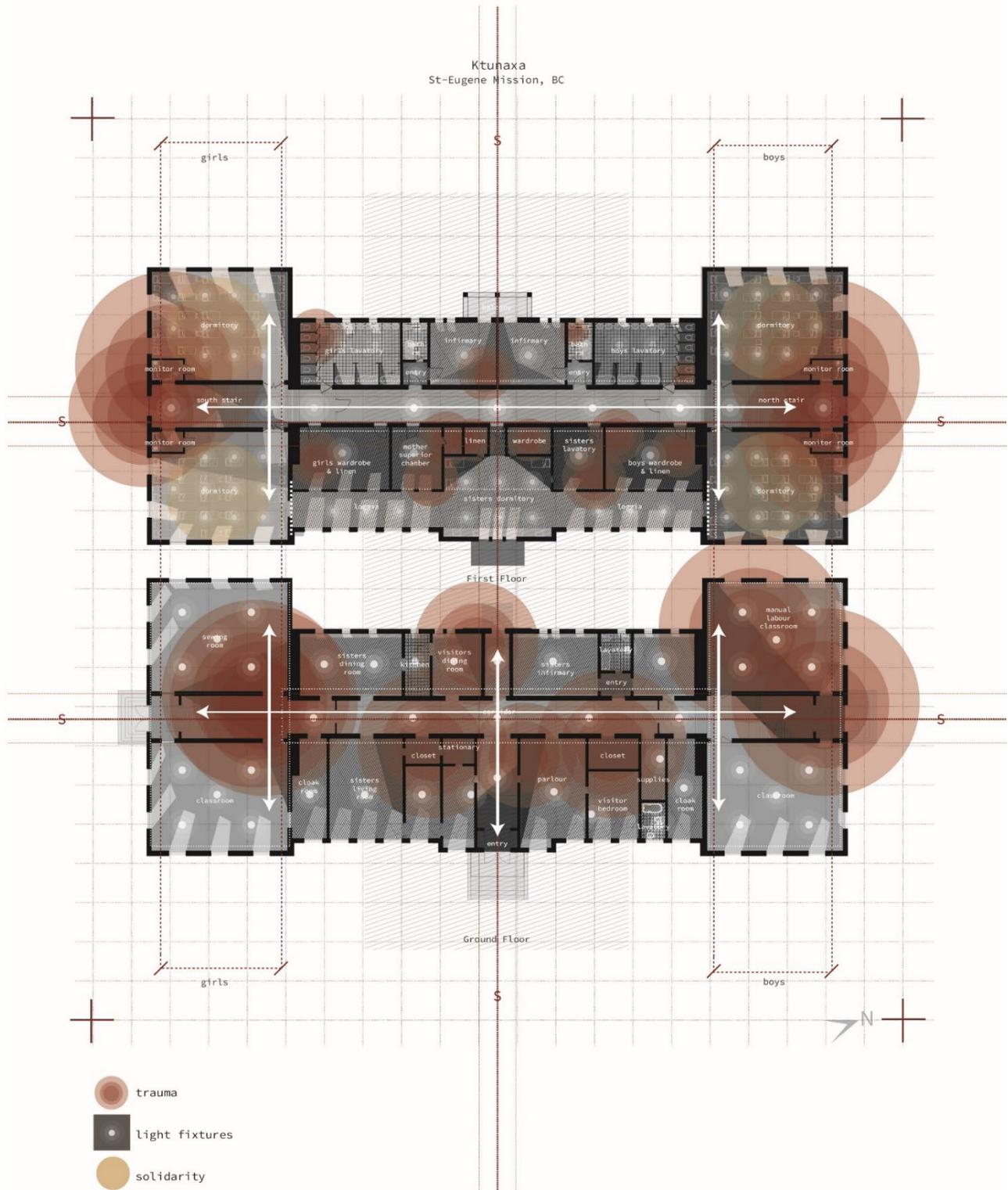


Fig. 16: *Symmetry and Trauma* in plan at the St Eugene Mission.

The religious activities perpetuated a spatial rigidity, such as the sole communal experience of mass, delivered under the strict conditions of silence and devotion to an institution that by no means returned the favour of Christian teachings. In Foucault's description of *Discipline and Punish*; "Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up (...) The ceremonies, the rituals, the marks by which the sovereign's surplus power was manifested are useless."⁷⁶ Similar to Foucault's description of the ritualization of spatial conditions, 'Canada's' assimilation project juxtaposed traumatizing spatial conditions that preached community and togetherness, with the structured distribution of Indigenous bodies in colonial space. Allowing for familial visibility during mass while restricting communication and language, generated an emotional and physical sense of distance. The architectural condition and spatial qualities of the residential schools are not the perpetrators, but rather are the tools for assimilation supported by policy, violence, and law.

In conjunction with the lasting evidence of rebellion within its walls, undertones of the power of agency provide interesting discussions regarding the futures of IRS infrastructures. This agency may take form as the affected

⁷⁶ Ibid, 6.

communities choose to rebuild, reconcile, and heal from this experience as a collective effort within current colonial constructions. As demonstrated by the former Mohawk Institute, (now Woodland Cultural Centre) providing opportunities for cultural resurgence as a restored museum and cultural centre, epitomizes the power of agency despite its intended perception as a colonial icon.

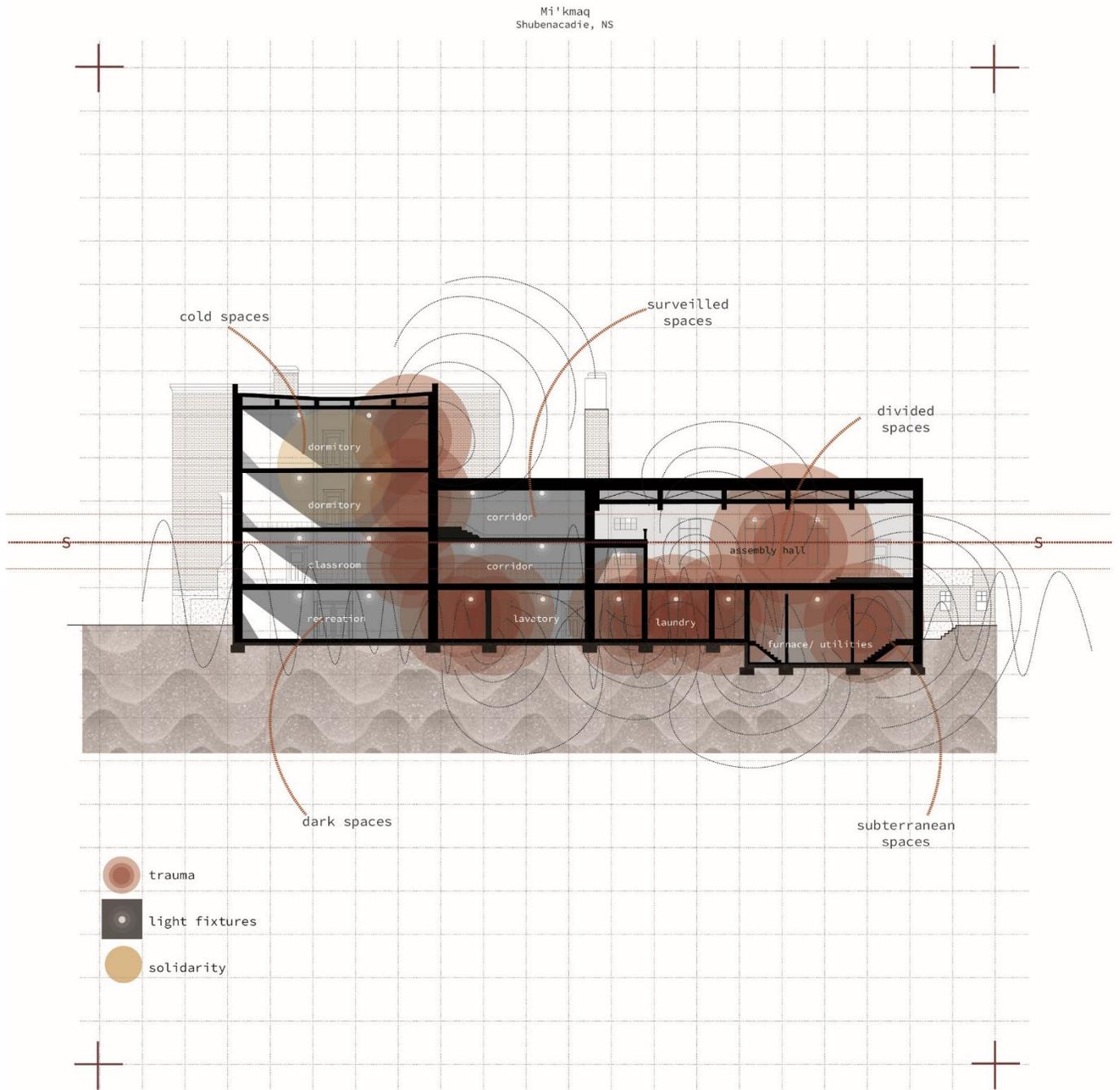


Fig. 17: *Identifying Trauma and Agency* in section at Shubenacadie Residential School.



"How could this have happened..."

where do we go from here?"

-Witness Blanket Project



CHAPTER FOUR: FUTURE ENCOUNTERS

04.1 Methodology for Making *Place*

Explorations of the various IRS landscapes provides case studies to discuss and speculate futures for existing IRS infrastructures. Currently, of the 145 surveyed residential schools (Appendix A), 123 can be identified as demolished, leaving 22 IRS infrastructures as the last testimonial evidence of ‘Canada’s’ colonial project. Sixteen of the surveyed residential schools have received some form of recognition of their histories, including monuments or a form of commemorative status. The survey of IRS states in ‘Canada’ demonstrates notably, the sheer quantity of schools across the country, as well as common instances of demolition. In the surveyed schools, different conservation-related approaches have been identified, including erasure, material restoration, reuse, decay, abandon, and denial, demonstrate the possibilities for IRS futures (Appendix B). While these approaches were generally categorized, it must be noted that each site bears particularities beyond these labels. Their category subjective to the person interpreting, visiting, and investigating the site. Resonant of the experiential relationships one has with a site and their surroundings, the categories are subject to experiential and personal interpretation. From this collection, instances of agency related to cultural reclamation and resurgence were

identified. These moments of agency include returning IRS sites to the Indigenous community and their subsequent becoming as places for commemoration and healing.

Given the discussions of de-colonialism in architecture, cartography, and re-integrating Indigenous notions of *place*, three case studies have been selected to illustrate themes for IRS infrastructures' futures. The case studies were selected to offer insight into the IRS landscapes that differ within parts of 'Canada,' while alluding to the trans-national colonial project. Defining the interventions as an *encounter*, recalls discussions related to Indigenous epistemologies that places territory and landscape as an extension of oneself, providing an experience built on sensory relationships with the environment. Proposed as a future, the *encounter* is described as a speculative set of strategies to accompany the theoretical framework of this thesis. The methodology of their conception hopes to challenge the idea that architecture provides a prescribed spatial experience.

The St Eugene Mission represents a single instance whereby IRS infrastructure was repurposed into an economic generator for the community, transforming into a luxury resort. The incompatibility of programme presents obstructive interpretations of *place*, blurring the distinction as a place of trauma for many survivors, within a place of luxurious hospitality. The former Brandon Residential School represents an

instance whereby the land has not officially been returned to the survivors and their community following its demolition. As the most common state of IRS infrastructure, the former Brandon IRS demonstrates efforts to assimilate Indigenous children with proximity to settled colonies, as a deliberate attempt to sever familial ties and to create geographical, and emotional distance with their culture. The last case study, Mohawk Institute (now Woodland Cultural Centre) has been restored as a testimonial artefact to educate visitors of the Residential School System and to provide opportunities for healing within the neighbouring Six Nations community. The former Mohawk Institute represents a common typology, led by the Indigenous community, to convert existing infrastructure into opportunities for education.⁷⁷ Its restoration approach conserves the building as a physical historical artefact, combining its use as a community centre and museum to encourage cultural resurgence. The selection of these case studies demonstrates the complexity of residential school infrastructures and landscapes, and the plethora of approaches Indigenous communities have taken to heal from the effects of residential schools and more generally—colonialism. Regardless, it must be recognized that individual Indigenous communities have differing collective memories and experience within the larger colonial project, each with their own intimate

⁷⁷ Another example includes Algoma University's reuse of the former Shingwauk Residential School in Sudbury, 'Ontario' as part of their campus.

form of healing. Including case studies that represent significantly different Indigenous experiences and residential school conservation approaches was an important step in the research. That being, to illustrate that IRS induced trauma and colonialism transcends ‘provincial’ borders, and the structural foundations of the buildings themselves.

04.2 Speculating Futures for the *Encounter*

A methodology was created to facilitate the selection and creation of the three case studies and their respective speculative futures. These futures are not individually limited to their explored scales of intervention yet represent a possibility for *encounters* within survived infrastructures and landscapes. These futures' intentions are to permeate colonized notions of *place* within residential school landscapes, representing the physical and emotional memory of 'Canada's' colonial project. Precedents for applicable existing Indigenous-led artwork within the context of these case studies, build upon various scales, presenting opportunities for themes of *encounters*. The *encounter* intends to disrupt the landscape and embodied⁷⁸ experience at territorial, urban, and architectural scales, to demonstrate the multi-scalar effects of colonialism. The combination of both body and landscape recalls the discussions related to *place* as an experience connected to natural systems, whereby "nature is mine" (to profit from, to extract) has the potential to yield Indigenous epistemological ways of experiencing "nature is me."⁷⁹ By rendering an uncomfortable embodied experience through the

⁷⁸ Embodied vs bodily is used to describe a mind-body experience, both visible and tangible while relative to a feeling.

⁷⁹ Chris Cornelius, "Design is Ceremony," Zoom, Forum Lecture Series, Azrieli School of Architecture and Urbanism, Co-sponsored by the School of Indigenous and Canadian Studies, Carleton University. February 9, 2021.

encounter, futures can begin to imagine interventions that de-colonize conquistador-settler experience and the Eurocentric understandings of territory, landscapes and architecture.

Inspired by James Corner's *Agency of Mapping*, the methodology for localizing the *encounter* is based on instances of selection, omission, isolation, codification, and proximity, to generate a premeditated reflection inspired by the act of mapping itself.⁸⁰ The selection process, which is the cognitive process held by architects to choose site, *place*, and creation, is a similar process to the cartographer's intention of mapping. The application of this cognitive process of choosing is reflected in the methodology of this thesis, starting with testimonial research to capture an embodied experience within the territory. Recalling memory through testimonial storytelling reveals moments of embodied experiences within residential school landscapes and reframes the one-sided historical narrative of 'Canada.' Given the limitations of the current pandemic, the testimonial research was collected from a variety of existing sources, media, and books. Futures for *encounters* can only speculate a more engaged process with Indigenous Peoples to communicate ways of healing best suited for their specific community. A methodology taking from both Western and Indigenous

⁸⁰ James Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention," In *The Map Reader*, edited by Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin, and Chris Perkins, 89–101, (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2011) <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587.ch12>.

epistemologies aims to represent the complex hybrid-reality in which we currently operate.

The root of testimonial bodily experiences lies in the constructions of colonial spatial fabric, as revealed through mapping the *encounter*, within the context of the case studies. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Spatial Vocabulary of Colonialism* (Fig. 18) identifies spatial instances of colonialism categorized by 1) the line, 2) the centre and 3) the outside; to reveal the multi-layered fabric of colonial landscapes.⁸¹ While colonial fabric inherently divides “us” and “other,” the *encounter* seeks to deliver a relationship based on continuity and connectedness. Mapping the *encounter* within layers of colonial urban fabric demonstrates an activated disruptive moment that seeks to reframe, recognize and de-colonize colonial landscapes. The juxtaposition of an active *encounter* within spatial colonial fabric, presents an experience whereby the body can begin to codify, isolate, and omit certain perspectives based on associated views, forcing a peculiar bodily experience, or presenting an alternative way of reading territory, landscape and architecture.

⁸¹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London, UK: Zed Books, 2012), 53.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oculcarleton-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3563227>.

The duality of experience not only speculates de-colonial futures, but generates a disruptive experience intended to permeate the settler. The *encounter's* primary purpose is to present a permeating experience for settlers while being mindful of the associated trauma for Indigenous Peoples, placing the *encounter's* active moment at the intersection of the conservation of memory and healing. While the moments do allude to a disruptive experience, their inherent appearance, occurrence, and subversion only suggest an anomaly in colonial fabric, and are not meant to re-create a traumatic experience.

[fabric]			[active]
The Line	The Centre	The Outside	The Encounter
maps	mother country	empty land	disrupt
charts	London	terra nullius	sew
roads	magistrate's residences	uninhabited	reflect
boundaries	redoubt, stockade, barracks	unoccupied	move
pegs	prison	uncartered	crouch
surveys	mission station	reserves	kneel
claims	Parliament	Maori pa	view
fences	store	Kainga	obstruct
hedges	Church	Marae	stabilize
stone walls	Europe	burial grounds	oppose
tracks	Port	background	carve
genealogies	foreground	hinterland	break
perimeters	flagpole		heal
<hr/>			
river	mainstreet	residential	harvest
mountains	university	school	resilient
city limit	city block	ruins	cover
rail track	park	bush	reveal
bridge	street light	treaty	deny
signage	museum	sacred site	permit
golf course	city hall	Indigenous	separate
forrest	mall	tribal council	reclaim
highway	industry	band	presence
			smell
			humid

Fig. 18: Linda Smith’s Table of “The Spatial Vocabulary of Colonialism in nineteenth-century Aotearoa,” with spatial vocabulary in ‘Canada’ [below].
 Right column represents the intent of the *encounter* to de-colonize.

The following case studies reflect on three scales of intervention: 1) territorial/urban, 2) landscapes and 3) architectural scales. The case studies build upon the same ideas of identifying and disrupting the colonial fabric that contributed to their historical becoming's. These futures merely represent spatial speculations that can lend itself to the range of former residential schools and landscapes, contributing to the conversation of decolonizing conservation approaches in architecture.

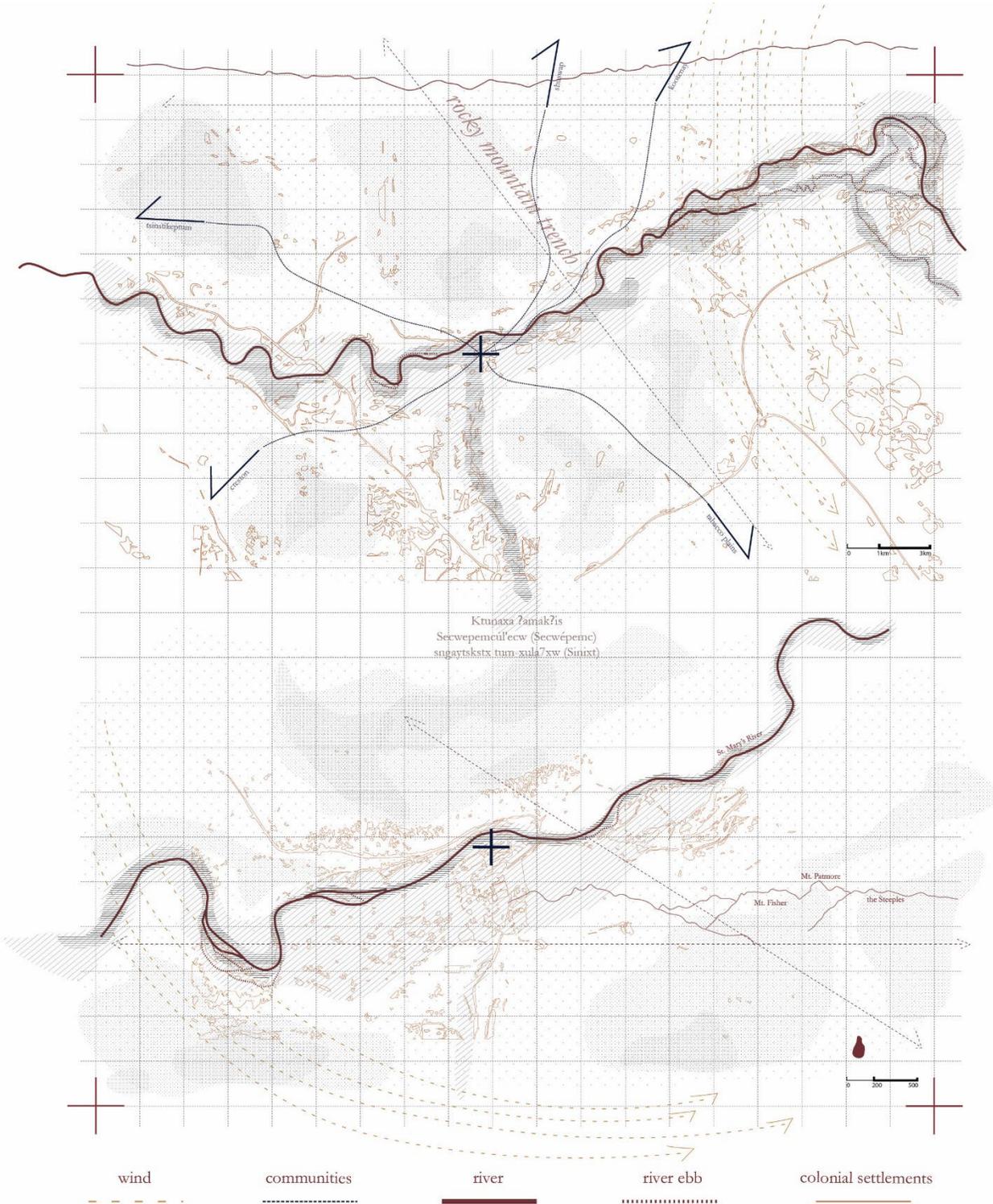


Fig. 19: Mapping Landscape at St Eugene Mission.

“If you look at those bricks now, you can think of is coldness, no warmth, jail...residential school has bad memories, but that brick wall is something that us survivors in the Okanagan have lived with all of our lives. Thinking about this school here and what it has done to a lot of us, families... It brings back a lot of sad memories.”

– Virg Baptiste, *Survivors of the Red Brick School* [film]



Fig. 20: Promotional Image of the St Eugene Resort. StEugene.ca

04.3 Case 1 | Fragmented Memory | St Eugene Mission

The St Eugene Mission explores an anomaly in the range of IRS infrastructure states, representing a drastic change in programme for the economic benefit of the community. Formerly known as the St Eugene Indian Residential School, the building is located along the St Mary's River within the Rocky Mountain trench and North of Cranbrook 'British Columbia.' The school was built in unceded Ktunaxa territory, operating from 1912 to 1970, admitting nearly 5000 Indigenous children.⁸² After its closure the land was surrendered to the St Mary's Band, presenting what the community regarded as an opportunity for cultural resurgence, healing, and economic growth. As voiced by late Band Elder Mary Paul, "it was within the St. Eugene Mission School that the culture of the Kootenay Indian was taken away, it should be within the building that it is returned."⁸³ In 2004, the building was repurposed as a luxury resort and golf club under leadership of the Ktunaxa Nation becoming an economic generator for the

⁸² Government of Canada; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada; Communications, 2010, "St. Eugene Mission Resort: Pride of the Kootenays," January 12, 2010. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100021303/1100100021310>.

⁸³ Ibid.

community.⁸⁴ However, critical reflections into the building's newfound use obscures its history, confined to an interpretation centre in the basement.⁸⁵

Despite the community's effort to conserve and rehabilitate the building, the project struggled with the retention of a historic designation because of its programmatic and structural changes to becoming a resort. Arguably, instances of memory erasure are tethered to architectural rehabilitation and adaptive reuse projects, which drastically change program and therefore perception by proxy. After being granted 3-million-dollars from the government of 'Canada,' its application was rejected to designate the building under the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of 'Canada' (HSMBC). The failure to recognize historic value in repurposed residential school infrastructures proves that 'Canada' has only entered the beginning stages of the recognition of IRS sites as part of 'Canadian' history, and in the larger reconciliation process.⁸⁶ To date, the St Eugene Mission represents the only instance where a former residential school has been repurposed into a luxury hotel and provides interesting explorations related to their futures.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Geoffrey Carr, "Educating Memory: Regarding the Remnants of the Indian Residential School," 2009, <https://DalSpace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/65349>.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 93.

The St Eugene Mission is often recalled by the name of “the red brick school” due to the use of bricks for its interior partition walls. The use of brick on its interior is rather unusual compared to other residential schools, typically built using brick on the exterior.⁸⁷ The use of the bricks themselves, were considered construction methods more common to Eastern ‘Canada’ and can be explained by the appointment of Ottawa-based architect Allan Keefer for the Department of Indian Affairs.⁸⁸ The replication of its Eastern construction in ‘British Columbia’ illustrates the colonial system and collective spatial experience that can be experienced across ‘Canada.’

The extent of the colonial project must be understood beyond the walls of former residential schools, but as a collective devastating cultural genocide for ‘Canada’s’ Indigenous Peoples. The notion of a collective colonial experience is explored in Carey Newman’s *Witness Blanket* (Fig. 21), a national monument dedicated to recognizing the atrocities of the residential school system by weaving together fragmented cultures, materials, and memories to recognize the collective residential school experience among Indigenous communities in ‘Canada.’⁸⁹ The collection of fragments represents what could be described as “individual paragraphs of a

⁸⁷ Ibid, 94.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 95.

⁸⁹ “Witness Blanket - A National Monument to Recognize the Atrocities of Indian Residential Schools,” n.d., Witness Blanket. Accessed February 24, 2021. <http://witnessblanket.ca/>

disappearing paragraph, together they are strong and formidable, collectively able to recount for future generations lost strength for reconciliation and pride.”⁹⁰ The *Witness Blanket* presents opportunities for IRS futures to underline the collective experience of residential schools, presenting opportunities for making and recognition to collide with survivor healing.



Fig. 21: Carey Newman, *Witness Blanket*, “A National Monument to Recognize the Atrocities of Indian Residential Schools.” n.d. Witness Blanket. Accessed February 24, 2021. <http://witnessblanket.ca/>.

Concepts of fragmented memory apply to both the site qualities of the former St Eugene Mission, and its obscuring incompatible programme as a luxury resort. In this case, the fragmented state of the territory represents the more explicit material trace of colonial violence. The site is currently divided by invisible borders dictated by the extents of St Mary’s Band and

⁹⁰ Ibid.

the Kootenay 1A reserve, which occupy and deny Indigenous rights to consider rivers and natural resources as their own. The engrained parceling of Indigenous land is not only the basis of colonial fabric, but represents Indigenous lands as “empty,” presenting a precedent for the erasure of Indigenous landscapes, the humxn and non-humxn beings that sustain them.⁹¹ These borders, like many reserves in ‘Canada,’ are the result of years of land claims within an expanding layered colonial fabric focused on economic benefit. This future proposes an *encounter* with the greater landscape of the site that recognizes the fragments that define the colonial project. (Fig. 22). Sewing together a multi-layered opportunity for a commemorative *place*, the *encounter* reveals current colonial-caused barriers within the St-Mary’s Band and Ktunaxa nation.

⁹¹ Andrew Herscher and Ana María León, “At the Border of Decolonization,” E-Flux Architecture, Accessed March 24, 2021. <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/at-the-border/325762/at-the-border-of-decolonization/>.

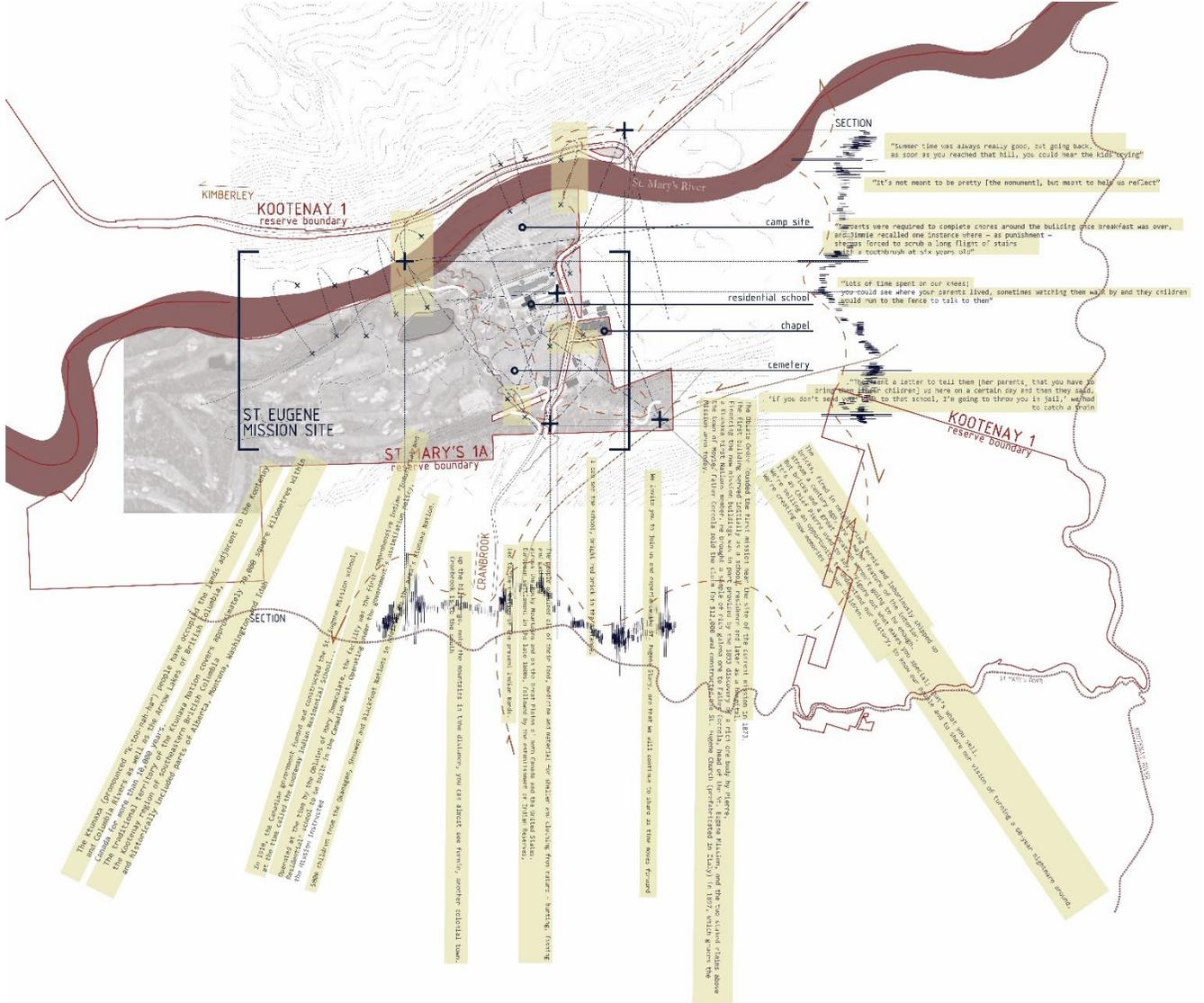


Fig. 22: Site Plan and mapping *encounters* at the St Eugene Mission. Mapping bodily experience within the landscape and sewing together the boundaries of reserves.

The futures for *encounters* at the St Eugene Mission present an altered state of experience, explored by the physical interaction with territory and landscape. This speculative path identifies moments where boundaries, views and experience can collide to provide reflections into the IRS experience within the larger landscape, strengthening the connection of the former school and its territory (Fig. 23). Guided by the addition of elements within the landscape to intentionally frame and omit views, the *encounters* seek to permeate visiting conquistador-settlers as a disruptive experience that may trigger further curiosity or reflections about the sites, instead of their passive consumption as aesthetic objects. The locations of the *encounters* are strengthened by connections to the residential school itself, reflecting on the movement of Indigenous bodies in colonial landscapes carved by rail, roads, water, and buildings. Given the site's current amenities and expected continued use as a resort, these futures only speculate an immersive experience within the territory that does not wish to change its repurposed state, but instead, to highlight the juxtaposition of its new programme within its spatial memory.

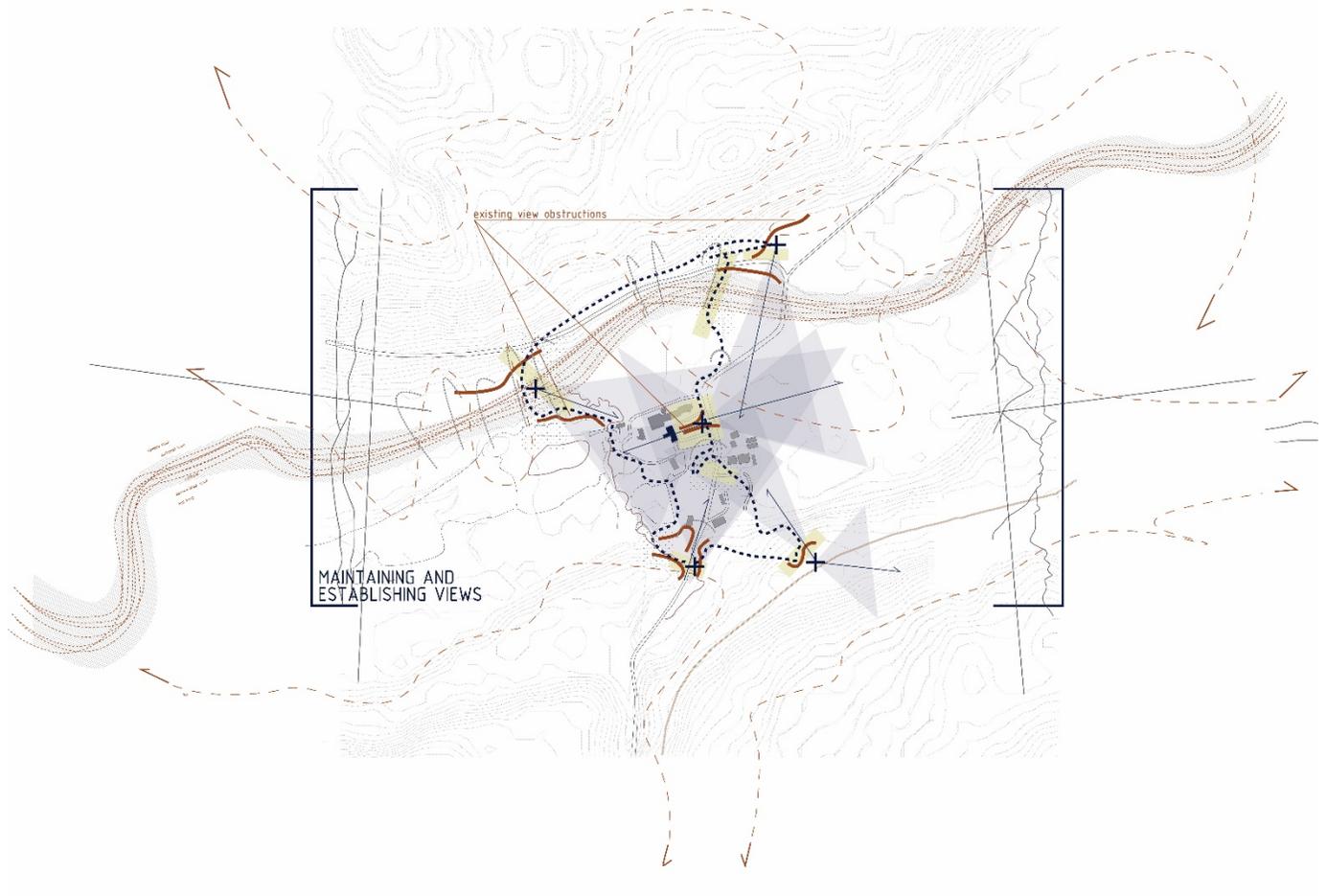


Fig. 23: Locating the *encounter* within the landscape at the St-Eugene Mission while strengthening the connection to the territory and recalling the residential school experience.

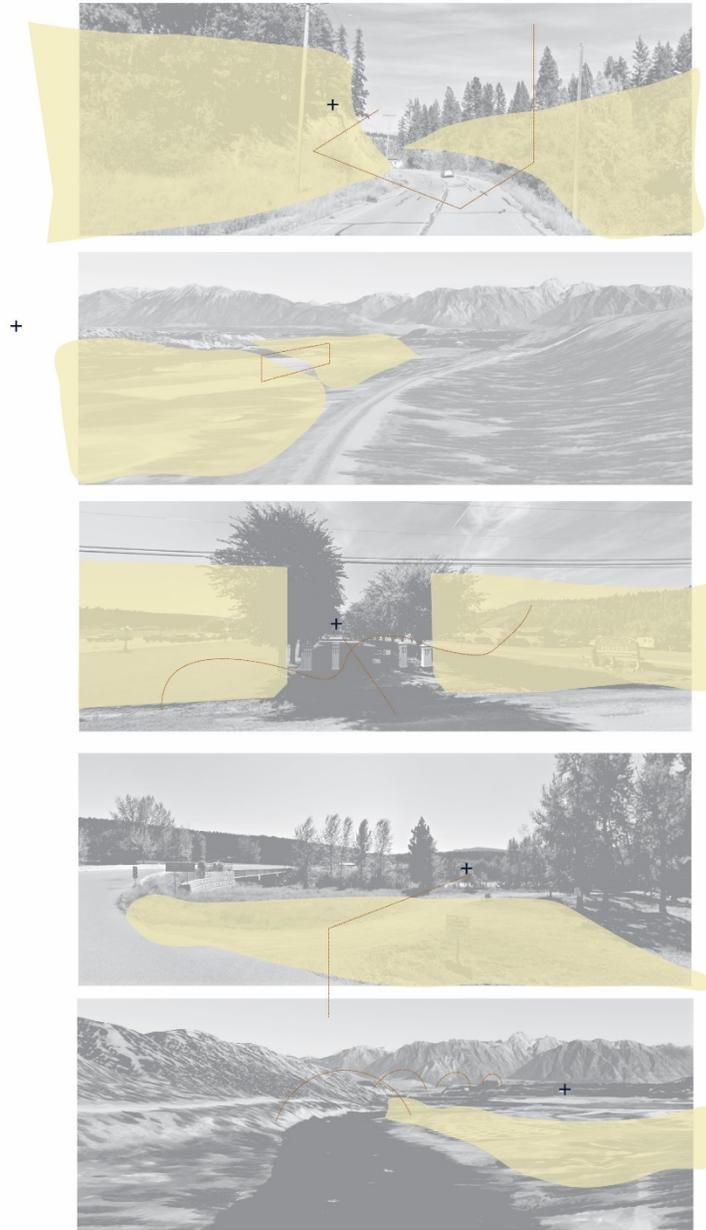


Fig. 24: *Placing the Residential School Within Landscapes*. Sketch for interventions at St Eugene Mission.

Future encounters for the St-Eugene Mission can only hope to provide non-prescriptive reflections depending on the visitor, as being a partially disruptive experience for most and pedagogical opportunity for all. The *encounter* does not assume a universal subject nor recreate the residential school experience verbatim, as the intention is not to trigger trauma for survivors.

The primary intention at St Eugene being to re-establish ecological connections to the landscapes as a form of cultural resurgence. For example, a study conducted in 2015 revealed barriers experienced by the Ktunaxa community related to harvesting traditional foods, resulting in significantly high levels of food insecurity.⁹² Part of these barriers include access to the Elk Valley, an area where Indigenous plant species are harvested. With the rising concerns of chemical exposure due to increased mining activities in the area, the community has lost touch with the importance of indigenous foods.⁹³ These speculated futures propose the replanting of significant vegetation species within IRS landscapes, as a contrast to the ordered landscaping that adorns its golf course and lawn. A series of bridges connecting the fragmented and contested borders of the reserve, provide opportunities to fish along the St Mary's River. Futures that support

⁹² Government of Canada; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada; Communications, "St. Eugene Mission Resort: Pride of the Kootenays," January 12, 2010. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100021303/1100100021310>.

⁹³ Ibid.

practical opportunities for the *encounter* and respond to current Indigenous community barriers, provide interesting discussions of multi-faceted, de-colonial interventions that reveal the continued exploitation of natural resources in unceded Indigenous territories.

The insertion of architectural moments in the landscape, yield powerful subversive spatial experiences that de-colonize as a series of uncomfortable moments. Suggestive views, changes in elevation, obstructions and limitations, the experience of an Indigenous child are revealed through the ecological framework of a walking path. As illustrated in Fig. 26, a section of its future suggests a series of both built and carved moments that allude to a disruptive bodily experience. The process of bending, kneeling, and blocking expected moments in the landscapes illustrates the effects of colonialism as a disruptive and invasive experience. The intention of these interventions is not to revive the trauma associated with the residential school experience, but to evoke spatial and bodily moments along the path as barriers and sensory hinderances, conveying a sense of discomfort within territory, landscape, and *place*.

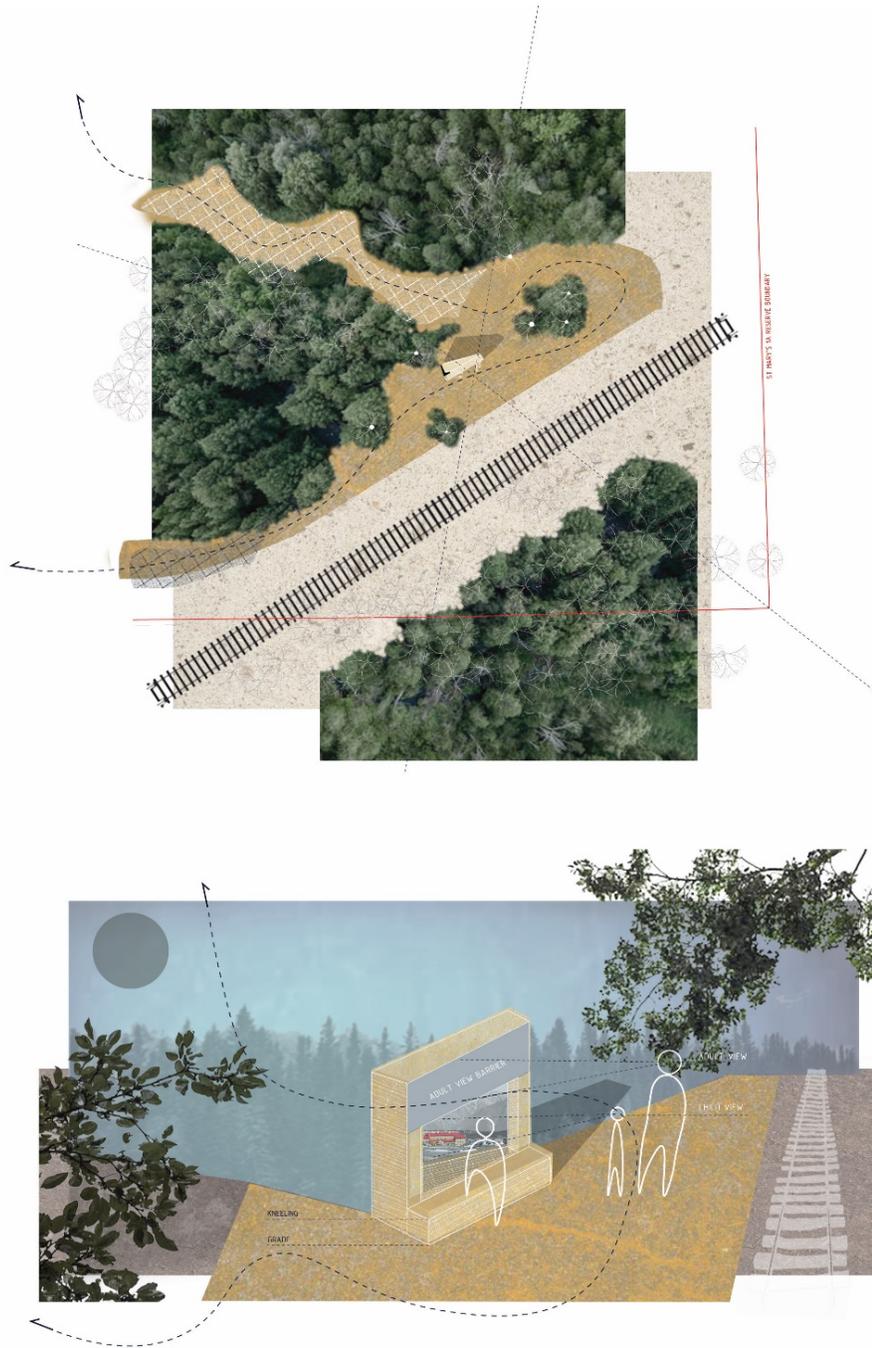
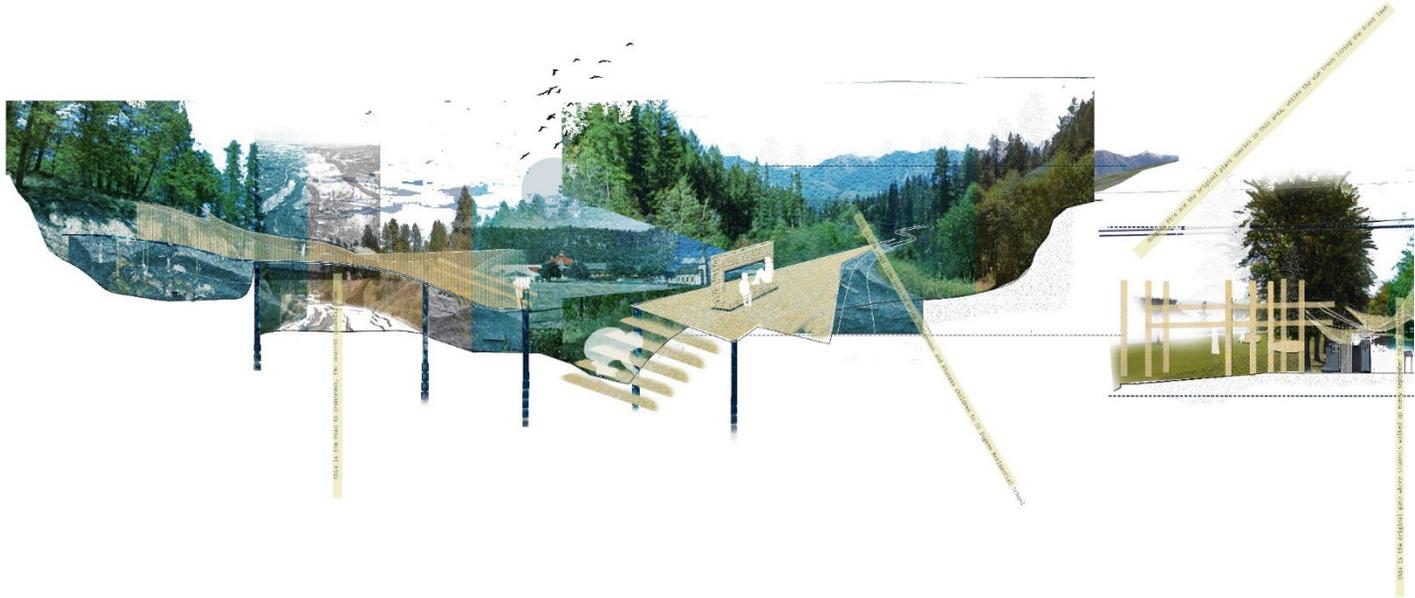


Fig. 25: *Window to Seeing*. Intervention at intersection of the rail tracks on St Mary's Reserve. *Encounter* reveals child's perspective of *place*.



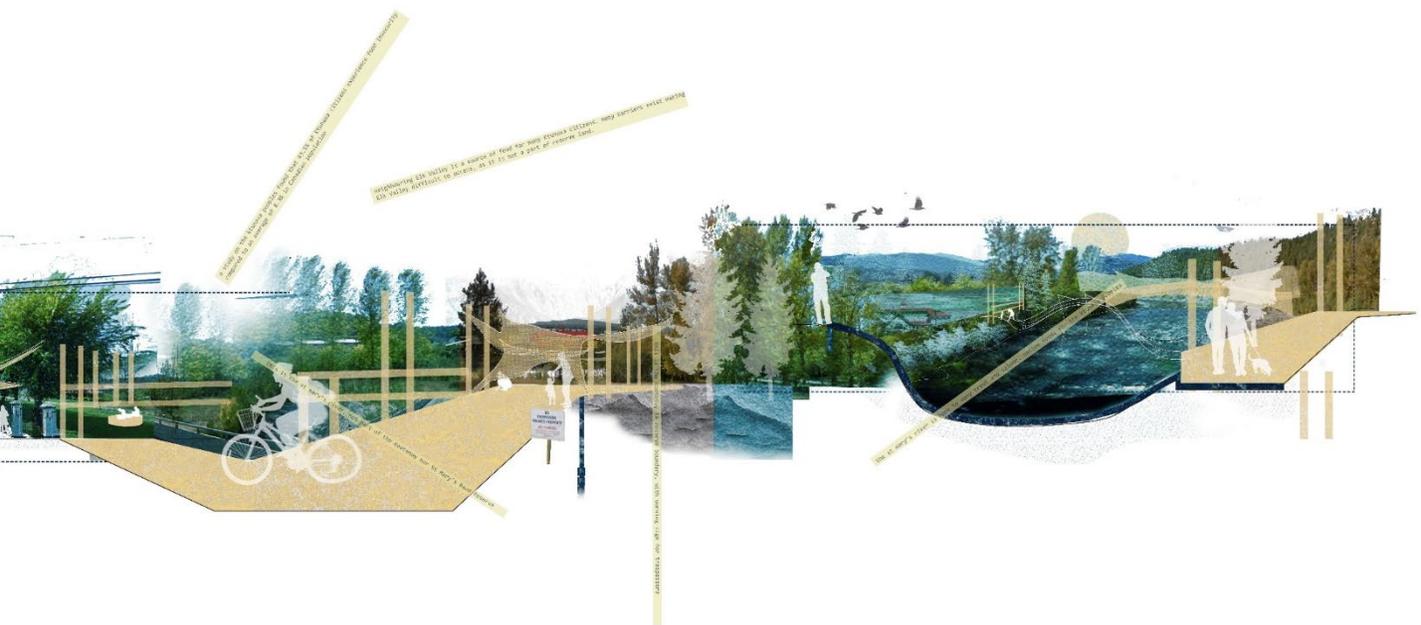


Fig. 26: *Section of Interventions at St Eugene Mission*. Encounters with landscape and embodied experiences.

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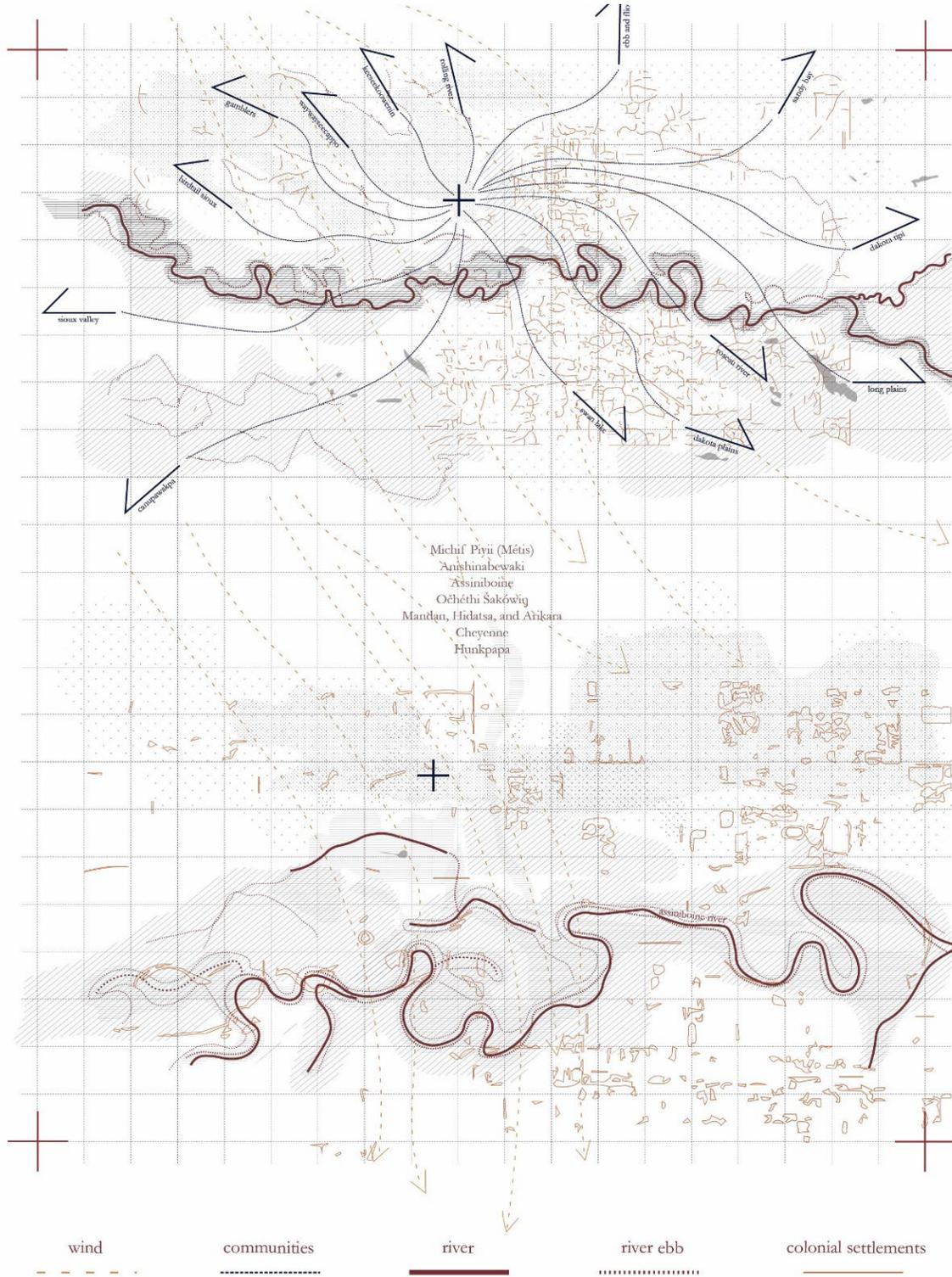


Fig. 27: Mapping Landscape at former Brandon Industrial Institute.

*"I didn't know where we were going.
We had no idea what Brandon was or where Brandon was, or
what we were going to. We had no idea. I hardly remember
even anybody talking about Brandon before we went.
My parents did say it was some school and it is a school
where you live right there, you live right in the school,
and they said that they look after you."*

-Matilda Mallett, Brandon Industrial Institute Survivor



Fig. 28: Former Brandon Industrial Institute after its demolition in 2006. Brandon Sun.

04.4 Case 2 | Temporality and Absence | Brandon Industrial Institute

The Brandon Industrial Institute illustrates two of the most common conditions of IRS landscapes and infrastructures; the erasure of its buildings and its proximity to colonized urban fabric. The Brandon Industrial Institute opened in 1895 under the Methodist Church in unceded Očhéthi Šakówiŋ, Anishinabewaki, and Michif Piyii (Métis) territory, officially closing in 1972.⁹⁴ Following its closure, the building remained vacant, furthering into a state of decay, until its ceremonial demolition in 2006.⁹⁵ The decision to demolish the former Brandon Industrial Institute was not led by the community nor was the land returned to the local First Nations, an unfortunate, yet common, instance for many residential school sites.⁹⁶ As expressed by the local First Nations community, the site represents a lost opportunity for an urban reserve site or any form of commemoration of its past.⁹⁷ Approximately 70 graves, that have been identified through archaeological surveys, surround the site, including a small commemorative

⁹⁴ “Brandon Industrial School, The Children Remembered,” n.d. Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://thechildrenremembered.ca/school-histories/brandon/>.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Elsie Catcheway, “Destroying the evidence of our past.” Grassroots News. April 18, 2006. http://archives.algomau.ca/main/sites/default/files/2010-061_004_076_0.pdf

⁹⁷ Ibid.

cemetery.⁹⁸ However, other unmarked graves have been identified near the Turtle Crossing Campground, representing both the extent of devastation and the lack of awareness, among Brandon residents.

Discussions of erasure as a form of healing can be interpreted as cultural resurgence, the IRS representing a place of pain and trauma for its survivors. As described in Trina Cooper-Bolam's Master's thesis, titled, *Healing Heritage: New Approaches to Commemorating Canada's Indian Residential School System*; "the motivation to destroy sites is not necessarily bound with the desire to forget in reality, but to replace memories associated with trauma with those of conquer."⁹⁹ However, from a conquistador-settler's perspective, the demolition of these sites contributes to the denial, the loss of evidence and therefore the lack of frictional understandings of 'Canada's' colonial agenda. Without the physical evidence of a building to recall this past, demolished IRS sites risk existing as neutral until archaeological excavations and memorial sites are put in place to recognize and protect the resting place of many Indigenous children. An example of themes of erasure are explored in Jessie Jannuska,

⁹⁸ Katherine Lyndsay Nichols, "Investigation of Unmarked Graves and Burial Grounds at the Brandon Indian Residential School," Master Thesis, 2015. <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/30396>.

⁹⁹ Trina Johanne Cooper-Bolam, "Healing Heritage: New Approaches to Commemorating Canada's Indian Residential School System," 2014, 121. Carleton University. <https://curve.carleton.ca/6534ee8e-95e0-47dd-8ab6-62d243053f41>.

Jamie Black and Barb Blind's, *She Gathers*, photographed at the site of the former Brandon Industrial School (Fig. 30).¹⁰⁰



Fig. 30: Jessie Jannuska, Jamie Black, and Barb Blind, *She Gathers*, Red Dress Project. Art Gallery of Southwestern Manitoba.

The artwork recalls themes related to the loss of life and culture within Brandon's IRS landscapes, represented by the cut braids and a covered body. Parallels can be drawn between the concept of lost culture in feat of colonialism, more specifically the responsibility of the residential school's role in pursuing an assimilative agenda. The former Brandon IRS's demolition not only strengthens the idea that its histories can be forgotten but does not hold the system accountable for the extent of loss and erasure associated with its *place*.

¹⁰⁰ "She Gathers at Art Gallery of Southwestern Manitoba," n.d., Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://agsm.ca/she-gathers>.

The framework for the future *encounters* at the former Brandon Industrial Institute illustrates the juxtaposition of colonial fabric with IRS sites within the framework set out by architectural demolition—alluding to the erasure of memory, culture, and infrastructures. Within these futures for *encounters* exists moments for revealing erasure at the cost of what constitutes culture, boundaries, and memory within colonial settlements. The omnipresent threat of climate change to the city of Brandon, projects a future whereby devastating floods will likely destroy the colonial urban condition, revealing the temporality, and thus erasure, of all infrastructures. The site plan for *encounters* (Fig. 31) places the former Brandon IRS within the city, recalling a palimpsest of devastation within the landscape and greater territory. The contrast of gridded urban planning with neighbouring Indigenous Reserves, places an emphasis on the disruption of the grid lead by the natural systems that govern the path of water, typology, flora, and fauna. The city's location along the Assiniboine River, recalls its constant vulnerability to flooding as well as its connectedness to destinations beyond *place*, including important sites in Indigenous cultures that transcend the traditional lands of a plethora of nations.

Abutting the suburbs of the City of Brandon, the former IRS site has been left with minimal signage or commemoration, unsuccessfully deterring trespassers. The realities, histories, and traumas remain embedded within the demolished site, leaving city residents often unaware of the history and surrounding unmarked graves. Notions of erasure for healing, if deemed the best case for the affected Indigenous community's means to heal, can also contribute to an erased history from a conquistador-settler's perspective if not confronted with tangible and physical evidence of its devastation. Relative to the common state of demolished IRS infrastructures, *encounters* at the former Brandon Industrial School speculate ecological resurgence, reclaiming land and the strength of collective memory. The former Brandon Industrial Institute's speculative future addresses the impending threats of climate change, in the context of its colonial urban fabric. The proposed future for *encounters* is a controlled and organically occurring flood plain, gradually erasing the colonial fabric of the city as a series of moments to recognize and reflect on the presence of water (Fig. 33). Due to the impending risk of floods, the city of Brandon can expect recurring rising water in its near future, as experienced in a devastating flood in 2011. The future of impending floods yields the potential to destroy infrastructure, recalling a natural topography currently masked by bridges, roads and manmade alterations to the environment, as it unravels colonial space.



Fig. 32: *Placing the Residential School Within Urban Fabric.* Sketch for interventions at former Brandon Industrial Institute

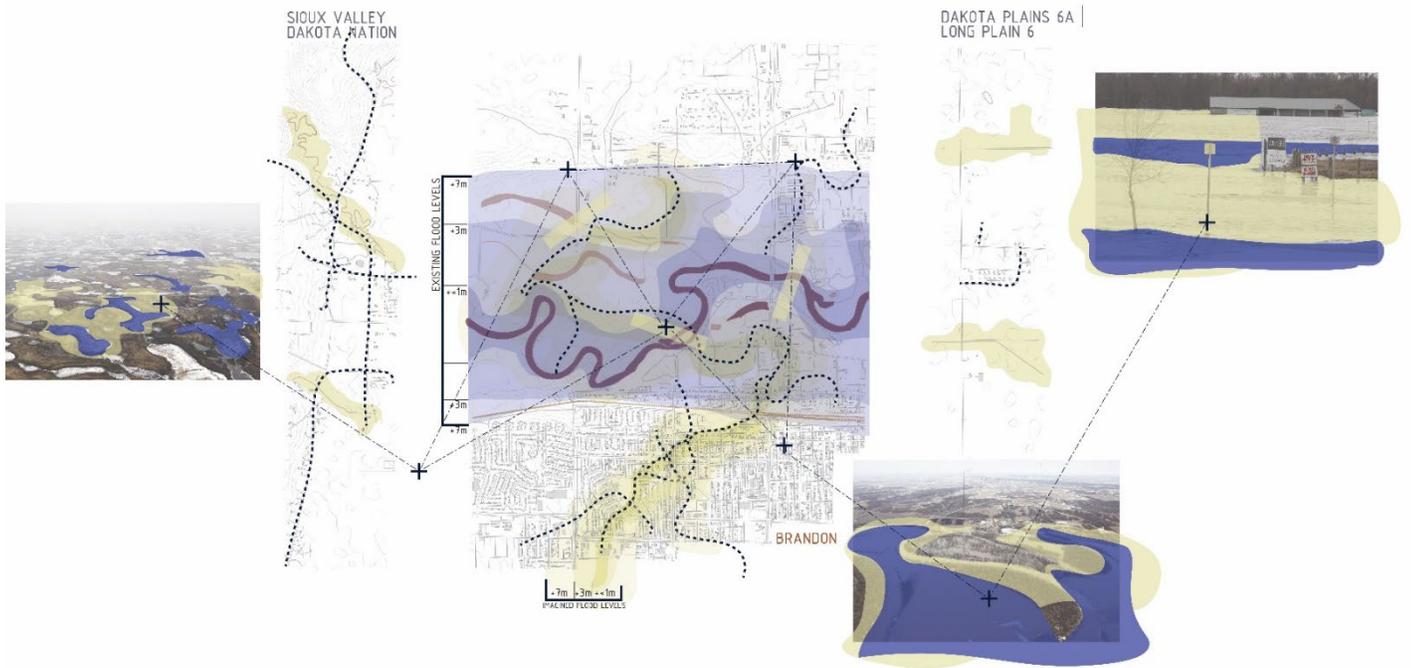


Fig. 33: Perspectives of *encounters* at different moments within flooded colonial fabric.

The river can expect to follow the landscape's topography, presenting disturbances to the city's urban grid. The flooding overlaid with the geometric fabric of the city, represents the power of natural systems over humans, regardless of the Eurocentric obsession with control and conquest. In this future, the demolished residential school mirrors the destructive qualities of the Assiniboine River to the colonial fabric of the city, its absence representing the temporality of all structures. Presented as a gradual *encounter*, this future provides an opportunity to, as described by Chochenyo and Karkin Ohlone activist Corinna Gould, "close a vision for land restoration and reclamation that does not disrupt the healing, sanctity, and rhythm of life after so many years of colonial violence."¹⁰¹ Rather, the *encounter* restores the landscape from its colonial present, disrupting the unsustainable present built on the violent history it epitomises.

The urban scale of the city of Brandon's de-colonial *encounter* draws parallels between ecology, natural systems, and cultural healing. Located at the highest point of the city, the former residential school site is at a topographic advantage. An intentional extraction of earth at the building's footprint re-iterates the notion of all colonial infrastructure's vulnerability

¹⁰¹ "Corrina Gould on Settler Responsibility and Reciprocity," n.d. FOR THE WILD, Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://forthewild.world/listen/corrina-gould-on-settler-responsibility-and-reciprocity-208>.

to the Assiniboine River's rising levels. As the futures for the former Brandon IRS manifests, a parallel can be drawn to other demolished or anticipatory IRS demolitions whose architectural memory may be erased with intentional Indigenous community efforts to heal. No former IRS site is the same, nor how the communities have been affected, leaving the decision to restore, demolish or repurpose in the hands of its survivors and supported by the colonial institutions that enabled their creation—as allies, in an effort to reconcile. The complexity of IRS preservation is intertwined with uncomfortable yet necessary conversations that properly respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's [TRC] *Calls to Action*, to reveal previously suppressed histories that continue to live among Indigenous survivors. Exploring ecological and resilient approaches to conservation in IRS landscapes illustrates the importance of conversations related to healing, but most of all the recognition and role of education in the reconciliation process.

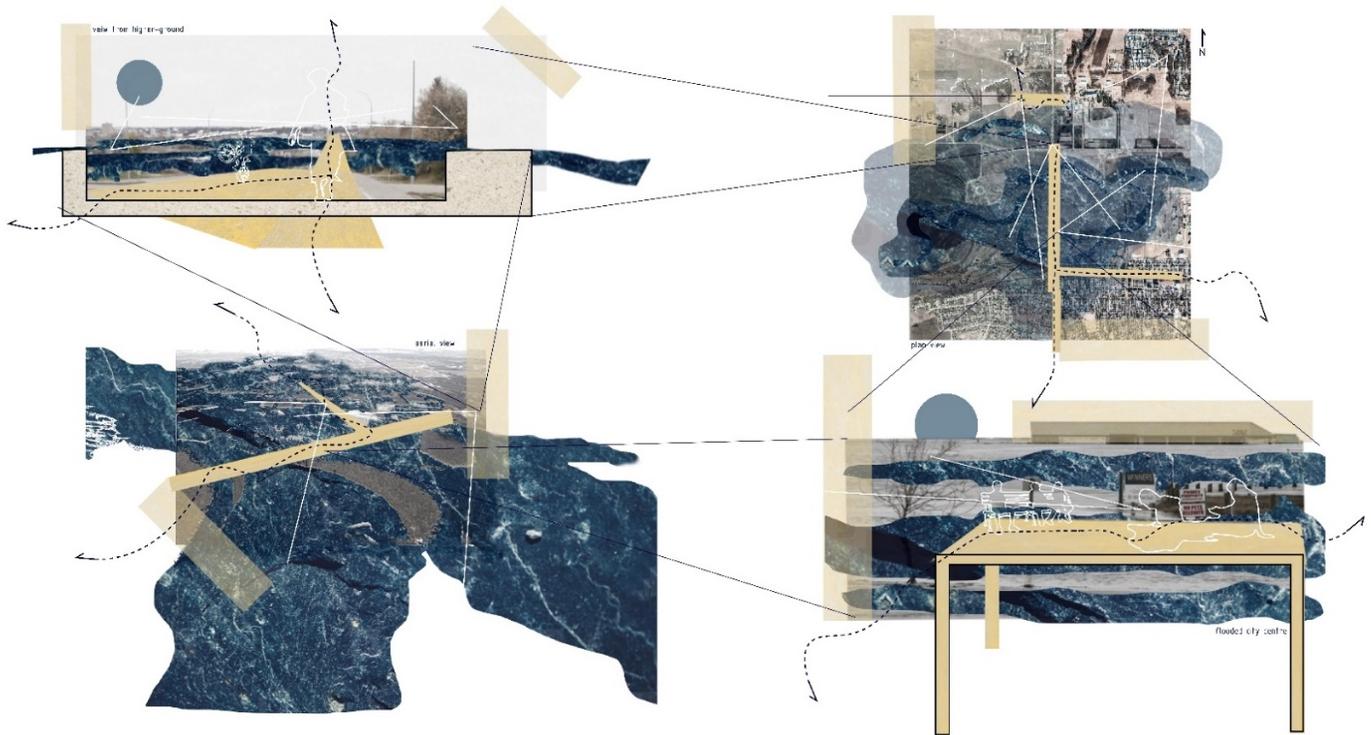
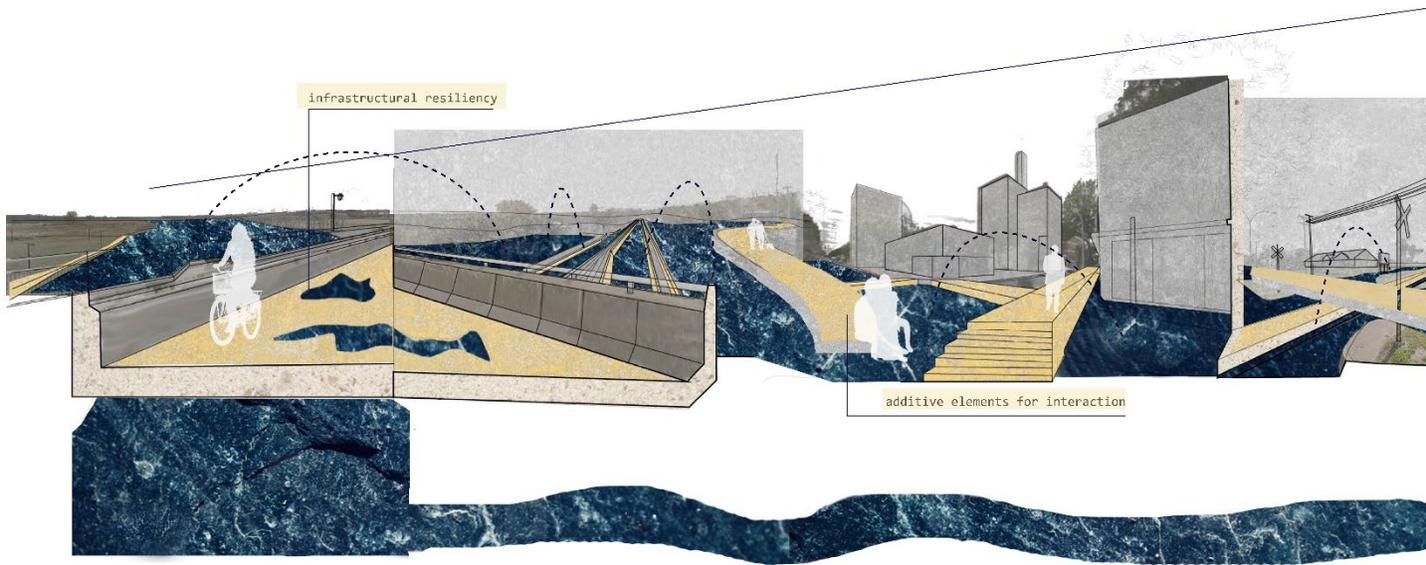


Fig. 34: *Interventions at an Urban Scale, City of Brandon.*





Fig. 35: *Section for Encounters* within Colonial Urban Scape of Brandon- Near Future. Section shows location of former residential school at the highest point (right) and the lower colonial fabric (left)



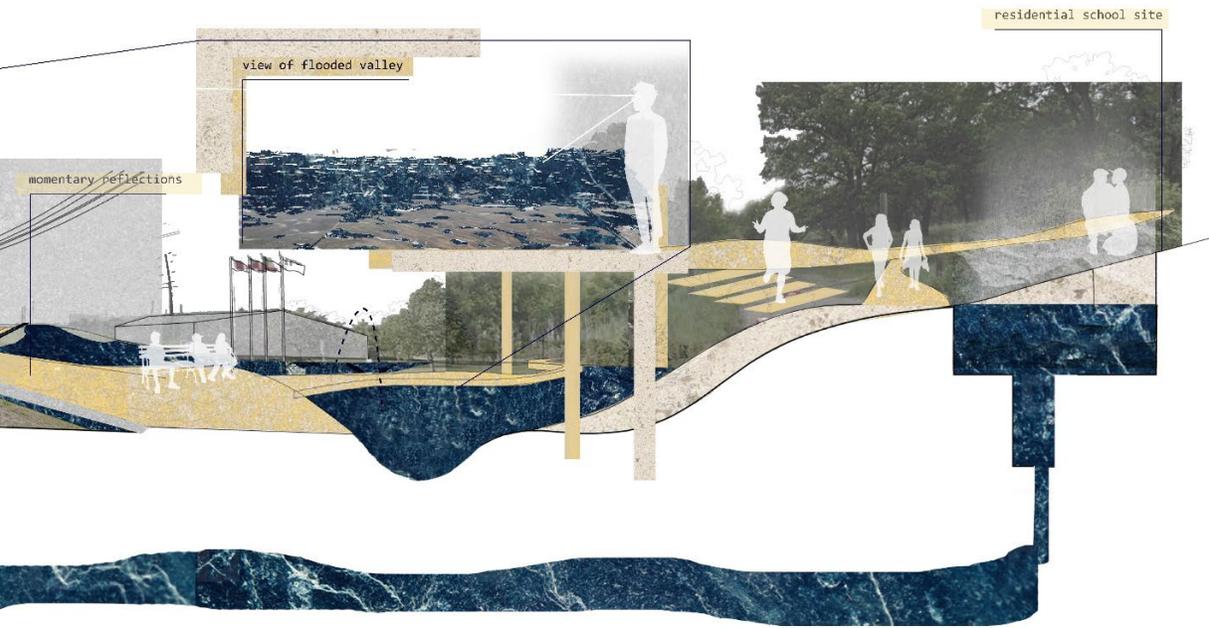


Fig. 36: *Section for Encounters* Within Colonial Urban Scape of Brandon- Far Future. Section illustrating a covered colonial fabric and rising water levels at the residential school site.

*“And we never had our playground —
 On that side, it had a fence around it, except coming up this way
 ...and it had steps going up because we would have to come that way
 We went to the Junior part which was on the boys’ side to go to
 school. But we had a fence going all the way around. We had one
 swing that was on the tree next to the fence, and right over the
 fence was still the Mohawk Institute property and Mr. Burkett grew
 apples. He was the farm person who looked after everything. They
 grew apples there, but we never once got an apple. You don’t dare
 go across there. If you went across and got an apple out of there
 you got be*ten quite bad.”*

-Beverly Albrecht, Mohawk Institute Survivor

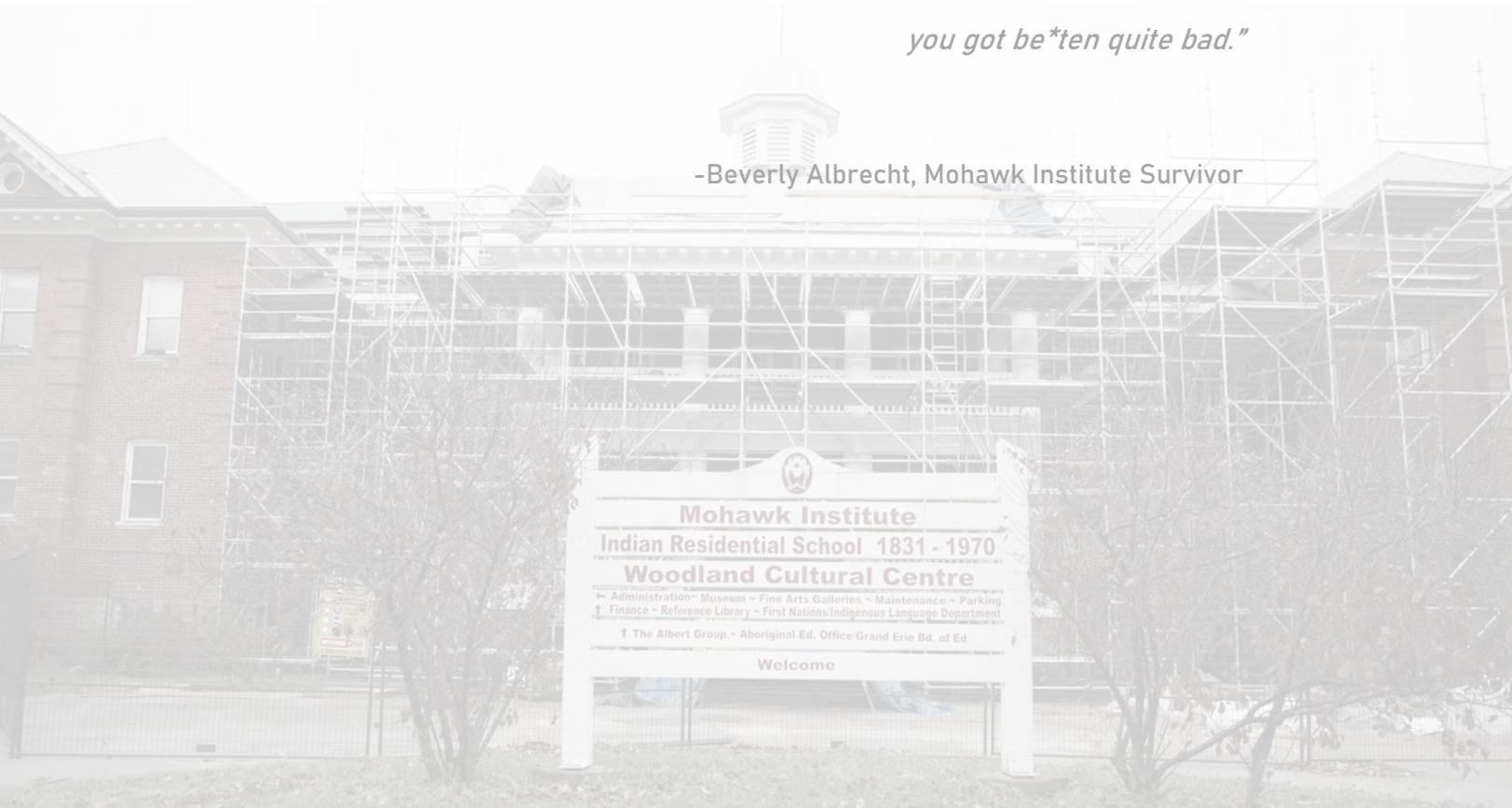


Fig. 38: Mohawk Institute under restoration. Woodland Cultural Centre.

04.5 Case 3 | Subverting Architecture | Mohawk Institute

The Mohawk Institute (now Woodland Cultural Centre), in Brantford, ‘Ontario’ represents the restored state of IRS infrastructures. Its restoration provides interesting discussions of the conservation of “as-found” artefactual conditions of IRS landscapes and architecture. Its approach is rather traditional in the realm of conservation, focuses on the restoration of materials and historic accuracy. The school operated from 1834 to 1970 under the Anglican Church and was often referred to as the “Mush Hole,” a reference to the porridge served to children for various meals.¹⁰² The building is currently under extensive rehabilitation led by the Six Nations community and is used as a cultural centre and museum, providing opportunities for tourism and education to collide.

The community’s position on restoring the residential school is grounded in conserving the schools as testimonial evidence of the atrocities of the Residential School System in ‘Canada,’ led by the centre’s “Save The Evidence” campaign.¹⁰³ As expressed by survivor Beverly Albrecht, “If you have a building, you can go in there and you can feel. Like some people are

¹⁰² Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*, (Waterloo, Ont: Hefle Pub, 1997), 2.

¹⁰³ “The Campaign,” Woodland Cultural Centre. October 20, 2016. <https://woodlandculturalcentre.ca/the-campaign/>.

very sensitive; they can feel what the young children felt... So that is why I think it is better to show, because even people in Brantford still don't believe this was a residential school."¹⁰⁴ The site includes a separate building hosting a collection of work by Indigenous artists, leaving the original 1904 construction as an artefact within a larger colonial landscape. Art installations led by Indigenous groups and artists are often displayed on the grounds, demonstrating themes of reclaiming the site as a form of cultural resurgence. Precedents such as Naomi Johnson's *Thanksgiving Address* (Fig. 39) and Kaha:wi Dance Theatre Production's *Continuance* (Fig. 40), investigate ways of leaving both temporary and lasting physical markings on the building which resonate powerful de-colonizing themes, providing precedents for speculating their futures.



Fig. 39: Naomi Johnson,
“OHEN:TON
KARIHWATEHKWEN”
(Thanksgiving Address in Mohawk
Language) 2016. Woodland Cultural
Centre



Fig. 40: Kaha:wi Dance Theatre
Production's "Continuance." Kaha:wi
Dance Theatre.org

¹⁰⁴ “Why a Mohawk Community Chose to Preserve a Residential School Building,” CBC Radio, CBC. June 16, 2017.

Futures for the former Mohawk Institute speculate notions of education and lasting memory, and its architectural testimony. The approach of restoring the building preserves the testimony of experience and lasting evidence of agency within its walls (Fig. 41). Current approaches to preserve IRS infrastructures lack a concerted effort in conveying the Indigenous child's experience within an institutional architectural context—an experience unfamiliar to conquistador-settlers and often secondary to preserving architectural features. This dichotomy provides critiques of the preservation of colonial buildings, including former residential schools, that pose a risk of continuing to exist as spatially 'neutral,' if not romanticized architectural landmarks, without the injection of a collective memory.



Fig. 41: Moments of agency within the walls of the former Mohawk Institute, where children inscribed their names and dates into beams, joists, and baseboards. Save the Evidence Campaign.

Speculating a future that challenges preservation approaches, reveals how spatial moments for the *encounter* can yield permeating experiences beyond their intended use. As a reflection into ‘Canadian’ conservation efforts, memory is secondary to the scientific approach to preserving architectural features and ensuring historical accuracy. From a less methodical approach, lies the stories and truths beyond what can be unearthed from historical architectural documentation. The *encounters* at the former Mohawk Institute are suggestive of reframing current standard preservation approaches, rendered through the removal, redistribution, and reappropriation of the building’s materials, speculating a future that contests the experiences it once denied.¹⁰⁵ The Mohawk Institute’s future expects to align with its current use as a cultural centre, carrying the idea that the building will be visited for educational purposes and opportunities for cultural resurgence.

¹⁰⁵ Parallels to Gordon Matta-Clark’s work of preservation through destruction as explored through *Colonial Intersect* (1975), which reappropriates building materials as a counter-preservation approach.

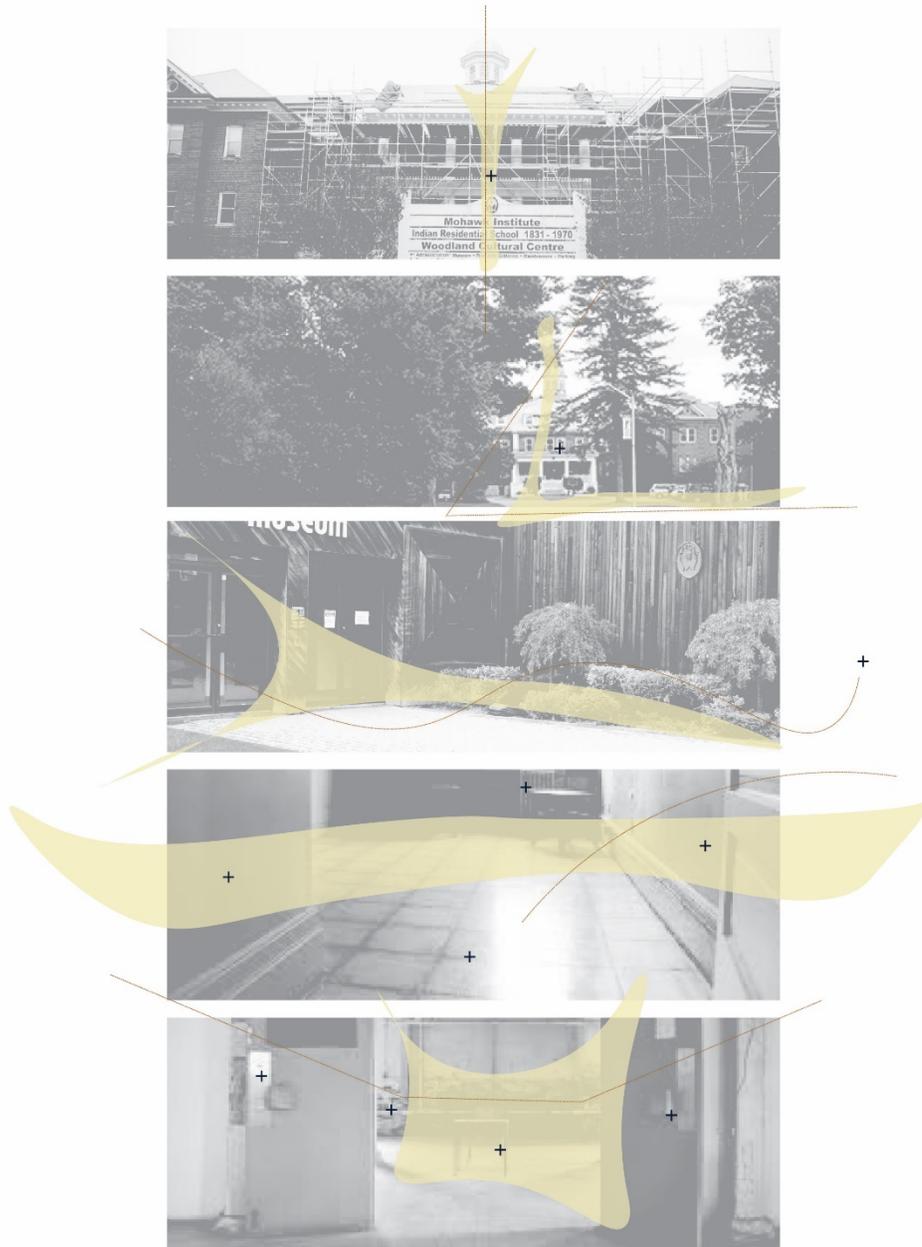


Fig. 43: Placing Encounters within former Mohawk Institute. Sketch for interventions at now Woodland Cultural Centre.

The *encounter* begins at the main entrance of the building, with a suggestive barrier that speculates a divisive experience and questions the separation it represents. Like all *encounters* at the architectural scale, their conception attempts to trigger curiosities, in tandem with the education offered through its use as a museum. These futures speculate alternative ways of entering the building to provide an experience that subvert the building's intended sense of arrival, disrupting the spatial hierarchy it once upheld. Entry through subterranean spaces provides a moment to recognize the subversion of the space while providing relief in its connection to landscape and territory. The *encounters* within the former Mohawk Institute provide moments that undermine the original intention for the building, providing experiences that enact powerful reflections through physical absence. The concept of absence and reappropriating materials through destruction, continues by reinstating lateral visibility within the building's evenly distributed hallway (Fig. 44). Through the perforation of walls and floors, contrasting with the building's original intention to separate, a frictional moment is generated that lies in the juxtaposition of its original intention to divide, with its newfound condition that accounts for accessibility and interaction.

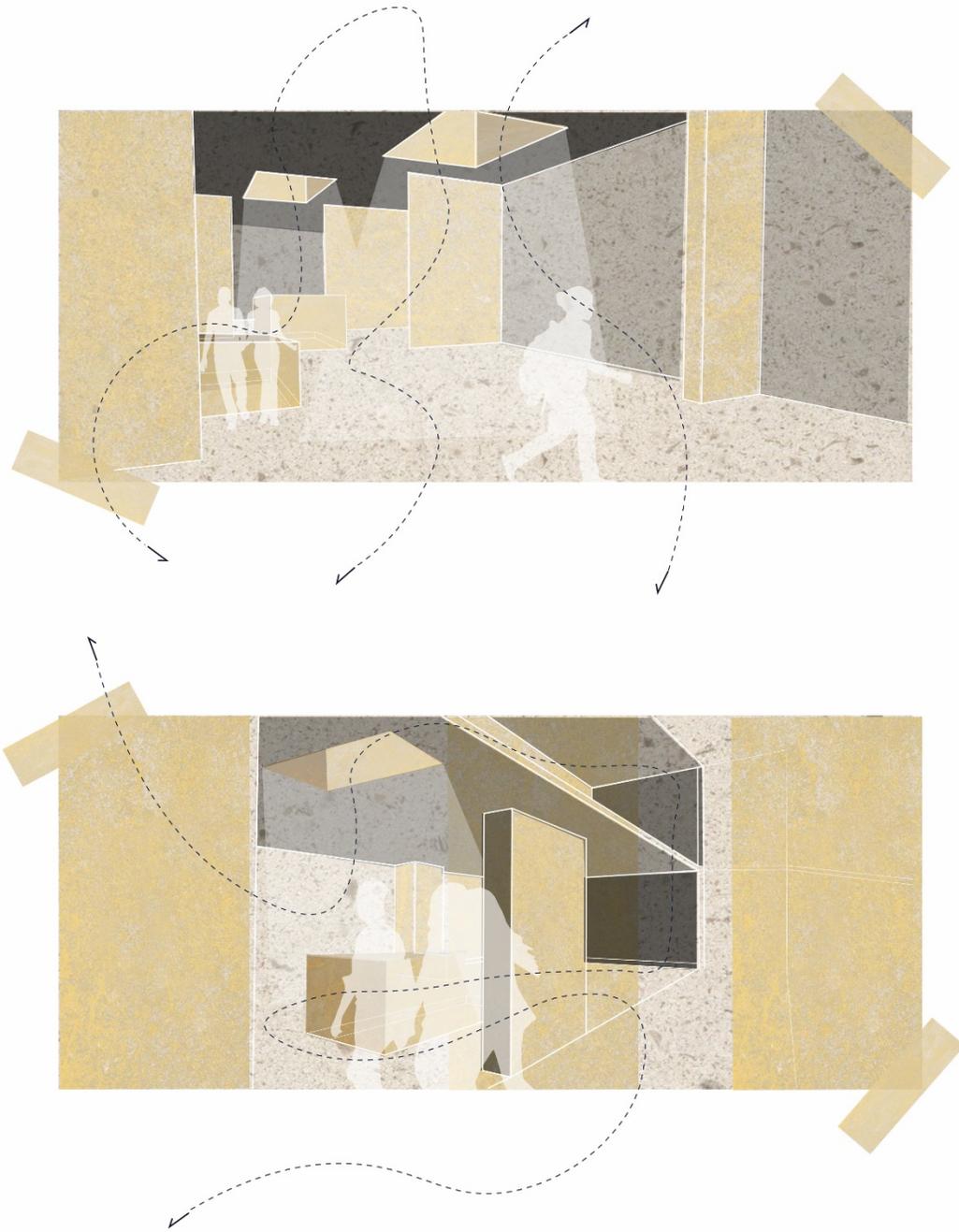


Fig. 44: *Encounters* for restoring lateral visibility within Woodland Cultural Centre.

Like many residential schools, the school grounds included several outbuildings such as a teacher's house, farmer's house, chicken coops and ice buildings, some of which currently have no formal recognition within the site's grounds. The futures for the Mohawk Institute, among other IRS regardless of their state of infrastructures, can provide frictional encounters within the restored and demolished buildings by their physical absence. These futures speculate a commemorative marking of the outbuildings not limited to an informational plaque, whereby the excavation of their footprint exemplifies their volume, proximity, and systematic approach to running a residential school (Fig. 45). As to notions of agency, the Six Nations community upholds the intention to use the site as a cultural centre by reviving lost culture within the confines of a site that it once denied. While these speculated futures can only provide a critique of the restoration of colonial architecture, their futures lie in the hands of the community.

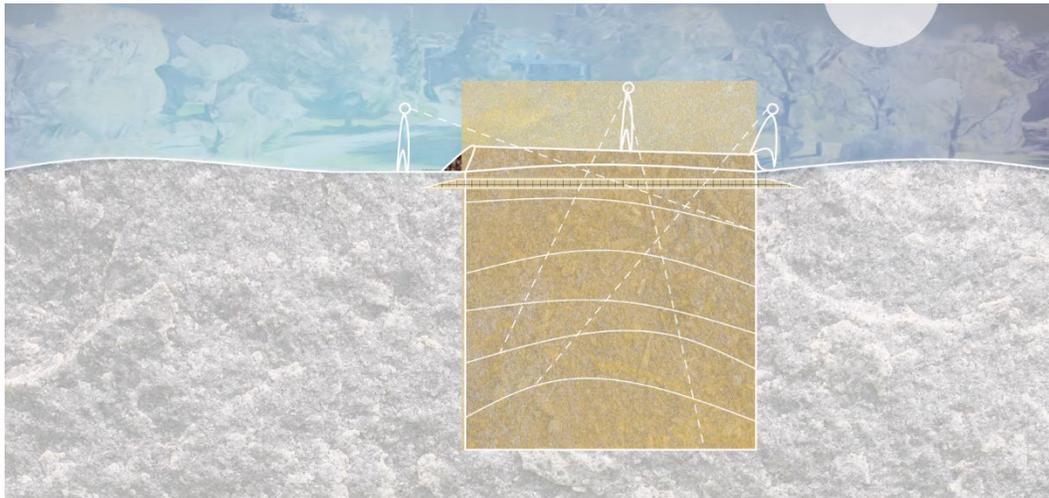
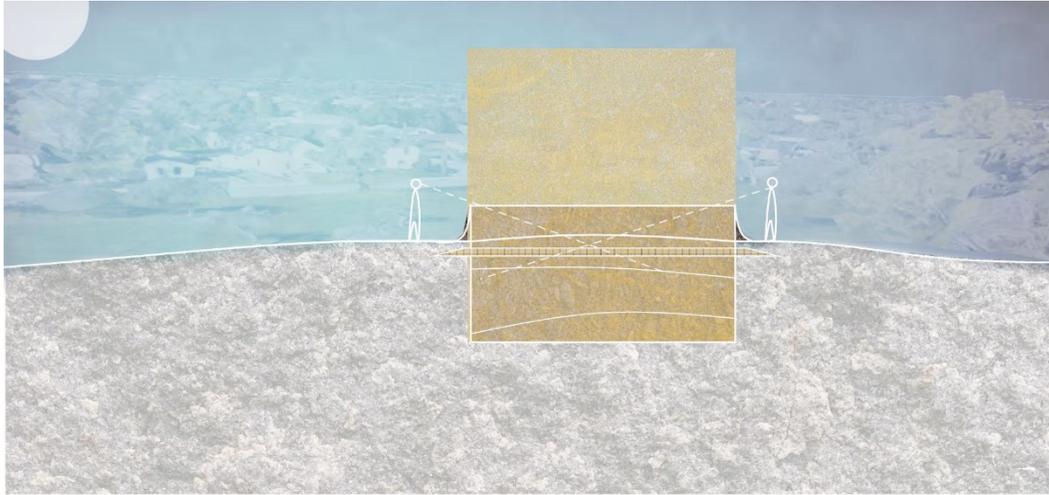


Fig. 45: Encounters for demolished buildings. Highlighting the physical absence of out-buildings within residential school landscapes.

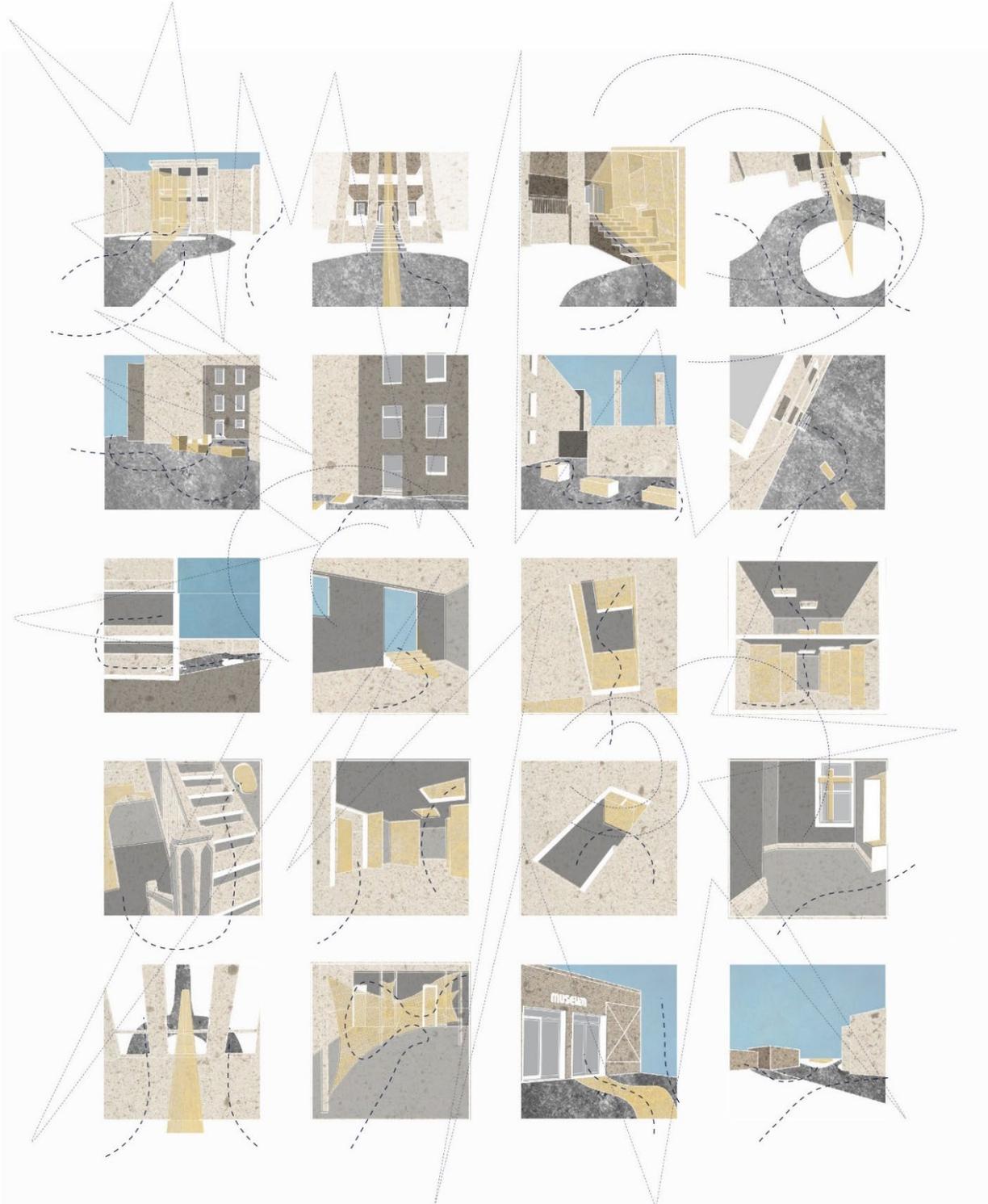


Fig. 46: *Speculated Futures for Subversive Moments at the former Mohawk Institute*. Subverting the existing architecture in a way that generates frictional encounters.



Fig. 47: Lana Šlezić, *If These Walls Could Talk*. Chunk of brick wall at the Shubenacadie Residential School Site.

CHAPTER FIVE: HERITAGE CONSERVATION, TRAUMA AND HEALING

05.1 Intersectional Futures for Healing

This thesis illustrates the spectrum of existing IRS infrastructures and the respective communities' intimate healing journeys. The conservation of former residential schools should be included in the Truth and Reconciliation Committee's [TRC] *Calls to Action* regarding their commemoration and their recognition as part as 'Canadian' heritage. Their futures are situated at the intersection of conservation and healing, as physical evidence of 'Canada's' cultural genocide. As a speculation of these futures, strengthened by research into Indigenous epistemologies, the interventions to landscapes, buildings and colonial urban fabric hope to reveal the history that displaced, traumatized, and contributed to 'Canada's' cultural genocide. Providing healing opportunities for Indigenous Peoples while dually educating and subverting the settler's experience within territory, presents an alternative to current architectural conservation methodology. This project proposes interventions that challenge Western adaptive-reuse, restoration, and demolition attempts by suggesting the conservation of an interrogating experience and embodied memory.

The inclusion of the three case studies explored in this thesis, present a discussion for current conservation practices in 'Canada' and steps that Indigenous communities are taking to reclaim, resurge and revive

previously erased cultural landscapes. The St Eugene Mission represents the only instance of IRS conservation that turned a place of pain and trauma into an economic generator for the community and can only hope to educate conquistador-settler populations on the residential school experience. Its change in programme provides means of subverting colonialism while dually functioning as a tourist attraction, presenting a hybrid of epistemological frameworks. The former Brandon Industrial Institute contrasts the repurposing of IRS infrastructure, currently prescribed to become a place of forgetting. However, as other former IRS sites and demolished infrastructures across 'Canada' begin to recognize former sites as places of commemorative value, IRS futures can only expect to underline the presence of colonialism in our cities, urban-scapes, and landscapes. The third case study, now the Woodland Cultural Centre, provides insight into possibilities of cultural resurgence while speculating a form of conservation that can inject memory through spatial interactions with architecture. These speculations can only hope to provide a discussion to challenge the celebration, preservation and historical designation of colonial structures that stand by the Western narrative of history.

By criticizing Eurocentric definitions of what constitutes 'Canadian' heritage and buildings of historic merit and standard conservation practices; architects, historians, and Indigenous groups can begin to re-imagine

experiences that take on larger de-colonial agendas such as climate change, food insecurity and larger Indigenous issues. Power through the design of spatial moments that transcend the limits of residential schools, can begin to imagine a future that frequently interacts with histories, collective memories, and the effects of inter-generational trauma. The urgency is to disrupt previously romanticized colonial constructions that preservationists actively choose to honour with historic merit and designations. As a counterapproach to preserving historical colonial architecture “as-is,” we can speculate architecture that de-colonize through spatial moments, welcoming an experience that can re-educate how we perceive unceded Indigenous land as colonized and exploitable territory. The reality remains that colonial institutions and governmental constructions are normalized within the context of conservation and commemoration, and residential schools are not the only spatial witness to ‘Canada’s’ colonial past. The approach to design these futures at various scales suggests that IRS landscapes should inspire like-futures interchangeably, noting that the effects of colonialism are everywhere. There is much work to do moving forward to meet the TRC’s *Calls To Action*, and architectural conservationist should be a part of this conversation. Although hard, emotional, and uncomfortable, the discomfort allows for the re-evaluation of Eurocentric conservation approaches, welcoming opportunities for healing in a de-colonial context.

EPILOGUE

The objective of this thesis was primarily to learn, listen and challenge my personal conquistador-settler inheritance by choosing a topic that I, like many ‘Canadians,’ felt I knew too little about. I believe in the power of education as a permeating experience, on a quest to reframe the celebration, and preservation of colonial architecture in ‘Canada.’ Reflections during this research included frustrations pertaining to my introduction of this subject during as a self-led exercise. Why hadn’t I been introduced to Residential Schools sooner?

The expected challenges of Covid-19 for the entirety of my graduate research often meant that I felt a sense of disappointment regarding the impossibility of experiencing *place*. I often felt because of my position as a settler, a responsibility to carry this topic forward within the conversations of architectural discourse. With that being said, I also felt I could not do the topic justice because of its complexity. Had the circumstances of my research been different, I would have liked to visit, listen, and interact with each of these three sites and their communities. I can only speculate what my experience, as a settler, would have been within these landscapes.

These challenges were met with constant reflections of my place, as a settler and future architectural professional, and contributions to de-colonizing architectural conservation in ‘Canada.’ The preservation of buildings in ‘Canada’ currently sits within the limitations of historical accuracy and scientific knowledge of preserving the artefactual values ‘in-situ.’ Reflecting on the embedded trauma within “aesthetic” institutional and like-colonial buildings, presents the complexity of conservation and alternatives to reframe current practices of restoration and reuse. In this realization, colonial architecture can suddenly reveal its true purpose, reframing the narrative that is currently conserved. There is a realization in fact, where settlers like myself, must understand the violence to BIPOC populations during the same time-space as a romanticized ‘colonial-era,’ and our architecture, cities and landscapes are merely fragmented pieces of evidence in a larger system of violence.

I expect to carry what I have learned forward and to recall the violence, displacement and genocide linked to the conception of the colonial *place* in unceded territories, otherwise known as ‘Canada,’ throughout my professional career. Much like the spatial moments speculated in this research, this de-colonization process is triggering and often uncomfortable. Within these moments of discomfort and friction, the realities of residential school can truly be redressed, as well as all colonial systems that encompass the continued existence of ‘Canada.’



Fig. 48: Mapping *Encounters* exercise of pieces collected in Ottawa's Arboretum, model

APPENDIX A

AN=Anglican
 RC=Roman Catholic
 OO=Non-Denominational
 PB= Presbyterian
 MD= Methodist

School Name	Date Opened	Date Closed	Town	Prov.	Relig.	State of Infra.	Strategies	Cultural Reclaiming/Resurgence (Y/N)	Planned Futures
<i>Kootenay Indian Residential School (St. Eugene's Indian Residential School, St. Mary's Indian Residential School)</i>	1898	1970	Cranbrook	BC	RC	reused, preserved	adaptive reuse	Community-led incentive to convert to a profitable hotel/resort	golf + luxury resort.
<i>Brandon Indian Residential School (Brandon Industrial School)</i>	1895	1972	Brandon	MB	MD	demolished 2006	abandoned (1972), erasure	steps to have estimated 70 graves be marked	
<i>Mohawk Institute Residential School (Mohawk Manual Labour School; Mush Hole Indian Residential School)</i>	1828	1948	Brantford	ON	AN	Preserved	Preservation, restoration	Cultural Centre, Exposition Space, Museum. Now functions as Woodland Cultural Centre.	fire, commemoration, museum
<i>Kamloops Indian Residential School</i>	1890	1978	Kamloops	BC	RC	preserved, converted	adapted, preserved	Now cultural centre, museum, offices. Commemorative monument. Land use plan speculates to demolish structures with retention of site for cultural purposes.	fire, commemoration.
<i>Lower Post Indian Residential School</i>	1951	1975	Lower Post	BC	RC	adaptive reuse, now administrative offices for community	erasure, adaptive reuse	some buildings demolished/burned in 1980s. Plans to demolish and rebuild for community	fire
<i>Birtle Indian Residential School</i>	1888	1970	Birtle	MB	PB	abandoned	decay, abandon	Plans to make into cultural centre	
<i>Portage la Prairie Indian Residential</i>	1891	1975	Portage la Prairie	MB	PB	Preserved	Preservation restoration, Adaptive reuse	Transferred to Long Plain First Nation as Treaty Land Entitlement in 1980. Now used as Assembly for Manitoba Tribal Chiefs	
<i>Yale School</i>	1949	1980	North West River	NL	OO	abandoned, standing	decay, boarded up	n/a	
<i>Frobisher Bay Indian Residential School</i>	1965	1996	Iqaluit	NU	RC	preserved, adapted	preserved	Now Nunavut Arctic college	
<i>Shingwauk Indian Residential School</i>	1874	1968	Sault Ste. Marie	ON	AN	preserved, rehabilitated	reuse	Community led, reused as part of Algoma University	educational facility
<i>Pointe Bleue Indian Residential School</i>	1960	1950	Mashteuiatsh	QC	RC	preserved, converted	reused, day school	n/a	educational facility

<i>All Saints Indian Residential School</i>	1865	1951	Prince Albert	SK	AN	Site reused. Originally burned by fire in 1947(All Saints) and moved to Prince Albert	preserved gym and garage	Reclaimed land to provide services such as a daycare, health centre and education facilities for the Peter Ballantyne First Nation.	fire, healing, healthcare
<i>Yukon Hall (residences for local day school students)</i>	1956	1965	Whitehorse	YT	AN	demolished 2009	reused infrastructure	Reused as Yukon Council First Nations Headquarters and healing centre for Whitehorse IRS survivors.	
<i>Blue Quill's Indian Residential School (St. Paul's Boarding School)</i>	1931	1970	St. Paul	AB	RC	preserved, adapted, (became the first Native-administered school in Canada)	preserved. Adaptive reuse	Returned to community in 1970. Now a First Nations-run college; Blue Quills First Nations College. Cultural activities occur at the site.	educational facility
<i>Old Sun's Boarding School (North Camp Residential School / White Eagle's Boarding School / Short Robe Boarding School)</i>	1886	1971	Gleichen	AB	AN	preserved, converted	preserved. Adaptive reuse	1971- became Mount Royal College and Native Learning Centre. Becomes run by Blackfoot Nation in 1978. Buildings used for Old Sun Community College est. 2008.	educational facility
<i>St. Paul's Indian Residential School</i>	1889	1906	Cardston	AB	AN	preserved, adapted	preserved. Adaptive reuse	transferred to Blood Tribe in 1978. Was converted into housing for Red Crow Community College in 2006. (Community run)	educational facility
<i>Christie Indian Residential School (New Christie Indian Residential School / Kakawis Indian Residential School)</i>	1974	1983	Tofino	BC	RC	preserved, adapted	reuse of infrastructure	Healing/family centre	healing centre
<i>Assiniboia Indian Residential School (Assiniboia Hostel)</i>	1958	1973	Winnipeg	MB	RC	preserved rehabilitated	adaptive reuse	Canadian Center for Child Protection	
<i>Lockwood School</i>	1949	1964	Cartwright	NL	OO	abandoned	abandoned	derelict	n/a
<i>Makkovik Boarding School</i>	1949	1960	Makkovik	NL	OO	preserved	preservation	museum. Not run by indigenous community	heritage status
<i>Akaitcho Hall (dormitory for Sir John Franklin High School)</i>	1958	1994	Yellowknife	NWT	OO	Adaptive reuse (now dormitory for High School)	reuse of infrastructure for student residence at Nunavut Arctic College	monument to be erected at site	
<i>Spanish Indian Residential Schools; St. Joseph Residential School 1916-1962 (girls school) still standing; St Charles Garnier College 1913-1958 (boys school) demolished</i>	1883	1951	Spanish	ON	RC	abandoned 1960, destroyed by fire by students	decay, abandon	Boy's school: Demolished with remnants of structure. Tree carvings offer commemoration. Girl's school: fire occurred when converting building to apartments, structure remains as an abandoned shell.	fire

<i>Muscowequan Indian Residential School</i>	1932	1973	Lestock	SK	RC	abandoned	decay, abandon	Plans for museum	Recognized Heritage site. National Trust endangered list
<i>Assumption Indigenous Residential School (Hay Lakes Indian Residential School)</i>	1951	1970	Hay Lakes	AB	RC	demolished, closed 1974	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Blue Quill's Indian Residential School (Hospice of St. Joseph / Lac la Biche Boarding School)</i>	1862	1898	Lac la Biche	AB	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Blue Quill's Indian Residential School (Sacred Heart Indian Residential School / Saddle Lake Boarding School / Blue Quill's Boarding School)</i>	1898	1931	Saddle Lake	AB	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Convent of Holy Angels Indian Residential School (Holy Angels Indian Residential School / Our Lady of Victoria Indian Residential School)</i>	1902	1974	Fort Chipewyan	AB	RC	abandoned, residence demolished in 1975	reuse of site for community. Evidence preserved (barbed wire fence)	yes. Community cultural site near former site.	
<i>Crowfoot Indian Residential School</i>	1909	1968	Cluny	AB	RC	demolished, foundation left	n/a	Blackfoot Crossing Heritage Site and cultural museum nearby; cultural resurgence	
<i>Dunbow Industrial School (St. Joseph's Industrial School, High River Industrial School)</i>	1888	1939	High River	AB	RC	demolished, cemetery remains	commemorative site	memorial plaque	commemoration
<i>Edmonton Industrial School (Poundmaker)</i>	1924	1968	St. Albert	AB	MD	destroyed by arson, 2000. became rehabilitation centre	converted, destroyed	late 1960's was converted into a student residence. 1970 converted into the Poundmaker's alcohol and drug rehabilitation centre. 1989 designated Historic Resource in Alberta. Currently used as the Nechi Centre for addiction and healing.	unknown if community initiative to destroy.
<i>Ermineskin Indian Residential School</i>	1915	1973	Maskwacis (Formerly Hobbema)	AB	RC	demolished	converted, adapted, demolished	Returned to community as day school until 1991 when Ermineskin Band. Demolished, residential school gymnasium remains with commemorative plaque to former school.	

<i>Immaculate Conception Boarding School (Blood Indian Residential School / St. Mary's Mission Boarding School)</i>	1911	1975	Stand-Off	AB	RC	demolished	erasure	Site used as new high school	educational facility
<i>Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School (Immaculate Conception Boarding School / Blood Indian Residential School)</i>	1884	1926	Stand-Off, moved to Cardston site	AB	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>McDougall Orphanage and Residential School (Morley Indian Residential School)</i>	1886	1969	Morley	AB	MD	demolished, church burned suspiciously in 2017	erasure	Returned to community and new school built	educational facility, fire
<i>Peigan Indian Residential School (Victoria Jubilee Home, then St-Cyprian)</i>	1897	1962	Brocket	AB	AN	demolished, foundation remains	erasure	now part of Pilkani Reserve land	
<i>Red Deer Industrial School</i>	1889	1919	Red Deer	AB	MD	demolished 1948	erasure	n/a	n/a
<i>St. Albert's Indian Residential School (Youville)</i>	1873	1948	St. Albert	AB	RC	demolished	erasure, commemoration	community park and commemorative plaque. Now site of the Sturgeon Hospital.	commemoration
<i>St. Andrew's Indian Residential School</i>	1908	1950	Whitefish Lake	AB	AN	demolished	erasure	part of reserve, reclaiming land	
<i>St. Barnabas Indian Residential School (Sarcee IRS)</i>	1892	1921	Sarcee	AB	AN	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>St. Bernard Indian Residential School (Grouard Indian Residential School)</i>	1894	1961	Grouard	AB	RC	demolished	erasure	Church remains and is designated as provincial historic site. Residence reused for Former Lakes College. Commemoration is unknown.	
<i>St. Bruno Indian Residential School (Joussard Indian Residential School)</i>	1913	1969	Joussard	AB	RC	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>St. Francis Xavier Indian Residential School (Sturgeon Lake)</i>	1907	1961	Calais/Sturgeon Lake	AB	RC	demolished	erasure	part of reserve, reclaiming land site reused for local day school	
<i>St. Henri Indian Residential School (Fort Vermilion Indian Residential School)</i>	1903	1968	Fort Vermilion	AB	RC	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>St. John's Indian Residential School (Wabasca Residential School)</i>	1902	1966	Wabasca	AB	AN	demolished	erasure	returned to community in 1968. Site is currently local catholic school	educational facility

<i>St. Martin Boarding School</i>	1902	1973	Desmarais -Wabasca	AB	RC	demolished	erasure, now Alberta Treasury Branch	part of reserve, no recognition of former IRS	
<i>St. Peter's Indian Residential School (Lesser Slave Lake Indian Residential School)</i>	1895	1932	Lesser Slave Lake	AB	AN	demolished	erasure	part of reserve, reclaiming land	
<i>Ahousat Indian Residential School</i>	1901	1950	Ahousat	BC	PB	demolished (fire 1940 by faulty wires)	erasure	land sold to logging company	fire
<i>Alberni Indian Residential School</i>	1920	1973	Port Alberni	BC	UC	converted then demolished	erasure (burned in 1917, rebuilt in 1920; burned again in 1937, rebuilt in 1939)	granted to the band's Tsahaheh Indian Reserve No. 1 in 1980. then residence bldg. demolished by community in ceremony in 2009	revenge, healing, multiple fires
<i>Christie Indian Residential School (Kakawis Indian Residential School)</i>	1900	1973	Tofino (Meares Island)	BC	RC	demolished	n/a	site remains in convent's possession, with attempts of Ahousat First Nation's attempt to purchase the property.	
<i>Friendly Cove Day School</i>	1930	1964	Yuquot	BC	RC	destroyed by fire 1940	n/a	n/a	
<i>Greenville Mission Boys' Boarding School</i>	1877	n/a	Nass River	BC	MD	n/a	n/a	n/a	
<i>Kitamaat Indian Residential School (Elizabeth Long Memorial School for Girls)</i>	1893	1941	Kitamaat	BC	MD	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Kuper Island Indian Residential School</i>	1890	1975	Penelakut Island	BC	RC	demolished, 1980	n/a	Demolished by community. Ceremony dedicated to the date stone to be dropped in ocean.	n/a
<i>Lejac Indian Residential School</i>	1910 (new building in 1922)	1976	Fraser Lake	BC	RC	demolished, foundation left	decay, erasure, memorial, commemoration	Returned to community, memorial and cemetery remains	
<i>Methodist Coqualeetza Institute</i>	1886	1962	Chilliwack	BC	MD	destroyed by fire 1891, rebuilt in 1920. Demolished but site used for new education centre	erasure	now Colqualeetza Education Training centre	educational facility, fire
<i>Metlakatla Indian Residential School (Metlakatla Indian Girls' School)</i>	1891	1970	Metlakatla	BC	OO		n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Port Simpson Methodist Girls' School</i>	1863	1948	Port Simpson	BC	MD	demolished	erasure	n/a	n/a
<i>Presbyterian Coqualeetza Indian Residential School</i>	1861	1940	Chilliwack	BC	PB	merged with Methodist Church	n/a	n/a	n/a

<i>Roman Catholic Coqualeetza Indian Residential School</i>	1889	1940	Chilliwack	BC	RC	converted then demolished	erasure	became hospital, site is now reserve land and hosts multiple wellness centres. Land gained back through protest and occupation.	
<i>Sechelt Indian Residential School</i>	1904	1975	Sechelt	BC	RC	destroyed by fire in 1917, demolished	erasure	Ceremonial demolition in 2008.	fire
<i>St. George's Indian Residential School (Lytton Indian Residential School)</i>	1901 (new school built in 1928)	1979	Lytton	BC	AN	demolished	erasure	site now senior's living, part of reserve, reclaiming land	
<i>St. Mary's Mission Indian Residential School</i>	1861	1975	Mission (Pekw'Xeyles)	BC	RC	demolished 1965	erasure, commemoration	part of Fraser Valley Heritage Park, reserve land. Bell and foundations remains as commemorative site	commemoration
<i>St. Michael's Indian Residential School (Alert Bay Indian Residential School)</i>	1929	1905	Alert Bay	BC	AN	demolished 2015	erasure	Ceremonial demolition, site is derelict and vacant. threw stones at apology sign from Anglican Church	
<i>St. Paul's Indian Residential School</i>	1898	1943	North Vancouver	BC	RC	demolished 1959	erasure, rebuilt	remains in ownership of Catholic Church. Day school was constructed and is now a private High School	educational facility
<i>Thomas Crosby Indian Residential School (Thomas Crosby Girls/Boys Home Indian Residential School)</i>	1879	1950	Port Simpson	BC	MD	demolished	erasure	part of reserve	
<i>Williams Lake Indian Residential School (St Joseph's Mission)</i>	1891	1981	Williams Lake	BC	RC	demolished	erasure, commemoration	structure reused as wellness centre then demolished. part of reserve land, commemorative plaque	
<i>Yale Indian Residential School (All Hallow's Girl's School)</i>	1884	1920	Yale	BC	AN	demolished	n/a		
<i>Yuquot Indian Residential School</i>	1901	1913	Yuquot	BC	RC	demolished	commemoration	five-foot totem pole erected in honour of residential school children	
<i>Cross Lake Indian Residential School (Norway House Roman Catholic Indian Residential School)</i>	1900	1965	Cross Lake	MB	RC	destroyed by fire 1913, rebuilt at new site, new building destroyed by fire in 1946. Rebuilt again in 1952.	n/a	Land surrender by band for new school	fire

<i>Elkhorn Indian Residential School (Washakada Indian Residential School)</i>	1888	1949	Elkhorn	MB	AN	destroyed by fire 1890s, rebuilt in 1897. demolished 1951. cemetery remains	ruins, abandon	n/a	
<i>Fort Alexander Indian Residential School</i>	1905	1970	Pine Falls	MB	RC	demolished	converted to local day school	n/a	
<i>Guy Hill Indian Residential School</i>	1952	1979	The Pas and Clearwater Lake	MB	RC	demolished	adapted, erasure	yes, became health services building	fire
<i>Lake St. Martin Indian Residential School</i>	1874	1963	Fisher River	MB	AN	new school built in 1948	n/a	n/a	
<i>MacKay Indian Residential School</i>	1955	1989	Dauphin	MB	AN	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>MacKay Indian Residential School</i>	1915	1933	The Pas	MB	AN	destroyed by fire 1933. relocated to Dauphin	ruins	Site used for cultural events	fire
<i>Norway House Methodist Indian Residential School</i>	1899	1967	Norway House	MB	MD	fire in 1945, 1956 building demolished in 2006	destroyed, erasure	became day school in 1967.	educational facility, fire
<i>Pine Creek Indian Residential School (Camperville Indian Residential School)</i>	1890	1965	Camperville	MB	RC	demolished 1972	erasure, remains/decay of foundation. Monument	recognized as Manitoba historic site	commemoration
<i>Sandy Bay Indian Residential School</i>	1905	1970	Sandy Bay Reserve	MB	RC	destroyed by fire	erasure, fire	n/a	fire
<i>St. Boniface Industrial School</i>	1891	1969	St. Boniface/Winnipeg	MB	RC	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>Waterhen Indian Residential School</i>	1890	1900	Waterhen	MB	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Nain Boarding School</i>	1949	1973	Nain	NL	OO			n/a	mission is preserved and heritage status
<i>St. Anthony's Orphanage and Boarding School</i>	1949	1979	St. Anthony	NL	OO	n/a	n/a		
<i>Shubenacadie Indian Residential School</i>	1929	1967	Shubenacadie	NS	RC	demolished	erasure	site was reused as factory space. Ceremonies for healing have taken place.	n/a
<i>Federal Hostel at Cambridge Bay</i>	1964	1997	Cambridge Bay	NU	OO	abandoned, derelict	abandon	structure stands with unknown use.	
<i>Chesterfield Inlet Indian Residential School (including residence: Turquetil)</i>	1929	1969	Chesterfield Inlet	NU	RC	demolished 1986	reuse of infrastructure (post office, co-op)	n/a	

<i>Aklavik Anglican Indian Residential School (All Saints Indian Residential School)</i>	1927	1959	Shingle Point	NWT	AN	n/a	n/a	closed, community relocated	
<i>Aklavik Catholic Indian Residential School (later Inuvik Indian Residential School)</i>	1925	1996	Aklavik	NWT	RC				
<i>Fort McPherson Indian Residential School; (Including residence, Fleming Hall);</i>	1898	1970	Fort McPherson	NWT	OO	demolished	converted to government building in 1976	n/a	
<i>Fort Providence Indian Residential School (Providence Mission Indian Residential School)</i>	1867	1953	Fort Providence	NWT	RC	demolished, moved to Hay River	commemoration	Now a commemorative site for unmarked graves	commemoration
<i>Fort Resolution Indian Residential School</i>	1867	1895	Fort Resolution	NWT	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Fort Simpson Indian Residential School (Fort Simpson Boarding School, including residences Bompas Hall, Lapointe Hall, St. Margaret's Hall) Grollier Hall</i>	1920	1970	Fort Simpson	NWT	RC	demolished	n/a	transferred to the NWT government in 1969 and converted to elementary school. Demolition included healing ceremonies.	
	1959	1996	Inuvik	NWT	RC	n/a	n/a	n/a	
<i>Fort Smith Indian Residential School (Breynat Hall)</i>	1957	1970	Fort Smith	NWT	RC	demolished	reused	Used as residence for Tebacha College with park and commemorative site	commemoration
<i>Hay River Indian Residential School (St. Peter's Mission Indian Residential School)</i>	1895	1949	Hay River	NWT	AN	demolished, used briefly as day-school	conserved bell of school, commemorative site with plaque	Commemorative site	commemoration
<i>Albany Mission Indian Residential School (Fort Albany Residential School)</i>	1912	1963	Fort Albany	ON	RC	demolished (original building burned rebuilt in 1939)	erasure, symbolic burning of memory	Burned by community in 2002. previously used as multi-function services centre.	revenge, fire
<i>Alexandra Industrial School for Girls</i>	1897	1910	Toronto	ON	OO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Alnwick Industrial School (in partnership with Mount Elgin Indian Residential School)</i>	1838	1966	Alderville	ON	MD	demolished . 2012 remaining barn	abandon	Names carved into barn	n/a
<i>Armstrong Indian Residential School (Armstrong Residential School; Armstrong Home and School)</i>	1880	1891	Armstrong	ON	RC	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

<i>Bishop Horden Memorial School (Moose Factory Indian Residential School; Moose Fort Indian Residential School)</i>	1907	1976	Moose Factory	ON	AN	demolished , 1983	denial	denied being given to community by PWC, now site of Ministik Public School	
<i>Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School</i>	1900	1966	Kenora	ON	PB	demolished , 1976	Provincial historic site, commemorative site	Memorial site erected by grand council	memorial site
<i>Chapleau Indian Residential School (Saint John's Indian Residential School)</i>	1907	1950	Chapleau	ON	AN	demolished 1948	denial, erasure. now residential neighbourhood	n/a	
<i>Fort Frances Indian Residential School (St. Margaret's Indian Residential School)</i>	1902	1974	Fort Frances	ON	RC	demolished	erasure	Now site for community family services.	
<i>Kenora Indian Residential School (St Mary)</i>	1949	1972	Kenora	ON	RC	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>McIntosh Indian Residential School</i>	1925	1969	Kenora	ON	RC	main residence destroyed in fire, now demolished	erasure, resurgence		fire
<i>Mount Elgin Indian Residential School</i>	1848	1981	Muncey Town	ON	MD	demolished , barn survives	commemoration	Commemorative site	community healing
<i>Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School (Pelican Lake Day School)</i>	1926	1978	Sioux Lookout	ON	AN	demolished	erasure	site of community high school	
<i>St. Anne's Indian Residential School</i>	1906	1976	Fort Albany	ON	RC	demolished	erasure	site part of reserve, reclaiming land	
<i>St. Joseph's Orphanage and Boarding School (for Indigenous and White Children)</i>	1870	1973	Fort William	ON	RC	demolished	site of catholic day school. Commemorative plaque erected in 2019.	commemoration, educational facility	
<i>St. Mary's Indian Residential School</i>	1897	1972	Kenora	ON	RC	demolished	erasure, now part of Marina with commemorative plaque	n/a	
<i>Wawanosh School for Girls</i>	1879	1892	Sault Ste Marie	ON	AN	demolished (see Shingwauk)	commemoration	reused as part of Algoma University. Marked with commemorative plaque	commemoration
<i>Wikwemikong Indian Residential School (Wikwemikong Day School)</i>	1840	1911	Manitowaning	ON	RC	destroyed by fire in 1911	erasure	part of reserve	
<i>Amos Indian Residential School (St. Marc's Indian Residential School)</i>	1948	1965	St. Marc-de-Figuery (Amos)	QC	RC	demolished . Commemorative site	closed 1972	n/a	n/a
<i>Federal Hostel at George River</i>	1960	1960	Kangirsualujuaq	QC	OO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

<i>Federal Hostel at Great Whale River</i>	1960	1970	Kuujjuarapi k (Poste-de-la-Baleine)	QC	00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Federal Hostel at Payne Bay</i>	1960	1960	Kangirsuk (Bellin)	QC	00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Federal Hostel at Port Harrison</i>	1960	1971	Inukjuak	QC	00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Fort George (St. Joseph's Mission, Residence Couture, Sainte-Thérèse-de-l'Enfant-Jésus) Fort George Hostels</i>	1936	1952	Fort George	QC	RC	n/a includes 3 buildings	abandoned	Fort George community abandoned due to James Bay Hydro-electric project	
	1975	1978	Fort George	QC	00	demolished	abandoned	Fort George community abandoned due to James Bay Hydro-electric project	
<i>La Tuque Indian Residential School</i>	1963	1978	La Tuque	QC	AN	demolished 2006	erasure, derelict	demolished by survivors, site belongs to Public Works Canada.	
<i>Sept-Îles Indian Residential School (Seven Islands, Notre Dame, Maliotenam) St. Philip's Indian Residential School</i>	1952	1971	Sept-Îles	QC	RC	demolished	erasure, reclaiming	reclaimed site to cultural festival site	
	1933	1975	Fort George	QC	AN	destroyed by fire 1943, rebuilt in 1944	demolished	used as community school from 1969-75. Had all aboriginal staff by 1973	
<i>Battleford Industrial School</i>	1883	1914	Battleford	SK	AN	destroyed by fire 2003, stabilized ruins remain	destroyed, stabilized remains	provincial heritage status. Destroyed by fire in 2003.	fire
<i>Beauval Indian Residential School</i>	1895	1983	Beauval	SK	RC	destroyed by fire in 1927. rebuilt in 1928 in brick. Ceremonial demolition 1995	reused, demolished	became Meadow Lake Tribal Council's Beauval Indian Education Centre, closed in 1995	fire
<i>Cowesses Indian Residential School (Marieval Indian Residential School)</i>	1936	1997	Marieval	SK	RC	demolished 1999, church and cemetery remain		continued cutting hair/assigning numbers up until 1997	
<i>Crowstand Indian Residential School</i>	1888	1916	Kamsack	SK	PB	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>Emmanuel College</i>	1879	1923	Prince Albert	SK	AN	demolished	n/a	n/a	
<i>File Hills Indian Residential School (File Hills Colony School)</i>	1889	1949	Okanese Reserve	SK	PB	demolished	n/a	buildings demolished in 1953. Now part of reserve (100 acres)	
<i>Gordon Indian Residential School</i>	1889	1996	Punnichy	SK	AN	demolished	erasure	now site for education centre and band offices	fire, educational facility
<i>Guy Hill Indian Residential School</i>	1926	1952	Sturgeon Landing	SK	RC	destroyed by fire 1952	erasure	n/a	fire
<i>Île-à-la-Crosse Indian Residential School</i>	1878	1976	Île-à-la-Crosse	SK	RC	demolished 2016	symbolic demolition	Symbolic demolition by survivors	de-generative healing (alcohol)

									healing centre)
<i>Lake La Ronge Mission Indian Residential School (Old MacKay School)</i>	1914 (new school built in 1920)	1947	La Ronge	SK	AN	destroyed by fire	n/a	n/a	fire
<i>Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School (Qu'Appelle Industrial School); Lebret Indian Residential School; (Added St. Paul's High School in 1951)</i>	1884	1951 offered HS education, closed in 1998	Lebret	SK	RC	demolished, (burned down in 1904, 1932)	erasure	returned land to community/reserve. Demolished in 2005.	
<i>Regina Indian Residential School</i>	1890	1941	Regina	SK	PB	demolished	commemoration, erasure	commemorative cemetery	cemetery/commemoration
<i>Round Lake Indian Residential School</i>	1887	1950	Whitewood	SK	PB	demolished, other buildings destroyed by fire	erasure	n/a	fire
<i>St. Albans Indian Residential School</i>	1943	1951	Prince Albert	SK	AN	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>St. Anthony's Indian Residential School (Onion Lake Catholic Indian Residential School)</i>	1894	1974	Onion Lake	SK	RC	demolished	erasure	demolished 1972. part of reserve, reclaiming land	
<i>St. Barnabas Indian Residential School (Onion Lake Indian Residential School)</i>	1892	1943	Onion Lake	SK	AN	destroyed by fire, attempted fire lit by students in 1928	erasure	resurgence. Destroyed by students	fire
<i>St. Michael's Indian Residential School (Duck Lake Indian Residential School)</i>	1894	1996	Duck Lake	SK	RC	demolished, abandoned	erasure, commemoration	now cultural site, commemoration, resurgence	commemoration
<i>St. Phillips Indian Residential School (Keeseekoose Day School) previously Crowstand</i>	1928	1969	Kamsack	SK	RC	demolished	erasure	part of reserve	
<i>Thunderchild Indian Residential School (Delmas Indian Residential School)</i>	1933	1948	Delmas	SK	RC	destroyed by fire. 1947 Unmarked	n/a	Destroyed by students in fire	fire
<i>Aklavik Anglican Indian Residential School (All Saints Indian Residential School)</i>	1927	1934	Shingle Point	YT	AN	n/a	n/a	larger community is part of heritage listing, including former IRS site	heritage status
<i>Baptist Indian Residential School (Yukon Indian Residential School)</i>	1947	1960	Whitehorse	YT	BP	demolished	erasure	n/a	
<i>Carcross Indian Residential School (Chootla Indian Residential School; Caribou Crossing Indian Residential School)</i>	1910	1969	Carcross	YT	AN	demolished	reuse of infrastructure, demolished	Cultural centre on site	educational facility

<i>Carcross Indian Residential School (Forty Mile Boarding School)</i>	1891	1910	Fortymile	YT	AN	demolished	n/a	n/a
<i>St. Paul's Hostel</i>	1920	1943	Dawson City	YT	AN	demolished	erasure	now part of Minto Park & Hospital

Table information based on both personal observations from recent satellite imagery and cross-referenced with the following sources:

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APPENDIX B

Erasure includes the instance of demolition of IRS infrastructures with no suggestion or recognition of its former use as a residential school. While some former IRS sites have been demolished with a form of recognition such as a commemorative plaque or provincial heritage status, others have been completely wiped of physical evidence. In some instances, a trend of denial can characterize demolished infrastructure that has retained ownership by the federal government or religious entities without implementing means of restitution with the Indigenous communities. **Erasure** and **denial** IRS sites can be attributed to developed residential neighbourhoods' while erasure within commemorative frameworks include heritage designations, memorial plaques and/or monuments. A difference between monuments erected by federal/provincial bodies and religious groups should be noted as independent from monuments erected by Indigenous groups as the former represents regret and the latter resilience.

Preservation relates to IRS infrastructure that has been retained "as-is" without converting the building and surrounding landscapes to programs that have significantly changes the building's site and infrastructure. Preservation recalls using conservation techniques related to restoring and retaining character-defining elements as well as maintaining strong artefactual values as physical testimony. Preservation of IRS infrastructure relates to programmes for museum purposes, educational facilities and indigenous-led community services to educate and reflect on 'Canada's' colonial project. In some instances, restored sites have been identified as retaining provincial heritage status and are owned by the local Indigenous community. **Repurposed** or adaptive reuse is attributed to IRS infrastructure that has undergone a significant change in program in order to meet community needs often as a result of financial limitations. Reuse of IRS infrastructure to continue serving educational uses has been identified as a common strategy among many IRS buildings. Notably, reuse as community wellness and rehabilitation centres are identified as necessary

services to communities devastated by the trauma of the IRS system. Preservation and reuse differ based on their steps to conservation, the former representing a deliberate attempt to identify its use former use as a residential school and the latter representing instances where the suitability of programme becomes problematic or refrains from identifying its former use. Adaptive reuse with an attributed quality of denial can be associated with the reuse of IRS infrastructure that does not bring any notions of healing or cultural resurgence, such as use for federally owned institutions or privately owned corporations. The spectrum of restored and reused meets within some circumstances such as the former Shingwauk IRS which is now a part of Algoma University, an Indigenous-led university in Sault St Marie, 'Ontario' (Figure 22). It should be noted that repurposed instances of IRS infrastructures are often a direct consequence of the financial limitations of the Indigenous communities once they regained administrative control of the sites from the Department of Indian Affairs. Examples include the Port Alberni IRS' dormitory provide an example where the Tseshaht First Nation repurposed the building out of necessity rather than choice, even if the victims' consensus were that its demolition would provide an opportunity to heal.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Sunny Dhillon, "Residential School to Be Demolished. Algoma University Archives," 2009. Accessed January 6, 2021. <http://archives.algomau.ca/main/?q=node/19464>

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