

Claiming the Terrible Gift—A Post-TRC Investigation in
Praxiological Museology

by

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Abstract

This thesis develops the curatorial pedagogy of the ‘Terrible Gift’, which was conceived by the late Roger I. Simon as a means of enabling more effective representations of difficult histories, but was never implemented in a major exhibition. As a ritual of bequest and inheritance enacted in exhibition, the Terrible Gift is intended to implicate visitors in the difficult histories and legacies that perpetuate iniquitous social conditions in the present, and, to obligate them in the necessity of an ethical response. In an effort to move the Terrible Gift toward realization, my research prepares Simon’s pedagogy for implementation at a test site, the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Building on the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition, on which I have worked in the professional capacities of curator, designer, and project manager at the behest of the Survivor community, I propose a series of museal interventions with the ‘terrible gifts’, aspects of the site’s evidentiary landscape, that remain to be gifted and claimed. Taking the form of praxiological museology—a critical, decentering, and deconstructive practice that aligns and draws on transdisciplinary knowledges and stimulates critical self-reflexive exhibition development—these interventions respond to the architectural, architectural, and mnemonic conditions of the site.

Motivated in part by Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s calls to reckon with the Indian residential school system, my research is intended to expand the repertoire of the New Museology toward engendering the conscientizing and reciprocal/recursive effects required to improve our prospects for a less violent future. To this end, my thesis (i) elucidates a procedure by which the Terrible Gift can be

implemented as a curatorial pedagogy, (ii) compares museal reckonings with difficult histories and ‘critical events’ through the lens of gift and inheritance, eliciting promising practices, and (iii) develops a series of proposed interventions using methods of praxiological museology toward realizing the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift. Envisaged by Simon as a hopeful practice, wherein collective labour toward redemption is unhindered by its impossibility, the Terrible Gift, and indeed this research, recognizes reconciliation not as an end-state, but as an unending process of negotiation.

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List of Acronyms

AANDC: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada

AHF: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

AR: Augmented Reality

ARI: Angus Reid Institute

AU: Algoma University

CBC: Canada Broadcasting Corporation

CMA: Canadian Museums Association

CMH: Canadian Museum of History

CSAA: Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association

EE: Embodying Empathy

IRSRC: Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada

IRSSA: Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement

LHF: Legacy of Hope Foundation

MCP: Missing Children Project

NCTR: National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation

PAR: Participatory Action Research

RCAP: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

RSLMMP: Residential Schools Land Memory Mapping Project

SKG: Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig

SRSC: Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

VE: Virtual Environment

VR: Virtual Reality

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Preface

In his “Preface” to *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of the Residential Schools*, a volume prepared in 2008 by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) to inform the newly established Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), AHF President, former National Chief Georges Erasmus, proposed “that where common memory is lacking, where people do not share in the same past, there can be no real community... The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in bearing witness to what has gone before, will help to create collective memory and shared hope that will benefit Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada long into the future” (xiii). While seven years later, in 2015, the findings¹ of the TRC shed significant light on the history of the Indian residential schools, what has been achieved with respect to transforming its legacy remains uncertain, and will for some time be difficult to ascertain. There are also signs² that our collective post-TRC enthusiasm for change has attenuated, which some may rationalize as a symptom of the passage of time and competing calls for public attention. Speaking in Erasmus’ terms, I attribute this disinterest otherwise, not to a failure of collective memory, but to a weakness in the mnemonic transaction. What I mean is that we Canadians have failed to recognize our collective inheritance as a gift addressed to us, a situation for which I hold museums, among other institutions of public memory, accountable. Doubly implicated as a museal producer (curator and designer)

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, Volume 6. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

² According to the CBC TRC Calls to Action tracking website, as of July 8, 2019, only 10 of the 94 Calls had been fully implemented (“Beyond 94: Truth and Reconciliation in Canada”).

and a scholar investigating museal practices for reckoning with difficult knowledge, I hold myself accountable.

I came to academia late. Previously, I held senior positions at the Aboriginal Healing and Legacy of Hope Foundations (LHF)—Indigenous organizations working prior to and during the TRC-process, to address the legacy of Indian residential schools. While my work for these organizations was managerial, museal production was an integral part of its scope. Coming to exhibition projects on Indian residential schools first as a designer, and later as a manager, I was profoundly influenced by the curators with whom I worked, chiefly Jeff Thomas and Heather Igloliorte (who bear no responsibility for my many curatorial flaws and missteps). Eventually, in 2012, I came to recognize that I had also become a curator. This belated recognition may seem odd, but the transition was so subtle and the projects were so collaborative that it was only upon reflection that I realized I had taken on a curatorial role and assumed the power it conferred.

The year 2012 was significant in that it occasioned my first and second visit to the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School in Sault Ste-Marie, Ontario, now a part of Algoma University. On the first visit, at the annual Shingwauk Survivor gathering, and acting in my LHF role, I supervised the installation of Thomas' *Where are the Children? Healing the Legacy of the Residential Schools* Exhibition, field-tested its newly developed mobile application with a Survivor audience, and facilitated an educational workshop. I returned a second time as a panel moderator for a SSHRC-funded art and reconciliation-focused symposium and artist incubation, in which I occupied space in a hybrid capacity, both as a seasoned professional and a new graduate student. In the artist/scholars' descriptions of their work, I recognized my own museal practice as an

artistic and curatorial one. In this realization, both the power attendant with the roles I had played in the development of a number of exhibitions, and the privilege of which I had unintentionally taken advantage in so doing, became apparent. Despite having shouldered the role out of necessity, in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, and out of a profound sense of obligation to Survivors, as a non-Indigenous person (and unlearned curator) I felt and knew that I had encroached, that an unforeseen boundary had been crossed. I was aware of my ethical obligations with respect to exhibition design, but did not have sufficient grounding in critical museology (a term of which I was not then cognizant) to recognize these obligations in curatorial practice. Publicly calling myself to account, I resolved to undertake the unending work of learning what I needed to know to practice ethically. I cringe as I recount this moment of my own unsettling and awakening. The Indian residential school system had been the subject of my work for the previous eight years but it was not until that moment that I truly understood that the history and legacy I had inherited was mine to inherit, that this past had a claim on me, despite not being of my hand or deed, and that I am accountable to it, as are others. It shaped my ethics and practice, which has since benefitted from the scholarship I then swore to undertake. As an inheritor of the Canadian settler-state and the violence perpetrated in its name, I recognize my ethical responsibility to work toward remedy, to intervene in systemic racism, and prevent ongoing social violence. This is a shared responsibility, demanding that a principle of multi-directional reciprocity be built into my research, which I recognize both as entangled and as contributing to future museal assemblages. As a non-Indigenous person, I recognize that I unknowingly and unwillingly represent bias

and privilege, and may inadvertently re-inscribe the very settler-colonist impulses that I attempt to resist through my research practice.

In 2014, the year I began my doctoral program, curator Jeff Thomas and I (initially in the capacities of principal designer and co-curator) were approached by my former AHF colleague Jonathan Dewar, then Director of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre (SRSC) and Special Advisor to the President of Algoma University, to develop a concept to transform ‘Shingwauk’ auditorium into a museum. The project is ostensibly intended to interpret the history of the site, foregrounding a narrative of Chief Shingwauk’s vision of the ‘teaching wigwam’, its distortion through the residential school system, and its subsequent restoration through Algoma University and Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig (SKG), for the benefit of Survivors and their communities, current students, and local residents. Three galleries have opened and a fourth, which opened in October of 2019, is still in development. The first explores Shingwauk’s vision and the site’s early history, the second represents 110 years of children’s lives lived onsite, and the third features individual Survivor and student narratives and testimonies. The fourth stages seven iterations of Shingwauk schools through a *mise-en-scène* of architectural fragments.

Nothing of this exhibition to date is particularly experimental. Rather, it conforms to practices associated with the New Museology that brought Canada into its Second Museum Age (Phillips 2005). Significant ethical challenges and dilemmas have arisen, some of which may be negotiated through a series of praxiological interventions, proposed for subsequent phases, discussed in this work and soon to be put to the SRSC for their consideration. The interventions, discussed in detail in Chapters 3-5, promise

opportunities for periodic rapprochement of impasses between phases of ethical fallowing, a practice that makes future self-reflexive critique possible while maintaining the conditions of cultural safety³ in the present. They also engage with the material and immaterial traces of place and the body, and address the vagaries of memory. This is important because while the current phase and galleries occupy a physical, tangible space, Shingwauk Hall—the 1935 Indian residential school now Algoma University, the site of the interventions does not. The SRSC archives bear witness to a sprawling industrial complex predating the extant building, since erased. Archival records on Shingwauk Home, the most significant of the structures of the industrial school era, which served as school and home to generations of children, tells a different story than that of its successor—one that has the potential to suture the rupture between Shingwauk’s vision of the ‘teaching wigwam’ and the residential school. However, this history languishes in the archive and below the surface, less than 100 feet from Algoma’s main façade. There are no living Survivors of Shingwauk Home, which operated from 1874-1934, and, given the deliberate disruption of family ties that had previously facilitated the transmission of oral histories and genealogies, the students of this era seem lost to us. One of the goals of the interventions is to recover their stories and experiences, augment their testamentary address, and initiate the mnemonic transaction through exhibitionary instantiations of the ‘Terrible Gift’.

This research, which is informed in part by, but is distinct from, my ongoing exhibition work at the Shingwauk site, builds both on my 2014 Master of Arts thesis,

³ See Brascoupé, Simon, and Catherine Waters. "Cultural safety: Exploring the applicability of the concept of cultural safety to Aboriginal health and community wellness." *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 5, no. 2 (2009): 6.

Healing Heritage: New Approaches to Commemorating Canada's Indian Residential School System, and on my decade of professional experience with the AHF and LHF, organizations mandated to transform the legacy of the Indian residential school system. Through these organizations and in collaboration with Indigenous artists, curators, researchers, and historians, I participated significantly in the research, design and development of exhibitions and curricula in both physical and virtual media, experiences that set me on my current trajectory.

My research design, which incorporates particularly the methods of crystallization and diffraction, is intended to allow me to consider, track, critique, and reorient my research on an ongoing basis. While recognizing that some aspects of this study could be conducted using Indigenous research methods, as a non-Indigenous person, I resist appropriating, domesticating, or colonizing Indigenous methods. That is not to say that I do not participate in them when led by Indigenous Peoples. This project builds on fifteen years of collaborative effort with Survivors to promote healing from Indian residential school trauma, and to raise awareness of the history and legacy of the Indian residential school system among Canadians. It also responds to and honours my relationship with the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre and the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association, with whom, over the past six years, I have co-developed projects, delivered educational programming, and explored new collaborative research. I dedicate this work to them.

Introduction

My thesis develops a promising curatorial pedagogy conceived by the late Roger I. Simon to enable more effective representations of difficult histories. The pedagogy of the ‘Terrible Gift’ (Simon 2006b) emerged in the course of Simon’s long engagements with critical pedagogy as a means of augmenting the force of public history in the present. A ritual of bequest and inheritance enacted in exhibition, the Terrible Gift is intended to both implicate visitors in the difficult histories and legacies that result in and perpetuate iniquitous social conditions in the present, and, to obligate them in the necessity of an ethical response. Envisaged as a hopeful practice, one wherein collective labour toward redemption is unhindered by its impossibility, the Terrible Gift is non-consolatory, recognizing reconciliation not as an end-state, but as an unending process of negotiation. Simon passed away before having had the opportunity to enact the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift in a major exhibition, thus it was never fully theorized or put into practice as a methodology and procedure. Attempting to address these deficits and move the Terrible Gift toward realization, my thesis prepares Simon’s pedagogy for implementation at a test site, the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Building on the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition on which I have worked in the professional capacities of curator, designer, and project manager at the behest of the Shingwauk Indian Residential School Survivor community, I propose a series of museal interventions with the ‘terrible gifts’ understood as aspects of the site’s evidentiary landscape that remain to be gifted and claimed.

From comparable museal reckonings with difficult histories that can be characterized, to use anthropologist Veena Das’ (1996) term, as ‘critical events’ in a

community's history, analyzed through the lens of gift and inheritance, I elicit promising practices that inform my proposed museal interventions. Extrapolating a procedure for enacting the Terrible Gift from Simon's texts, and further theorizing the operation it is intended to perform, I move a work of critical museology into practice. Such theory-driven endeavors can be described as those of museological praxis. Conversely, praxiological museology, theorized by Anthony Shelton (2001), is differently and more precisely constituted. Praxiological museology is a critical, decentering, and deconstructive practice that draws upon and aligns transdisciplinary knowledges to stimulate critical self-reflexive exhibitions, which reveal and simultaneously deconstruct both that which is constructed in exhibition, and the means of its construction. Occupying the in-between space that separates critical museology from operational museology (the subject of its critique), praxiological museology provides a framework within which experimental exhibitionary practices, such as the Terrible Gift, may be developed, and is thus ideally suited to my investigation. Inspired by the transitive⁴ potential of the Terrible Gift, the ethics of praxiological museology, and motivated by Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) calls to reckon with Canada's critical event, the Indian residential school system, my research goal is to build on the discursive and practical repertoire of the New Museology toward engendering the conscientizing⁵ and recursive/reciprocal effects required to improve our prospects for a less violent future.

⁴ The gift is intended to perform an operation that establishes a transitive relation (A is related to B and B is related to C, so A is related to C) in which witnessing becomes inheritance and a recognition of implicatedness.

⁵ A process of gaining emancipatory knowledge, critical pedagogue Paulo Freire's (2000) conscientization, adds a political and activist dimension to historical consciousness, and "...does not stop at the level of mere subjective perception of a situation [its social, political, and economic contradictions], but through action prepares men for struggle against the obstacles to their humanization" (119). Historical consciousness, defined by the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, refers to "individual and collective

In this introduction, I discuss in more specific terms the motivations and goals of this work, as well as its theoretical framing, context, and methodology. Key concepts, indicated in *italics*, are defined in their respective sections. I begin by discussing TRC (2015) Call to Action, #67, which provides impetus for this study, in tandem with the urgent need, articulated by Paulette Regan (2011), to “restory” dominant versions of Canada history. Following this, I identify the Indian residential school system as a *critical* and *rupture-causing event* that necessitates a *post-rupture museology* (and methodology for creating *epitomizing events*) not found within the repertoire of the *New Museology of Canada’s Second Museum Age*. Next, I delve into Simon’s pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, a critical curatorial praxis with which to reckon with *difficult knowledge* in exhibition, and with the potential to augment the force of social history in the present, which he first theorized in 2006 and returned to in his last years. Here, I will look at testament, testimony, and the *substance of knowledge*, the evidence of difficult pasts in which testament inheres, but which often requires interpretation and even translation for its performative, and affective qualities to be perceived. Taking up layered interpretations of the concept of difficult knowledge and what it means to curate it, I look toward *curatorial dreaming* as a promising but nascent *praxiological museology*, which, further developed, may help to reconnect operational museology to critique. Finally, responding to the challenges to museums of representing the history and legacy of *Canada’s critical event*, the *Indian residential school system*, I discuss how the Terrible Gift may be given and claimed at the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School site. A description of my

understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors which shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future” (“CSHC: About”).

research methodology differentiating between the methodology and methods of my thesis research and those my research seeks to develop, follows. A chapter overview concludes the introduction.

I.1 Rupture and the Need for Restorying

Responding in 2016 to the TRC's call "upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to fully adopt and implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* [UNDRIP] as the framework for reconciliation" (TRC Call to Action 43), almost a decade after it was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, Canada finally removed its objector status ("Canada Now Full Supporter of UN Indigenous Rights Declaration | CBC News"), and "committed to [UNDRIP's] full and effective implementation" ("Canadian Governments and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples"). In 2019, the Canadian Museums Association (CMA) initiated TRC-driven efforts "to undertake, in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, a national review of Canada's museum policies and best practices to determine the level of compliance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (TRC Call to Action 67) and has set up a Reconciliation Council to guide its efforts ("Canadian Museums Association - Reconciliation Program"). I believe it is incumbent upon the Reconciliation Council of the CMA and museum profession in Canada to consider the implications to future museology of UNDRIP articles that do not overtly speak to museum practices and collections. Such consideration asks: what are the obligations, if any, of state cultural heritage infrastructure with respect to providing effective mechanisms of prevention and redress

for the actions listed in UNDRIP Article 8, Section 2, subsections ‘a’ through ‘e’, which states:

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture. 2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for: (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;(b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;(c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;(d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration;(e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them (United Nations)?

These subsections describe forms of cultural genocide, actions of forced assimilation and destruction of culture, which can be distinguished from those of (physical) genocide described in Article 7.⁶ If the CMA and the larger museological community are to take seriously the TRC’s call to action 67, a robust post-rupture museological praxis—one that extends the ‘New Museology’ of the 1990s and becomes an impetus to social change—will need to be developed. The Terrible Gift is an example of the kind of museum pedagogy that has the potential to inspire the formation of a moral community with a socio-political prevention, redress, and healing mandate, in Simon’s words, to “open up existing relations to continual critique and the difficult (and often conflicted) work of repair, renewal and re-invention of desirable institutions” (2006, 187). Thus, exploring its productivity can help to identify a promising practice and method of praxiological museology with which to expand our museal repertoire to “enhance the prospect of a less violent world” (Simon 2006b, 203).

⁶ See Hohmann, Jessie M. "The UNDRIP and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to Existence, Cultural Integrity and Identity, and Non-Assimilation." (2014)., for a discussion of the legal status of the concept of cultural genocide.

The need for praxiological methods is particularly urgent in light of the TRC revelation that in forming and administering the Indian residential school system, the Canadian state and its partners are implicated in cultural genocide, a colonial history and geography of erasure and dispossession of which we, Canadians, are the inheritors, and our nation a beneficiary. Indigenous governance scholar Paulette Regan, argues that “colonial violence against Indigenous peoples is woven into the fabric of Canadian history in an unbroken thread from the past to the present” and that “...we must work as non-Indigenous allies to ‘restory’ the dominant culture version of history” (6). I suggest the place to begin the necessary work of restorying Canadian history, and indeed of conscientizing Canadians, is making our ‘national crime’ visible in our institutions of public memory. The Canadian Museum of History and the Canadian Human Rights Museum have begun to do just that, yet their outputs have been modest, falling far short of the transitive, social-trajectory changing exhibitionry envisioned by Simon.

Post-rupture museology demands a theory of rupture-causing events. Veena Das’ construction of ‘critical event’ emerged from her analysis of the impacts of Partition, for her *the* critical event in India’s history, and draws on a similar concept articulated by François Furet (1978) “who defined the French revolution as an event *par excellence* because it instituted *a new modality of historical action* which was not inscribed in the inventory of that situation” (Das 1995, 6). In Das’ construction, it is through critical events that “new modes of action” that “redefine traditional categories such as codes of purity and honour, the meaning of martyrdom, and the construction of a heroic life” come into being, and new social formations of political actors, from small groups to nation-states emerge (6). Where Das’ (1995) theorization of modernity acknowledges

continuities and ruptures, Das' student Bhri Gupta Singh (1995), balancing considerations of event and structure, posits a modernity composed by *transfiguration*. Yet transfiguration is not *causa sui*, whereas rupture, whether in the moment of its occurrence or perceived belatedly, is an impetus for transfiguration. Transfiguration cannot proceed without rupture, and rupture cannot occur without reference to continuity.

Correspondingly, post-rupture museology is both a response to rupture-causing events and contributes to transfiguration by summoning, in visiting publics, a collective 'will to rupture' the continuities it exposes to censure.

While I consider the Indian residential school system to be a critical event, I do not mean to liken its long history to an incident or discrete event. I argue rather, that the concept of the critical event is agile, characterizing an occurrence of momentary or long duration, that is either itself rupture (as in the case of Partition) or results in rupture, in either case precipitating a dramatic change of social action and trajectory (transfiguration, even reconciliation). My application of 'critical event' was inspired by, but is not strictly consistent with, that of Ruth Phillips (2011, 51), who mobilized Das' concept to describe an unsettling event in the history of Canadian museology that triggered a chain of events that would lead Canada into its Second Museum Age, discussed later in this Introduction. Rather, in applying critical event to the Indian residential school system, I draw closer to Furet's application of event *par excellence* to the French Revolution, an event that was itself rupture and rupture-causing, which is popularly thought, counter to Furet's (1978) arguments⁷, to have transfigured French society.

⁷ In *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Furet argues that what was experienced subjectively as a radical break can also be understood as a form of historical continuity. For example, he argues that the ever-escalating egalitarian rhetoric internalized by the masses became the arena *par excellence* for the struggle for power among groups (1981, 130). This nuance was certainly not lost on Das who, as described by Singh

Yet, the rupture to which I refer in contextualizing this work in post-rupture museology, was not triggered by the critical event of Indian residential schooling, nor by the rupture of Indigenous cultural continuity that the system caused. It was instead triggered by the TRC process through which the majority of Canadians came to know that a critical event had transpired. Thus, the disruptive power of the previously unrecognized critical event was realized (to the degree to which it has been) only in translation, in the abstracted and distantiated form of the TRC. Ethnohistorian Raymond Fogelson defines epitomizing events as “narratives [non-events in themselves] that condense, encapsulate, and dramatize longer-term historical processes,” compelling inventions of such “explanatory power that they spread rapidly through the group and soon take on an ethnohistorical reality of their own” (1989, 143). The public and media spectacle, and resulting narrative engendered by and through the TRC process, can be argued as having constituted such an epitomizing event. History museums (good ones) create epitomizing events through which the representation of history makes mnemonic impressions on visiting publics.

In the context of difficult history, ‘critical’ status is often conferred after the fact, from a subject-position of condemnation. The distantiating effect required can *only* be realized by asserting a rupture between past and present, through a kind of ‘will to rupture’ that allows us to dissociate from our past and define ourselves anew. While this construction is problematic in its refusal to see continuities between past and present, its benefit is that the societal adherence and ongoing affirmation demanded by a post-rupture identity keeps us from recreating the conditions of the causal event, from becoming like

(1995, 93) and Baishya (2018, 12), in her 2006 publication *Life and Words*, moves away from the critical event as radical break to describe its aftermath, which becomes dispersed, returning into everyday life.

those from whom we have disassociated.⁸ In the context of the critical event of the Indian residential school system, a rupture appears between how we, the majority of Canadians, perceive ourselves in the present (liberal, egalitarian, tolerant) and how we perceive our forebears and their terrible actions in the past, even as we enjoy the privileges of the Canadian settler-state made possible through sustained colonial violence. A post-rupture museology must take advantage of such ruptures and stimulate efforts toward identity-affirming redemptive action (cognizant that redemption cannot be achieved), while simultaneously destabilizing our more sanctimonious impulses by forcing us to see the continuities between past and present injustice we turn from. Thus, the intention of a post-rupture museology is both unsettling and hopeful. That being said, critical events are constructs that are as likely the result of slow-dawning realization as they are of events of instant shock, recognition, and unqualified condemnation. While museological arguments can prompt their recognition, promoting a view of a past event as a critical one, or respond to events constructed as critical in any number of ways, post-rupture museology assumes that a rupture-causing event has already occurred.

Canada, as explained by Phillips (2005), was ushered into its Second Museum Age by a critical event, resulting in the development of a culturally-competent museological repertoire that extended the New Museology into new directions. The ‘new museology’, initially a critique of pre- 20th century museum orthodoxy and integration of the discourses and practices of public history (considered applied and thus lesser

⁸ Contrary to what Tuck and Yang refer to as settler moves to innocence, “those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege,” (2012, 10), we can only become ‘innocent’ of inherited crimes (while continuing to acknowledge them) if we pay systemic restitution (give up land or power or privilege) and transform their legacies in the present.

practices of folklore, local, or amateur history), resulted in the development of a new museum ethics and set of practices (Marstine 2008, 2011, 2013, 2017). Indeed, this critique, which contributed to the growing discipline of critical museology, challenged the very notion of the museum's place and function in society. The previously unquestioned authority of museums, which conveyed hegemonic historical interpretations to the public through master narratives came under question. The new museology, in contradistinction, promoted shared authority (Frisch 1990, Conrad 2008), multivocality (Misztal 2003, Black 2011, Phillips 2005, 2011, Franco 1997) and embraced controversy and complexity (Conrad 2008) through strategies of interpretive dissonance and resistance (Dahl and Stade 2002, Roberts 1997). Concomitantly, it promoted a shift toward public history-making, communicating cultural continuities, and enabling cultural empowerment (Conrad 2008, Rosenzweig and Thelan 1998, Allen and Anson, Carson 2008). The museum was theorized as moving from an outdated 'temple' to 'forum' model (Cameron 1971), a move intended to democratize the institution (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2014), situate and mobilize the museum in the political, and create opportunities for affective, empathetic and meaningful engagements with history (Rosenzweig and Thelan 1998). This shift enables identity-work (Trofanenko 2006, Conrad, Northrup, Pollard 2007, Rounds 2006), including that of national identity and memory (Friesen, Muise, Northrup 2009), contributes new tools for building historical literacy and fostering participatory historical culture (Seixas and Morton 2012), and articulates a role for museums in bridging cultural divides and addressing difficult histories and knowledge (Britzmann 1998; Rosenberg 2011; Lehrer, Milton, and Patterson 2011; Simon 2011a).

In Canada, the new museology gained greater impetus following controversies sparked by the Glenbow Museums' *The Spirit Sings* and the Royal Ontario Museum's *Into the Heart of Africa* exhibitions, which lead to reconsiderations of museum practice and to new ways of engaging with source communities, Indigenous Peoples, and collections. The 1992 Task Force on Museums and Indigenous Peoples contributed recommendations, since taken up by museums subjectively and to varying degrees, on ethics, consultation and representation, human resourcing and management (power structures), and collecting practices, access, and repatriation (Wilson et al. 1992; Nicks 1995). TRC Call to Action #67, which calls museums to account for their actions with respect to the Task Force recommendations and the UNDRIP, may yet yield a new direction for the new museology in Canada. It is upon this foundation that post-rupture methods can be built.

I.2 Simon, Difficult Knowledge, and Praxiological Museology

I.2.1 Simon and the Terrible Gift

In his last book-length work, *A Pedagogy of Witnessing: Curatorial Practice and the Pursuit of Social Justice*, published posthumously in 2014, Roger I. Simon discusses how he had over ten years earlier, begun to “work through the concrete problems of exhibition design in order to foster [his] idea as to what would constitute a critical pedagogy of public history” (xv), the premise of this work being that comparative study of exhibitions would prove a “fertile ground for eliciting a conceptual language through which the practical work of curating difficult knowledge may become newly thought” (xvi). His theorization of the Terrible Gift, which enfolds a pedagogy of witnessing, emerged from this comparative critique. As a witness to the unprecedented and wide-

spread public and publicized testimony-giving occasioned by the TRC process in Canada, Simon reflected on the place, manner, and function of testimony in the pursuit of social justice (2009/2013), producing works on curatorial practice in the context of difficult history (2011a; 2011b; 2014) and attendant museum pedagogies. The pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, which draws on testimonial and testamentary forms to enact gift exchange in the form of bequest and inheritance in the context of exhibition, featured prominently in two of Simon's works from the mid 2000s, *A Touch of the Past* (2005), and "The Terrible Gift: Museums and the Possibility of Hope without Consolation" (2006), works representative of his 'curatorial turn'.

In 2016, he describes how close he came to instantiating his pedagogy of the Terrible Gift in a major exhibition (2016, 172-86), an effort that would have necessitated he exchange his observational methods for experimental and performative ones. Had his project been funded, he would have been confronted with the necessity of transforming his conceptual methodology into a procedure that could initiate the transitive and recursive operation⁹—which I refer to as the 'mnemonic transaction'—that the Terrible Gift was conceived to perform. The performative research the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift entails would inevitably have changed his originating pedagogy and perhaps furnished replicable methods.

Toward the end of his life, Simon returned to the Terrible Gift, which is the subject of his last posthumously published work, "The Terrible Gift: Difficult Memories for the Twenty-First Century," a chapter in *Curatorial Dreams* (Butler et al. Eds. 2016).

⁹ As previously mentioned, the gift is intended to perform an operation that both establishes a *transitive* relation in which witnessing becomes inheritance and a recognition of implicatedness, and is *recursive*, perpetuating itself through a chain of recognition.

While this work reflects Simon's longstanding concerns, his consideration of social obligations pursuant to the inheritance of history and the transmission of historical memory of difficult pasts claimed, or perhaps more frequently unclaimed by us—pasts in the oft-quoted words of Emmanuel Levinas (1987, 111), “what has never been my fault or deed”—it is also a significant and urgent return to an earlier striving toward methods.

Simon's (2006) statement, “there is no futurity (no break from the endless repetition of a violent past) without memories that are not your own but nevertheless claim you to a responsible memorial kinship and the corresponding thought such a problematic inheritance evokes” (203), implicates us not only in the politics of recognition (C. Taylor 1997) but also in an economy of memory. Regarding inheritance and implicatedness as co-constitutive and museums as an important means of recursive enactment of transitive pedagogy, Simon asks “how museums might initiate a reconsideration of the force of history in social life” (2006, 187). Implicatedness in this context is of two natures. First, Simon considers Walter Benjamin's assertion that we are endowed with a “weak messianic power...to which the past has a claim” (Benjamin 2009, II) an articulation of an agreement between the past and the struggle to manifest a more just future (187) in which present generations are implicated by descent. Second, the museum, and other places of meaning-making, have the potential to render visitors conscient of their implicatedness, initiating transitive action and memorial kinship. Configured as a gift presented to the visiting public as a collective of inheritors, exhibitions can displace historical subject positions of victim, perpetrator, and bystander, mitigating these fractious and divisive identifications. Instead, the place of exhibition can become its own platform of identification for visitors distantiated from what Simon calls

“the incommensurable character of the historical experience of others” (2006, 188), but who are nevertheless its inheritors and progenitors. The realizations of both: that we are implicated in something we will never truly understand but upon which we (the collectivity of inheritors) are called to social action, are the aims of the Terrible Gift.

By this point, readers may be asking: what constitutes ‘the gift’ in the context of the ritual and pedagogy of the Terrible Gift? Simon identifies as gifts and bequests, artifacts of a testamentary character, which, “either in their original conception or as a result of the histories to which they refer...have become materials that are substantively performative (2006, 194). Their appearance, recounts Simon, “initiates a transitive process in which they are always already constituting themselves in their address as a gift to others whose existence lies beyond their moment of inception” (Ibid). Simon offers an example of such an artifact in “The Terrible Gift: Museums and the Possibility of Hope without Consolation” (2006, 192) in the context of his discussion of the testamentary provenance of the remains of the diary of Yitskhok Rudashevski. A recording of the atrocities experienced in the Vilna Ghetto by a member of the Vilna Jewry who successfully evaded the ghetto’s liquidation by Nazi forces in 1943, only to be discovered and murdered several weeks later, Rudashevski’s diary is quintessentially impregnated with testamentary character. Affective power, activated in sites of articulation, inheres in such objects, which speak for themselves.

Simon did not offer any prescriptions for instantiating the protocol of gift exchange or bequest and inheritance in exhibition. We can, however, reliably assume that it would involve strategic elements of presentation (disclosure or expository, articulation, translation) and would strive to influence a particular form of reception

(witnessing/inhabitation, reflection, and responsive action). The scene of the transaction, Simon describes as story-space or *mise-en-scène*—an assemblage of testamentary objects *staged to heighten the encounter* and encourage a form of visitor inhabitation. The gift is intended to perform an operation that both establishes a transitive relation (A is related to B and B is related to C, so A is related to C) in which witnessing becomes inheritance and a recognition of implicatedness, and is recursive, perpetuating itself through a chain of recognition.

While Simon (perhaps unintentionally), referenced only “images and words” as legacies capable of initiating “a reconsideration of the force of history in social life,” becoming in exhibition a “bearing of witness, an enactment of a difficult, at times, terrible gift” (188), documentation in other, less frequently-considered forms, comes down to us from posterity. When objects, like Rudashevski’s diary or the photographs taken by members of the *Sonderkommando* of Auschwitz,¹⁰ communicate clearly discernable messages and to large extent ‘speak for themselves’, little mediation is required. Indeed, translation may not be necessary for recognition to occur. Other, less read-able documents or ‘texts’ of history however, deliver their testamentary address only to those able to ‘read’ them. Power dynamics, land, buildings, cultural landscapes, material remains and detritus, memories extant, recovered, and passed down, tangible and intangible heritage practices, speak to us. So too do hidden cavities in the earth and the micro-topographies that reveal them. DNA, epigenetic effects, beliefs and behaviours, prejudices, phobias, ephemeral fragments of fragments: subjects archaeological, biological, architectural, mnemonic all testify. These elements of the larger evidentiary

¹⁰ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of these images, which are explored in Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Images in spite of all: four photographs from Auschwitz*. University of Chicago Press, 2008.

landscape bear also witness, and articulated, translated and assembled (*mise-en scène*) in ways comprehensible to museum-going publics, equally have the capacity to produce *difficult knowledge* and to thereby instantiate the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift. Indeed, I believe we cannot rely on the power of images and words alone to create epitomizing and thus transformative events in exhibition. Perhaps it is due to their inattention to these forms of evidence and their collective portent that the representations of Indian residential schools in the institutions mentioned earlier, the Canadian Museum of History and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, suffer from a surplus of prescriptive knowledge and a deficit of difficult knowledge.

1.2.2 Difficult Knowledge

Simon wrestled with the vexing matter of ‘difficult knowledge’ and strove first in education and later in museum pedagogy (he regarded exhibitions as inherently pedagogical)¹¹ to find ways for our and future generations to confront and learn from difficult pasts and knowledge. Although this ambition situates his work in methodological inquiry, with the exception of his late 1990s University of Toronto Vilna Ghetto project study group, which experimented with curatorial selection, juxtaposition, and reflexive analysis and discussion, his methods remained largely in the domain of observation and critique, characteristic of other theoreticians of Critical Museology. If he engaged in processes of participatory observation or experiment with respect to exhibition, his publications do not reflect it. That being said, there is much to gain in

¹¹ In *A Pedagogy of Witnessing*, Simon describes the series of judgements essential to curatorial projects, determinations as to what is shown and where, and decisions related to the discursive environment of exhibition and its programmatic elements, as practices that are “inherently pedagogical and by implication integrally political” (2014, 7).

applying his rich theorizations in practice, particularly those that contend with difficult knowledge.

Deborah Britzman's concept of "difficult knowledge," first introduced in 1998 in the context of her psychoanalytic inquiry of learning, has a double meaning, signifying both representations of subjects that characterize them as traumatic or difficult, "representations of social traumas in curriculum and the individual's encounters with them in pedagogy" (Pitt and Britzman 2003). The emergence of entangled trajectories of scholarship on difficult knowledge, some aligning with existing discursive threads on pedagogy and historical trauma (Simon and Eppert 1997; Simon and Armitage-Simon 1995) attest to the productivity of Britzman's concept.¹² In 2011, an edited volume entitled *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (Lehrer et al.), to which Simon contributed an afterword, was published. An outcome of the Centre for Ethnographic Research and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Violence's landmark 2009 Curating Difficult Knowledge Conference at which Simon delivered the keynote address, *Curating Difficult Knowledge* made a key contribution to the growing body of literature on museums and difficult histories. Disambiguating difficult knowledge, the volume's editors emphasize its confrontational quality as a force that inhibits visitors from assimilating knowledge presented in an exhibition within their existing structures of knowledge—that which they currently believe to be true. Otherwise stated, difficult

¹² An edited volume, *Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of Historical Trauma*, published in 2000 and featuring a chapter by Britzman, initiated a line of inquiry on *remembrance/pedagogy* (2) that considers what it means to learn from difficult pasts and looks critically at the potential for museum exhibitions to enact what Simon later terms a pedagogy of witnessing. Co-edited by Roger I. Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert, *Between Hope and Despair* introduced questions and themes that carried into Simon's subsequent collaborations and volumes (Simon 2005; 2006; 2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2016), which further developed and refined his theorizations of transitive pedagogies that could be enacted through the curation of difficult knowledge.

knowledge is “knowledge that does not fit” (2011, 8). In his “Afterword,” Simon suggests that knowledge presented in a curatorial context can be deemed difficult when:

It confronts visitors with significant challenges to their expectations and interpretive abilities – for example when historical narratives produce conflicting, complex, and uncertain conclusions; elicits the burden of ‘negative emotions’ ... revulsion, grief, anger, and/or shame that histories can produce...if they raise the possibility of complicity of one’s country, culture, or systemic violence such as the seizure of aboriginal land, the slave trade, or genocide; or, evokes heightened anxiety that accompanies feelings of identification of the victims of violence, the perpetrators...or bystanders (194).

Simon clarifies that ‘difficulty’ is not an inherent quality or to be taken as a property of the *substance of knowledge* (artifacts, images, discourses, etc), but is manifested between affective and cognitive response at the site of its appearing (195), a position he modifies and expands in 2014, recognizing that “The difficulty inherent in such knowledge is not only constituted in the substance of images and narratives of violent death and wounding loss, but also in the consequent personal and social aftermath of such that are embodied in and sustained by particular practices of remembrance” (2014, 11).¹³ Here Simon reveals his project as an investigation of pedagogies that both augment an exhibition’s ‘affective force’, and complicate its cognitive reception, such that the encounter compels self-reflexive reconsideration of held beliefs and ways of being in the world. He explains, “the experience of difficulty [which he seeks to create] resides in the problematic but poetic relation between the affects provoked by engaging

¹³ By Simon’s own omission the subject of a photograph (if not the photograph itself), an example of the substance of knowledge, can be inherently difficult. For example, it can describe violence or suffering, contributing its own affective force. It can be argued that the photo creates difficult knowledge both in its representation and reception. Perhaps the distinction that Simon is making is that, without the mediation of curatorship and exhibition, the photo has no means of reception and thus no context for an interpretation that would render it difficult knowledge.

aspects of the mise-en-scène of an exhibition and the sense articulated within one's experience of this exhibit" (11).

Defly balancing strategies of curation and reception with issues of curatorial judgement and ethics, Simon implicitly maintains Britzman's sense of difficult knowledge as an *emergent property* of representations of traumatic pasts which constitute it, as do the volume's editors, (Lehrer et al. 7). Moreover, the authors recognize that what connects them is the attempt to produce ethical and productive representations—thus to curate difficult knowledge derived from—historical subject matter that is violent, traumatic, gruesome, tragic, horrific, and painful in nature (Ibid). Discussing the public display of traces of past violence and suffering, Simon (2011a) himself claims, “curating difficult knowledge cannot be a neutral exercise” (199). Given that we cannot enfold traces themselves (the substance of knowledge) within the concept of ‘difficult knowledge’ (in refusing attributions of *inherent* difficulty, Simon strictly forbids it), we must, rather, attune ourselves to their *immanent* properties.

The use of evidence and reading of evidentiary landscapes relies on the immanent properties¹⁴ of the substance of knowledge, and accordingly ascribes them qualities, some of which may be characterized as difficult. Curatorship, in this context, becomes a form

¹⁴ I want to introduce a discussion of the Māori concept of the ‘hau’ taken up by Marcel Mauss in “Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de L'échange dans les sociétés Archaiques" (1924) as it relates to the immanent properties of the substance of knowledge, BUT, this concept, integral to Māori ontology, has been so appropriated and abused by Western scholars, I am reluctant to do so. Providing a much-needed Māori reading of the hau, Georgina Stewart (ko Whakarārā te maunga, ko Matauri te maona, ko Ngāti Kura te hapū, ko Ngāpuhi-nuitonu te iwi), states, “hau is the detectable movement of spiritual force, carried by the acts, intentions and associated objects, of those with whom we interact,” objects given and exchanged thus carry “the spiritual force or memory of those relationships” (2007, 9). My attribution of immanent properties to the substance of knowledge relates to their embodied memories of previous relationships and thus to their latent testamentary force. This understanding may have some affinity with the Māori concept of the ‘hau’. A discussion of Western theorizations of the gift and gift exchange appear in the next chapter. There, a brief discussion of gift as poison or pharmakon ensues, which also may relate to reciprocity demanded by the hau as described by Stewart (2007, 5), however, not wanting to appropriate or misrepresent this concept, I did not develop this connection.

of reading and articulation that creates the conditions for difficult knowledge to be constituted and exhibited, enabling it to challenge received knowledge. My project, which considers traces *beyond images and words*, seeks to make visible the immanent properties to which the varied evidentiary landscape of the Shingwauk site attests, while recognizing the site as an entangled agent in a traffic of (pre-existing) attestations which are already multiply-mediated productions of difficult knowledge. A commitment to curating difficult knowledge presupposes difficult subjects of curatorial judgment. Yet curatorial judgments (culturally conditioned perceptions of immanent qualities) are subject to influence by a multiplicity of received characterizations. Still, cognitive dissonance is a necessary condition for the affective function of difficult knowledge in museal contexts and acts on curators as well as audiences. That which is constructed as ‘difficult knowledge’ depends as much on the testamentary power of the substance of knowledge in its intrinsic difficulty, as on the judgements produced by curators reckoning with their own implicatedness and the “vexing and troublesome feelings of revulsion, grief, anger, and/or shame” that complicate their own responses, even as they contend with myriad received characterizations and corresponding public expectations. Indeed, perception of the immanent qualities of gifts through the lens of testament, whether immediately apprehended, enunciated or translated, first bestows on us *unassimulability* (difficult knowledge as cognitive challenge). Often spoken of as that which is unimaginable and unspeakable, unassimilable knowledge comes to be imagined and spoken, making Holocaust and other difficult museologies and pedagogies possible (difficult knowledge as representation). These are the conditions of possibility for curating difficult knowledge and the Terrible Gift’s first bequest. The challenge of Simon

is that he left us with his own bequest in the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift but did not provide us with the means to operationalize it. Rather, he left us a *curatorial dream*.

I.2.3 From Curatorial Dreaming to Praxiological Museology

Shelley Ruth Butler and Erica Lehrer, editors of *Curatorial Dreams* (2016), a work influenced by *Curating Difficult Knowledge* and with contributions from some of its authors, note the “in-between” status of scholars who participate in museal production. Proposed as an innovative and constructive mode of engaged cultural analysis and critique (4), curatorial dreaming does not seek to contribute directly applicable exhibitionary methods (although it does do this in some cases), but rather to stimulate creative approaches toward developing such methods. In other words, *Curatorial Dreams*’ method remains speculative, and as such, stops short of doing. Simon’s late curatorial dream, the subject of his chapter, “The Terrible Gift: Difficult Memories for the Twenty-First Century,” describes an exhibition intended for development with the Musée de la Civilisation, that would have instantiated the dream and the ritual of bequest and inheritance integral to his pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, contributing needed praxis to the museology of difficult knowledge and pasts. *Curatorial Dreams* remains a timely reflection and intervention in museal discourse toward praxiological museology.

Praxiological museology is a neologism of Anthony Shelton’s creation (2001, 2013), which emerged from his work to articulate New Museology’s positions and their impacts for museology and museum practice. His (2013) “Critical Museology: A Manifesto,” asserts distinctions between three museologies: critical, praxiological, and operational, and posits the four epistemological positions upon which, he claims, critical museology is predicated. These are: that history is constructed, which demands its

subjection to skeptical scrutiny, that museums are collecting institutions, warranting that critical museology “rescue museology from both the dead hand of an objectivist history and from psychological reductionism or ‘cold passion’,” that museums “reproduce a teleological circle” (11), which must be interrogated and opened to new knowledge claims, generate “new heterologies and explode the limited range of exhibition genres” (12), and finally, that museums are fundamentally “more heterotopic than the societies in which they operate and are therefore potentially disruptive of them” (13). These positions demand corresponding ethical positions and practices. Shelton’s methodological interdictions suggest new avenues for situating the museum, which also have implications for practice. Stressing the hypercomplexity of the networks in which museums participate and viewing museums as Tony Bennett’s (1995) ‘distinctive exhibitionary complexes’, Shelton urges us to better understand them “as hubs within hypercomplex, though not necessarily cohesive networked fields” (19). I interpret this as both a call to recognize other fields with which museums are networked and to analyze and better understand the nature and productivities of their entanglement.

Shelton first described his three museologies, those of critical, praxiological, and operational museology in 2001. Taking operational museology as its subject, Shelton posits that critical museology, “interrogates the imaginaries, narratives, discourses, agencies, visual and optical regimes, and their articulations and integrations within diverse organizational structures [of artistic and cultural heritage and production]” (2013, 8). His “Manifesto” provides few clues to what praxiological museology is. Shelton suggests that while critical museology studies operational museology from a multidisciplinary perspective, praxiological museology, like institutional critique, does so

from through visual and performative media (7). Operational museology, he defines as “that body of knowledge, rules of application, procedural and ethical protocols, organizational structures and regulatory interdictions, and their products (exhibitions and programs) that constitute the field of ‘practical’ museology” (8).

So, what is praxiological museology exactly? Shelton’s “Manifesto,” while defining critical museology and its object of study, operational museology, does not elaborate on praxiological museology. For that, we must look to his 2001 work, “Unsettling the Meaning: Critical Museology, Art and Anthropological Discourses.” Here, he describes praxiological museology as “practices undertaken by artists assuming curatorial roles through which the process of constructing exhibited knowledge is itself explored and problematized” (147). He further stipulates that the development of praxiological museology was an effect of the epistemological confluence of anthropology and art that resulted from the de-privileging of anthropological discourse and methods¹⁵ from the 1960s forward (Ibid). Despite this seeming context-specific genesis, Shelton identifies the earliest forms of praxiological museology in the Surrealism of Breton and Broodthaers, whose work ‘de-familiarized’ the ordinary (147). I suggest that praxiological museology can be generalized, as are critical and operational museology. Indeed, in providing examples of exhibitions of the Surrealists previously mentioned, together with *The Belly of an Architect* (1987), *Prospero’s Books* (1991), and *Flying Over Water* (1997), and the filmic and material exhibitions of filmmaker Peter

¹⁵ Discussing an epistemological break in the Anthropological field that responded to politicized discourses of the mid-Twentieth Century (critical race theory, post-colonial theory, etc.) and methodological and epistemological critique in the 1960s, Shelton asserts that Anthropology was left with the uncertain status of an art. He suggests this created “intriguing correspondences” between the different practices of Anthropology and Art, with “important implications for museums” (145-147).

Greenaway, Shelton shows praxiological museology to be acts of curatorship “exercised by artists who consciously seek to deconstruct, or excavate and lay bare to an incredulous gaze the working of dominant forms of cultural, economic or political expression” (148). Setting aside how ‘artist’ is defined, we recognize praxiological museology as a confluent and thus transdisciplinary practice. The question is, can it encompass transdisciplinaries beyond those of art and anthropology, deriving methods from among a range of disciplines? What other epistemological confluences can create the conditions for praxiological museology?

We know that praxiological museology is a critical decentering, deconstructive, and thus subversive practice, that it investigates transdisciplinary alignments and knowledge, and that it stimulates practices of critical self-reflexive exhibition development to expose and simultaneously deconstruct the exhibited knowledge that it constructs. Praxiological museology is made possible when Other becomes curator, and exhibition and museum become as much the subject of museal production as does the knowledge-construct exhibited. From the perspective of performativity and function, praxiological museology’s intent can be seen to contribute both critique of exhibition and exhibited subjects, and critical transdisciplinary methods to the practice of museology. Intriguingly, Shelton loosely correlates his three museologies with Paul Ricoeur’s (1974) distinctions between the differing epistemological ascriptions that correspond to a culture’s critical philosophy, disciplinary regimes, and operational discourses (2001, 142). If praxiological and operational museology, or indeed Ricoeur’s categories of disciplinary regime and operational discourses, are subject to the analytical scrutiny of its critical philosophy, then the objectives and epistemological ascription of that philosophy,

in this case of critical museology, should underpin praxis. Yet, curatorial dreaming is an admittedly *anomalous* experiment in returning exhibitionary practices (or technologies) to their critical philosophies by way of praxis. This approach, however, represents a speculative yet nascent praxiological museology, which, one can hope, will nurture future critical *and* material-operational praxis.

At present, I suggest that we are not seeing much in the way of praxiological museology at work in Canadian museums. The editors of *Curatorial Dreams* recognize their project as an occupation of in-between space, caught within “terrain fraught with tensions that divide museological theorists and museum practitioners” (7). While I appreciate the editors’ concessions to the exigencies of operational museology, to the practical and political constraints of museums, and to the limitations posed by the specificities of museum mandates and collections (Ibid), all factors that condition exhibitionary possibilities in museums, I am troubled by increasing curatorial and interpretive concessions that are made by museums for the purposes of optimizing visitor experience. For example, veteran exhibition consultant Beverly Serrell, who conducts quantitative analysis of visitor experiences in exhibitions, relates the success of exhibitions not to social outcomes but to their conformity to an optimal sweep rate (SRI) to diligent visitor (%DV) ratio. For Serrell, time spent in an exhibition, the key determinant of both learning and visitor satisfaction, should dictate how exhibitions are developed, after all, “the visitor’s experience is not made up of what the exhibition offers, but rather it consists of what he or she chooses to attend to” (1997, 121). One of Serrell’s “deadly sins of unsuccessful labels” are “Labels that ask questions that are not the visitors’ questions” (2015, 234).

If museums are to perform some service to society in the pursuit of social justice, they must, at the very least, condition visitorship as much as they are conditioned by it. Instrumentalized through an increasingly neo-liberal operational museology, one focused not on social relevance but on economic sustainability, museal production often becomes distorted and prescriptive. Exhibition development in the service of operational museology becomes a second disciplinary regime, with its own authorizing discourses. Discourses and practice standards in the fields of universal design, interpretative planning, and visitor studies, from which statements such as those offered by Beverly Serrell derive, condition exhibition development, which, compounded with revenue-oriented imperatives, distantiate exhibition development from critical considerations, discourage experimentation, and insulate museums from risk. Yet, in avoiding critical and self-reflexive approaches, difficult knowledge, and experimentation from which controversy may arise, museums lose their critical competencies. As noted by Ruth Phillips (2011), in deciding to “play it safe,” after the tumult of the last decades of the twentieth century, museums “risk losing their efficacy as actors in the social worlds in which they function” (297). I would suggest that what we are seeing is far less praxis bridging critical and operational museology, and much more exhibition development as praxis responsive, not to critical discourse, but to authorizing operations-orienting discourses. Given, as Shelton makes clear, “museums reproduce a teleological circle” (2013, 11), reconnecting museum culture to its critical philosophies through praxis becomes of particular importance in a post-rupture *and* neo-liberal, context such as ours.

Looking again at the TRC’s call upon the CMA to undertake a national review of Canada’s museum policies and best practices, we recognize it as an inquiry into the

efficacy of operational museology with respect to the UNDRIP. Indeed, it is probable that the CMA will restrict its inquiry to matters of policy and operations; certainly not to UNDRIP Article 8, which references cultural genocide. If, defying expectations, it does perform a more comprehensive review, I suggest it will find the requirements of UNDRIP demand more than approaches/practices in the existing museological repertoire as currently practiced in Canada can offer.

I.3 Museal Reckoning with the History and Legacy of Indian Residential Schools

On Indian residential schooling in Canada, I offer the following description, which is both consistent with the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), and characteristic of public-facing narratives I developed while at the LHF:

Indian industrial boarding schools, and later Indian residential schools, were part of a government policy of aggressive assimilation that was found by Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission to have constituted a cultural genocide (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada). From 1831 to 1996, over 150,000 Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their homes to attend these church-run schools designed to, "kill the Indian in the child" (Ibid). The underfunded and poorly monitored system, which operated from 1831-1996, gave rise to neglect and abuse of every kind. High death rates at the schools (as high as 75% in the File Hills School over its 16 years of operation) were documented by medical examiners and known to Indian Affairs administrators as early as 1907 (Milloy 91-97). Despite this, the system expanded, becoming compulsory for Indian children in 1920, and later for Inuit and Métis as well (Titley 90). The intergenerational effects of Indian residential schools are ongoing and continue to negatively impact individuals, families, and entire communities.

Of course, this is a flattened characterization of a past that is difficult for many reasons, including its resistance to definition. For example, according to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), Indian residential schools were places where: a) The child was placed in a residence away from the family home by or

under the authority of Canada for the purposes of education; and, b) Canada was jointly or solely responsible for the operation of the residence and care of the children resident there” (“Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement”). The AHF counters that definition with one more expansive, encompassing, “industrial schools, boarding schools, homes for students, hostels, billets, residential schools, residential schools with a majority of day students, or a combination of the above” (5). As a consequence of the narrow legal criteria for Indian residential schools, many former students were not represented in the Settlement. According to Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada’s (AANDC) March 2019 update on the implementation of the IRSSA, 9,471 people had applied to add 1,531 distinct institutions to the Agreement (which initially recognized only 139 schools), of which ten had to that date been added (“Statistics on The Implementation of The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement”). It was initially thought that only approximately 150,000 Aboriginal children – mostly First Nations but also Métis, and later, Inuit, attended these schools. Yet given the number of claims extra to the IRSSA, this number represents an unknown fraction of the total. The amorphous quality of the definition, evidence, and scope of the Indian residential school system complicates musealization.

Unless they are very diverse in their interests, museum-goers are rarely exposed to the staggering range of the museological repertoire. The nature of a museological subject will largely determine its treatment. The characterization of Indian residential schools as a form of cultural genocide, together with the Survivor testimony and documentary evidence made available by the TRC, would, based on existing curatorial models for representing state violence and genocide, suggest a focus on witnessing.

Questions of how we witness, in what mode, how and what response is elicited by witnessing, and, to a lesser degree, the mechanisms of witness, were of primary concern to Simon, who, following Baum (1996) and (Boler 1999), critiqued assumptions of the transformative power of testimony in and of itself (Simon 2013, 130).

More than a ‘sad chapter’ in Canadian history, the public ‘discovery’ of this cultural genocide through the TRC was a moment of collective witnessing that inspired the Government of Canada, its Provincial and Territorial Governments, and other public institutions, and organizations across sectors, to commit to redress by responding to the TRC’s 94 Calls to Action. Encoded in this response is a desire to distantiate the reconciliatory present from the predatory past, to recognize a rupture. In considering the application of museological repertoire to the museological subject of Indian residential school, not only must we curate difficult knowledge, and instantiate pedagogies of witnessing, we are equally called upon to deploy techniques that reaffirm our present post-rupture period, committing visitors to the work demanded by its reconciliatory stance. Not to be confused with self-congratulatory posturing, a post-rupture location calls upon us to become the moral community we claim to be. It gives visibility to continuities that perpetuate the legacies of that with which we no longer wish to be associated, simultaneously expressing and negating rupture. The distantiating effect of seeing history across rupture changes our subject-position such that a sense of inheritance, implicatedness, and responsibility becomes a platform of collective identification, supplanting victim, perpetrator, or bystander identifications.

1.3.1 Distantiating the Reconciliatory Present from the Predatory Past

Simon's stated concern and the focus of *A Pedagogy of Witnessing* (2014), is "the question of curatorial judgement and how the potency of a specific *mise-en-scène* constitutes an exhibition as an *event*, framing and channeling the movement of affect and impacting on the new possibilities for thought that any given exhibition potentially enacts" (14). Put into conversation with Das and Fogelson, what Simon describes is an event that is in the nature of an epitomizing event but that acts on the visitor as a critical event. Staged and deployed by museums, epitomizing events can function as proxies for the historical processes they represent, perform, and embody, yet are themselves necessarily abstractions, begetting secondary witnessing and prosthetic memory formation that may or may not have a critical effect on visitors. Prosthetic memory, defined by Alison Landsberg (2004), "emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site," and is a memory of a history through which the person did not live, but nevertheless embodies and assimilates with their own memories (2). Yet, in the context of Indian residential schools, primary witnesses survive (as do material traces) and demand their own processes of healing and redress, their own museologies. So should the fact of their existence demand that historical narratives presented in museums reconcile and make visible the interrelation of the prosthetic with the authentic. Moreover, authentic sites of Indian residential school history persist, as do embedded and embodied memories, both susceptible to erosions and supplementation wrought by time. Rarely materially or physically present in the context of the museum, sites and witnesses become secondary representations, virtualized evidence supporting larger historical narratives. If we take the aspirations of a post-

rupture museology to be both enacting a new social trajectory and inspiring transfiguration and/or reconciliation, the tensions between site of trauma and museum, materiality and virtuality, embeddedness and alienation, witnessing and post-witnessing, and authenticity and prosthesis, must be considered.

Examining the evidentiary landscape beyond images and words allows these tensions to be explored and transdisciplinarity to emerge, which bring adjacent fields together with museology to elucidate the testamentary expression of evidence that cannot speak for itself in a way that is understood to the non-specialist ear. In the context of the Terrible Gift, difficult knowledge that challenges both received knowledge *and* the construction and display of knowledge in the museum context is produced. This reflexivity renders the subject no less difficult for the curators constructing and exhibiting knowledge, than for museum audiences receiving it. Making visible and concurrently problematizing the constructed nature of the museal representation/performance exposes the entanglement of authentic objects of testamentary character with the prosthetic armature that assembles and contextualizes them, even as the Terrible Gift performs its transitive operation. I aspire, in further theorizing, developing, and implementing the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift as a method of praxiological museology, to contribute to a post-rupture repertoire and thus to a reconciliatory museology that we must continue to strive toward from the position of having attained it but with the understanding that it can never be achieved.¹⁶ Simon takes up an “intended paradox” theorized by Theodor

¹⁶ Despite the slow-building crescendo of critique of reconciliation, prompting its defense (Schaap 2008) and redeployment in the transitional justice movement and its instrument *par excellence*, the truth and reconciliation commission, I have argued for reconciliation-oriented museology, which I thought to some degree possible (Cooper-Bolam 2019). Simon, who strove for it even as he recognized its impossibility convinced me otherwise. I have argued that commemoration, and even monuments and memorials in the context of residential schools can be therapeutic and inspire healing (Cooper-Bolam 2018), and maintain

Adorno in *Minima Moralia* (1974) in addressing the increasing suspicion and scrutiny of the efficacy of museum representations of genocide in the prevention of its future occurrence, which he characterizes as a form of consolation driving museum pedagogy. This paradox, that “The formulation of authentically redemptive knowledge must always begin with a turning away from the conceit that redemption is possible through our worlds actions,” drives Simon to a pedagogical approach that not only sensitizes publics to the duty of vigilance, but also stimulates change in the present (2006, 200). Simon calls this hope without consolation (Ibid).

I.4 Methodology

I begin this section by trying to answer the question: In what sense is exhibition-making *a research method*? The operating premise of this investigation is that museology is a discipline that uses exhibition as its primary mode of inquiry and performative research. Described in his (2006) manifesto as a “third research paradigm,” research scholar Brad Haseman distinguishes performative research from qualitatively-rooted collaborative methods such as participatory observation, Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Action Research (AR)¹⁷ methods in several ways. First, performative research not only places (creative) practice within research but rather *leads* research through practice; Haseman explains, “performative researchers are constructed as those

these qualities are worthy aspirations of post-rupture museology. Influenced by Simon, my proposed interventions represent a shift from reconciliation as end-goal to reconciliatory process.

¹⁷ Participatory Action Research can be distinguished from positivist research in that it recognizes the subjectivity of researchers and their relation to and with the communities researched, the members of which are active participants in the non-neutral enterprise of creating value as defined by the community (Herbert 1996), through the research itself. PAR furthers structural and social transformation (Grossi 1981), through a combination of research, education, and action (Hall 1981). Action Research, and in particular Feminist Action Research (FAR), arose in response to the exclusion of women from the production of dominant forms of knowledge (Kirby et al., 2006, 33). Despite their orientation to communities, women, and other marginalized groups, and activist their goals, PAR, AR, and FAR are based in observational and participatory but not performative methods in Haseman’s sense.

researchers who carry out practice-led research [which] is intrinsically experiential and comes to the fore when the researcher creates new artistic forms for performance and exhibition” (3). Haseman also notes that performative research is not necessarily driven by a research problem but may be instigated by “an enthusiasm of practice” or the availability of a new technology (Ibid). Moreover, the research outputs and knowledge claims are made “through the symbolic language and forms of their practice” (Ibid), thus practice-based research on exhibition will be expressed in an exhibitionary, rather than textual-discursive, typology. As sometime products of research-creation, “an emergent [research] category within the social sciences and humanities that speaks to contemporary media experiences and modes of knowing, [resulting in research-creation projects that] ... typically integrate a creative process, experimental aesthetic component, or an artistic work as an integral part of a study” (Chapman and Sawchuk 2012), exhibitions can reflect new and experimental artistic expressions and processes. That is not to discount other forms of research with which museology is engaged, such as end-user research, which relies on quantitative and qualitative data. Indeed, such research, which assesses the functional efficacy of exhibitions, informs much of operational museology. Rather, I am suggesting that if museology can claim status as a distinct academic discipline and field (recognizing the problematic nature of both claims), it must recognize exhibition as its unique method of inquiry and contribution to academic research, in the sense that excavation (however interpreted) is claimed by archaeology as its central method. Exhibition production is a process of working-through, of configuring and assembling, designing, prototyping, assessing, and reassembling, fabricating, mounting,

programming, etc. It draws on a diverse range of specialist skills to create an end-user experience that also acts upon its creators.

Anthropologist/Museologist Mary Bouquet (2001) likens the exploration of concepts through a set of ‘technical’ skills encountered in the context of exhibition production to a kind of collaborative fieldwork in which curators (in her example, anthropologists) gain access to modes of ‘seeing’ beyond the ‘anthropologist’s instrumentarium’ (193). The technical skills to which Bouquet refers are those of a “third area” (180) that exists between Richard Handler’s (1993: 33-36) categories of ‘central activities’—conservation and curation, and ‘conceptually underprivileged activities’—management, administration, and logistics. Occupying this third area (a place of transdisciplinarity and methodological intersection) are non-curatorial specialists, who, interacting with subject specialists/curators, translate concepts into exhibition designs (Ibid). Considering the process of making exhibitions as one of translation and cultural production and thus regarding exhibition as a didactic device, Bouquet contrasts how academic anthropologists formerly regarded exhibition-making as collection-centric, with an emerging recognition of the “technical specialists’ work [that of conservationists, photographers, and architects/designers] that renders those collections visible and accessible to the public” (180). She argues that the staging of an exhibition (and the processes, artefacts, and props involved) represents an amalgam between ‘them’ [the technicians] and ‘us’ [the curators], making the exhibitionary process a rich theoretical object deserving of ethnographic attention (Ibid). This brings me to my own hybrid position relative to the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition of curator/technician/researcher.

While one object of study is the productivity of Simon's pedagogy of the Terrible Gift in exhibition, another relates to the relationship of curatorial and subject specialist disciplines to museological praxis from a standpoint of Bouquet's third area—the space of translation. Thus, my efforts to contribute methods to praxiological museology also contribute to the ethnography of exhibition and the recognition of the assemblage of museal producers as a force of cultural and thus social production.

Much has been made of the idea of previously unconsidered, hybrid, spaces of encounter and negotiation, which have been theorized as contact zones (Clifford 1997), philosophic sites (Simon 2006b), third spaces (Bhabha 2006), in-between space (Butler 2016), and third area (Bouquet 2001), among others. I would suggest that all are spaces in which the work of some form of translation (that of taking something that is intelligible to one and making it intelligible to another) takes place. Praxiological museology similarly occupies an in-between space of encounter between subject specialists and other museal producers, between theory and practice, and even between critical and operational concerns. Experimentation and auto-ethnographic critique characterize this space, which suspends commitments to economic sustainability, the primary concerns of operational museology, to investigate questions of social relevance. At least, this is the potential.

A construct that draws on the critical and self-reflexive dimension of praxiological museology is found in Janet Martine's *Critical Practice* (2017). Marstine does not take up praxiological museology (few have). Rather she offers us the term 'critical practice', a convergence of 'institutional critique' and 'socially-engaged artistic practice' or simply 'social practice'. Institutional critique, Marstine defines as "the systematic inquiry into institutional (often museum) structure, policy and

practice...widely recognized as a key strategy of engagement from artists since the late 1960s and early 1970s” (6). Taken by Mel Ramsden’s usage of the term “challenging the hegemonic power of New York Art systems circa 1975,” Marstine suggests, “from a museological practice, the intervention is an artistic strategy that encourages self-reflective museum practice” (4). Earlier, I offered a definition of praxiological museology as a critical decentering, deconstructive, and thus subversive practice, which investigates transdisciplinary alignments and knowledge, and stimulates practices of critical self-reflexive exhibition development to expose and simultaneously deconstruct the exhibited knowledge that it constructs. This definition, in many ways, aligns with Marstine’s definition of critical practice. In a section of *Critical Practice* entitled, “The premature burial of institutional critique”, Marstine laments the flattening and coercive effects of instrumentalizing institutional critique that occur when institutional critique becomes embedded within the museum (10). For Marstine, this situation marks a decline both in the museum—where associated artists become commodities, and in its products, which become self-promotional (Ibid).

If ‘critical practice’ can be understood as descriptive of investigative or interventionist practice that is artist-driven and ‘from without’ (from the position of outsider or Other), which may, if you allow, align with or contribute to praxiological museology, acts of curatorship “exercised by artists who consciously seek to deconstruct, or excavate and lay bare to an incredulous gaze the working of dominant forms of cultural, economic or political expression” (Shelton 148), what of the significant part of exhibition production that is not productive of art or claimed by artists? Are artists to be the sole arbiters and enforcers of what does and does not constitute praxiological

museology or critical practice? Are not those curators and ‘technicians’ occupying Bouquet’s third area engaging in critical practice and museological praxis of their own? Do, in Marstine’s theorization, participating curators, photographers, architects/designers become *artists*, and exhibition *art*, through the processes of translation–work of critical practice and praxiological museology–in which they engage? This seems a ludicrous, unjustified, and entirely unnecessary attribution. Not wanting to displace the artist, I suggest we recognize the critical practices and praxiological museologies, that is to say the collaborative work of critical, auto-ethnographic cultural production in the form of exhibition, as the product of myriad conjoined producers, some operating within the institution, others without. Doing so, we may expand the boundaries of what is considered the domain of critical practice and praxiological museology to encompass the labour of multiple transdisciplinary configurations of third area assemblages, representing a range of instrumentaria and critical praxes in the production of exhibitions, whether they take the form of art or not.

Returning to the question: In what sense is exhibition-making a research method? I offer the following definition: Exhibition-making is a form of performative research (whether or not it is so acknowledged) wherein museal assemblages attempt to render exhibition subjects intelligible to end-users through translational strategies and techniques. If exhibition is itself a performance ascribing and communicating meaning, it is pedagogical, and thus exhibition-making, a pedagogy-in-formation. Those exhibitions that make explicit and critique the construction of knowledge entailed in translation, can also be considered works of critical practice and praxiological museology. Most often, such exhibitions come about through the collaborative labour of transdisciplinary

assemblages of museal producers who share a commitment to criticality. These exhibitions are negotiations of relevance rather than sustainability, which may elucidate new avenues of museal growth, affirming that in order for museums to survive, claimed by Richard Handler (1993, 34) as the ultimate purpose of museums as corporate institutions, they must constantly renegotiate their function and place in society. Recognizing exhibition-making as performative research, we observe two forms of theory-informed practice or praxes in operation, each with its own theoretical and practical frameworks and discourses, and often in contention with one another. These are critical praxis and institutional praxis. For exhibitions of the ilk described by Shelley Ruth Butler and other contributors to *Curatorial Dreams* (2016) to be realized, these praxes must be reconciled in the exhibition-making process.

I contrast Simon's analytical methods with my own experience of performative research in exhibition development. Through my involvement in the design and production of experimental exhibitions for the last 15 years (the good, the bad and the ugly), I have considerable personal experience of traversing the very great distance between curatorial dream and its realization. For me, curation and design are conflated processes, brought into being through visualization of both the scene of exhibition and experiences to be had therein. Ethics, visual narrative, argumentation, and technique, storytelling and interpretation, bodily movements and other experiential considerations, affective and cognitive effects and dissonances, pedagogy and learning, and encounter and confrontation, are all aspects of exhibition to be contended with in a process that, to me, becomes craft. That is to say that exhibition development, while a (mostly) determined process—a structured development along a critical path taking us from

planning to vernissage— when not overly constrained by institutional standards and concerns often becomes dendritic and experimental, leading to unintended places and forms. It is with this understanding and sense of exhibitions that I theorize, and attempt to extrapolate from Simon’s writing, a procedure whereby the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift may be implemented in exhibition, which is presented in Chapter 1. Thus, by way of procedure, I endeavor to elicit from Simon’s conceptual methodology, an applied methodology suggestive of a range of methods by which the gift can be instantiated in exhibition. In in Chapters 3-5, specific methods relative to the different facets or nature of the extant evidence of the Shingwauk schools, which in many cases is both figuratively and literally buried, will demonstrate how transdisciplinary methods can be derived from a single procedure.

1.4.1 Methods

Given this research is an inquiry into the productivity of the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift and its methodology, its nature is methodological inquiry. However, a comprehensive evaluation of the efficacy of a methodology under investigation necessitates its application in practice, which my study does not do. Rather it is speculative and anticipatory, and contributes the theoretical framing and initial planning to put specific interventions into practice at the Shingwauk site. These are the stages necessary to develop a proposal and rationale for the interventions themselves, which can only be implemented if the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association, Algoma University, and other stakeholders, will it. Thus, the two *outputs* of my research are:

- a work of public scholarship that further develops Simon’s

methodology of the Terrible Gift and contributes implementation-ready methods of praxiological museology based in that methodology, and,

- a rationale and plan (proposal) for their implementation.

Its intended *outcome* is the implementation of the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift through three layered interventions that recognize gifts architectural, archaeological, and mnemonic, which will result in research-creation and an instantiation of ‘The Gift’ that can be evaluated and refined further. These limitations noted, this thesis is designed to evaluate the degree to which, as a conceptual framework, the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift lends itself to application in exhibition. As such, its methods are nested.

Two types of methods are employed in this thesis:

1. analytical *preparatory* methods: literature review, focused discourse analysis, and hermeneutical analysis, readings of the evidentiary landscape via archival and contextual research, reflection and critique of Shingwauk site-based exhibition development to date, in-depth comparative analysis, and theorization of transdisciplinary methods toward praxiological interventions, and
2. *performative* methods: exhibition planning and the creation of a rationale and proposal for implementation (framing a subsequent phase of performative research, public scholarship, and research creation).

My methods of deploying the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift as an applied methodology/ procedure and developing specific methods of exhibitionary intervention at the intersection of museology and architecture, archaeology, and memory studies, are similarly preparatory *and* performative. They involve reviewing available disciplinary and transdisciplinary methods against criteria of exhibition development guided by a) the

desires of its stakeholders—discussed in the next chapter, and b) the potential for their adaptation to the procedure of the Terrible Gift, and c) their engagement with the evidentiary landscape of the Shingwauk site, the subject of Chapters 3-5. The adaptation of available methods to these criteria and conditions results in innovative Shingwauk-site-specific interventions that lend themselves to broader application, as discussed in the summary chapter.

While significant aspects of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* have already transpired and are described in the next chapter, it remains active and living, and continues, over subsequent phases, to unfold. This provides an ideal environment in which to narrate, reflect upon, and critique the project's development to date, and to respond to changing conditions as they occur. Taking advantage of the in-development status of the project is indeed an important aspect of my research design as it enables real-time critique of the process of working-through the initial phases of performative research. To be clear, a phase of development of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project, which will create a temporary exhibition in the auditorium is currently underway. This effort in which I am now participating, is separate and distinct from the interventions proposed in this thesis, which involve interventions in physical spaces that are not part of the phased expansion of the exhibition project and have no guarantee of implementation. Because the discrete scope of work performed and described in this thesis does not involve implementation, and instead theorizes and contributes a proposal for implementation based on the aforementioned criteria, it does not perform research on or with research participants. In other words, it is an exercise of working-through the considerations of exhibition design that strives to derive practical strategies from conceptual/theoretical approaches.

I.4.2 *Auto-Ethnographic Critique*

Auto-ethnographic critique, taking the form of crystallization rather than reflection, is interspersed throughout this work. Crystallization (Ellingson 2009) is used “to conceptualize qualitative projects that continually branch out into patterned but also unpredictable, unique, and often beautiful forms of representation that reflect multiple epistemologies” (125). For example, Ellingson posits, “a dendritic¹⁸ [crystallization] approach can be productively conceptualized as involving three characteristics: conscious engagement with an ongoing (re)creative process, responsiveness to the research context(s), and development of distinct, often asymmetrical branches” (127). This methodology is particularly applicable in this research because it allows me to critique and respond to my own creative inputs and their external impacts as the project unfolds.

In attempting to enact a pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, I set its recursive motion in action, thus the first person upon whom it acts is me. In many ways, I believe myself to have already been attuned to and the willing inheritor of a terrible gift, a condition which made Simon’s pedagogies particularly resonant. This very work is, in part, a response and reciprocation to the gift of testament that I have received from the many Survivors with whom I’ve worked for the past 15 years, from those of earlier generations whose stories are kept in living memory, and, of course, those who did not survive Indian residential school, who speak only through the medium of the archive. This work is thus a product of my own *conscientization* and both an *expression* and potential *instrument* of recursion.

¹⁸ Snowflake-like ice formations on a window are products of dendritic crystallization.

I.5 Chapter Overview

Claiming the Terrible Gift is comprised of 7 chapters including this introduction. In Chapter 1, I perform an exegesis of Simon's publications that articulate his highly *conceptual* methodology of the Terrible Gift, from which I attempt to elucidate an applied methodology, a procedure that will perform the Terrible Gift's intended operation. Recognizing the Terrible Gift as a methodology in gift exchange, I bring to the discussion considerations from the literature of gift economies and exchange. In Chapter 2, I trace the historical context of my study. It includes a discussion of the broad evidentiary landscape of Indian residential schools and its challenges for museology. A second section of Chapter 2 presents contextual information on the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition and the curatorial challenges that have prompted new directions and interventions. Adding performative methods to analysis based in theorization and comparative study, beginning with Chapter 3, I build a series of proposed interventions based in the Terrible Gift that illustrate how various, subject-specific transdisciplinary methods can be derived from a common procedure. These interventions can be described as museo-architectural (Chapter 3), relying on techniques of forensic architecture and virtualization, and museo-archeological (Chapter 4), engaging Survivors and other public participants in archeological methods to rediscover and connect with the material remains of the former industrial school campus. Turning to museo-mnemonic and memorial interventions (Chapter 5), I theorize bringing data together with archival sources to create 3D models of the built environment that can then be projected to scale on their physical footprint, manifesting a lost and otherwise imperceptible historical landscape. The last intervention assembles Simon's story space,

including Survivors and visitors-in-assemblage. These interventions, which furnish strategies based in praxiological museology, address loss of memory and materiality, following and absence, and are intended to introduce new possibilities for negotiating, reclaiming, and remediating place, for creating experiences of authenticity in the presence of prosthesis, and for performing and embodying history. Layered upon one another, they are designed to bestow a gift of testament that can be profoundly inhabited and experienced by visitors, conscientizing publics and inspiring new learning, attitudes, and memory. In the summary (Chapter 6), I discuss the cumulative effect of layering these interventions, which together with the existing exhibitionry of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* both lay claim to and bequeath the Terrible Gift.

Chapter 1. Elucidating the Procedure of the Terrible Gift

What manner of gift is the Terrible Gift? What are its protocols, its procedure and operation? This chapter briefly introduces the ways in which the gift and gift exchange have been theorized, a topic that considers the social and economic context of exchange, relations structured by exchange, quantitative versus qualitative valuation of objects in exchange, and the reciprocities demanded by exchange. Here, I offer the positions of selected theorists on the gift in exchange in relation to Simon's notion of the gift in his pedagogy of the Terrible Gift. Issues arising from the literature of gift exchange discussed—inalienability, indexicality, mutability, misrecognition, and distortion, indebtedness, excess, and time—inform the development of the procedure and pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, which occupies a second section of this chapter. This section, further develops Simon's conceptual methodology of the Terrible Gift into procedure and pedagogy, drawing from and extending techniques and practices associated with the New Museology of Canada's Second Museum Age to address, curate, and create difficult knowledge in exhibition.

1.1 Discourses of Gift Exchange

In his 1844 essay on gifts, transcendentalist poet Ralph Waldo Emerson opined:

The only gift is a portion of thyself. Thou must bleed for me. Therefore the poet brings his poem; the shepherd, his lamb; the farmer, corn; the miner, a gem; the sailor, coral and shells; the painter, his picture; the girl, a handkerchief of her own sewing. This is right and pleasing, for it restores society in so far to its primary basis, when a man's biography is conveyed in his gift... (V. "Gifts").

Emerson distinguished between three classes of gifts: gifts of self, latent gifts or the promise of service, and commodities. While the gift of testament may, in the sense

that it is always constituting itself through its appearance and address, transcend its latency in the performance of a service, what is of greatest concern here are object-legacies: gifts (expressions of self and selfhood) and commodities. In *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity* (2014), a collection and analysis of classic writings on gifts and gift exchange, Alan Schrift notes anthropologist C.A. Gregory's (1982) critical distinction between commodity and gift exchange. For Gregory, "commodity exchange establishes objective and quantitative relationships between the objects transacted, while gift exchange establishes personal qualitative relationships between the subjects transacting" (Gregory 41), a position Schrift furthers in noting that while the transaction of commodities presupposes equivalent value, the value of gifts is 'incidental' to the value of the *relationship* exchange establishes (Schrift 2). A preoccupation with differences between gift and commodity exchange rituals and cultures¹⁹ animates the work of early 20th century anthropologists Bronisław Malinowski (1922) and Marcel Mauss (1924). While Malinowski was the first to conduct anthropological research on gift economies, focusing on the Kula Ring of Papua New Guinea and inspiring decades of anthropological study of 'gift cultures' (so-called archaic societies), closely followed by Mauss' 1924 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, Mauss' "Gift, Gift", his contribution to "Melanges offerts à M. Charles Andler par ses amis et ses élèves" (Mauss 1925, 43-6), is a significant early contribution to the discourse of gift exchange in (the market economy and thus the commodity culture of) modern Europe, most notably Germany. Mauss' theorization of reciprocity in gift exchange in a Western context has proven foundational, influencing the economic theory of Georges

¹⁹ The construction of 'gift-cultures' contrasted with that of 'commodity exchange cultures' emerged from this early anthropological work on gift-exchange.

Bataille (1991) and Jacques Derrida's (1992) theories of exchange, among others. What Mauss stressed in "Gift, Gift," was the highly structured, and indeed ritualized context of gift exchange that has survived in European culture to his (and this) day, taking the ancient Scandinavian and German ritual of offering and returning the gift of drink as evidence of a system of *total prestations*, one in which perpetual services and counter-services are demanded (1925). In his pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, Simon builds on perlocutionary effects the received/socially-conditioned rituals of gift exchange initiate.

Stressing the contingent relationship between testament and inheritance, Simon asserts "While testament refers to the creation and assemblage of the texts, images, and objects that are consigned to those who live beyond one's death, inheritance is constituted within the physical and cultural processes that pass on a testament; ...one's inheritance does not exist apart from the practices necessary to accept a testamentary bequest and claim it as one's own" (2006b, 194). Consistent with Mauss and despite the Terrible Gift's formal typology—that of bequest and inheritance—reciprocity is essential to the transaction. That is to say that Simon's ritual or procedure performs an operation that cannot achieve its transitive effect, that cannot complete a mnemonic transaction, unless expected roles of giving and receiving are recognized and acted upon. Shrift calls our attention to "Mauss' thesis that although the gift might appear free and disinterested, it is in fact both constrained and quite interested" (4). While Mauss reported that in the societies he observed, social rules of reception and reciprocal return were well-articulated, one gets the sense that this has something to do with the immediacy of the exchange and the presence of the gifter. Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1991) reflecting Mauss' writings in *The Gift* (1924) on 'inalienable possessions', asserts that

“Gifts are inalienable things which move between people who were mutually entangled in an array of rights and obligations, people who are reciprocally dependent” (14). In the context of the Terrible Gift, the inalienable quality of testamentary objects as bequest, necessarily transfers, in part, to the recipient, who in recognizing that his inheritance is, *from himself*, inalienable, becomes proof of the transitive purchase of the exchange. The successful ritual then nourishes what Simon calls, a viable “community of the living and the dead” (2006b, 203) situated in entangled relation. At least this is how it is supposed to work. What happens when the social rules of reception and reciprocation are not clear, when the distance between the recording of testament its discovery and inheritance is misrecognized?

Both Thomas and Simon affirm the indexical relation of objects to their historical time. Thomas asserts that “The artifact is not simply a valuable object of exchange or even a gift that creates relations of one sort or another but also a crucial index of the event to which those relations are sustained or disfigured” (19). The disfigurement of relations is often reflected in the substance of the Terrible Gift, and while objects are generally understood to be indexical of their time, the moment of their appearing in ‘public-time’ inscribes them with diachronic dimension, which can also sustain, distort, and reflect the nature of relations between present and past. On this, Simon (2006b) affirms: “Testament always carries with it a temporal index in which the question of the future of its gift is ever present as a contemporary question. Thus, any consideration of testament is incomplete without a concern for the promise and problems associated with the reception of testament” (194).

Reception is recognized as a mutating force, which calls origins into question. Rodolphe Gasché (1997) argues there can be no originary gift, “the donor is already implicated in the cycle of exchange: any prestation²⁰ is already a counterprestation” (qtd. in Shrift 9). Countering theoreticians endorsing the ‘objectivity of the artifact’, Thomas argues for recognition of the mutability of things in contextualization, stressing that “insistence upon the fact that objects pass through social transformations affects the deconstruction of the essentialist notion that the identity of things is fixed in their structure and form” (28). To this, Thomas adds his refusal of the gift/commodity dichotomy, asserting, through the example of an engagement ring, that “a particular article can be understood as something which can be given, but only at certain times [on the occasion of one’s proposing]; or as one which may be sold anywhere, to anyone [the bride-to-be has been abandoned or in the event of hard times]; or as something which it would always be improper to give away or sell [when the couple have married]” (18), indicating yet other mediating considerations. Remarking on the promiscuity of objects, Thomas concludes that “What we are confronted with is thus never more or less than a succession of uses and recontextualizations,” and that “Value creation is a process, a recursively constituted outcome of acts of substitution, juxtaposition, and transformation that effectively reveal persons in parts of persons” (29-31), suggesting the extent to which objects change.

Recognizing that museums and other sites of transmission can overdetermine, inappropriately use or contextualize an assemblage of testamentary objects, and “subject it to conditions which the giver might have judged as forms of distortion,” Simon

²⁰ Gasché is referring to Mauss’ use of the word *prestation* (“Gift, Gift” 1925) to describe a ‘total social fact’ (*fait social total*), which iterates upon Emile Durkheim concept of the social fact, adding a totalizing element. Andrew Edgar explains that Mauss uses ‘prestation’ or ‘total social fact’ to signal “an activity that has implications *throughout* society, in the economic, legal, political, and religious spheres” (1999, 63).

discourages the attempt to assign meaning or ‘complete’ narratives to these assemblages, which are only “fragments, traces signifying something more than the giver or receiver can name and know” (2006b, 195). Distortion of the ‘gift’ in exhibition can trigger unintended and even dangerous outcomes, such as the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, likening the gift to a kind of poison. In his 1925 essay “Gift, Gift,” Mauss suggests an explanation of how the common word *gift* has come to mean *present* in one Germanic language (English) and *poison* in another (German). His example, the offer of drink taken in common—the typical prestation for the ancient Germans and Scandinavians—could result in the recipient being poisoned (30). This etymological kinship, Mauss asserts, could alternatively reflect the failure to reciprocate (a failure to uphold the custom or law), which dishonours the gift, and may have grave consequences, the gift symbolizing the simultaneously “good and dangerous” bond between creditor and debtor (Ibid).

Schrift recognizes in Mauss’ argument the gift as Derridean *pharmakon* (7), both cure and poison, which, he claims, Nietzsche’s (1883) Zarathustra also knows (3). However, it is the bond between giver and receiver and the resulting indebtedness of the latter to the former that renders gifts for Zarathustra, poison. Recalling Emerson’s notion of the gift as an act of service, Zarathustra, not wishing to indebted his students to him, rather conducts them to become teachers themselves, ‘paying the gift forward’ (Schrift 3-4). Such is the intended recursive action of the Terrible Gift, which can equally become, and perhaps by its mutable nature and indeterminate reception, already is a *pharmakon*.

Like Nietzsche (1883), Mauss (1925) believed that the giving of gifts confers power of the giver over the receiver and the object becomes “enchanted” with the authority of the giver, linking “magically, religiously, morally, juridically, the giver and

the receiver” (30). The gift that has no mechanism of reciprocation becomes an excess, or in the words of Georges Bataille (1949), *la part maudite* (an accursed share). The basis of Zarathustra’s criticism of scholars, the subject of section XXXVIII of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, they who “...sit cool in the cool shade: they want in everything to be merely spectators, and they avoid sitting where the sun burneth on the steps... Like those who stand in the street and gape at the passers-by: thus do they also wait, and gape at the thoughts which others have thought,” is a failure to receive and reciprocate the gifts of knowledge, which become in their spectator’s eyes, an unproductive excess (Nietzsche, Second Part, XXXVII). In “Towards a hopeful practice of worrying: The problematics of listening and the educative responsibilities of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission” (2013), Simon articulates his apprehensions about the risk of the TRC events, in the absence of a pedagogy of witnessing, becoming the occasion of empty spectacle, co-opted in the service of self and quickly forgotten (129-142). Without the means of reciprocation, the would-be ‘gift’, an undirected accumulation of fragments and traces, becomes an accursed share, devoid of meaning, a non-productive surplus to which we are nevertheless fettered by unrecognized bonds of indebtedness. The debt undischarged, hovers over us, both enchanted and accursed.

Interpreting Derrida, Charles Champetier calls our attention to the *double bind* of the gift, that for it to remain a gift, it cannot be taken as such, given that the conditions of the possibility of the gift are precisely the conditions of its impossibility (2001, 5).

Derrida states, “for there to be a gift, it is necessary that the gift not even appear, that it not be perceived or received as a gift,” otherwise the gift becomes an obligation (1992, 16). Champetier interprets this to mean “the gift is not neutral, it is the paradoxical

creator of obligations, a cause with overabundant effects” (2001, 17). A view of the accumulation of fragments and traces as an accursed share (coincident with a period of forgetting) prior to their assemblage in the form of gift, and the recognition of the gift as such in the context of response, retains an assignment of the gift as gift *and* as obligation. For the Terrible Gift to perform its operation, it must appear and be taken as a gift. That this condition creates an obligation on the part of the receiver, is a desired and necessary effect. How the obligation and indeed the gift is perceived and reciprocated, depends on the time and thus the social context of its appearance. Schrift, who comments on Pierre Bourdieu and Derrida’s writings on the temporal dimension of the gift, argues that for Derrida (1992), what the gift gives is *time*, “time for a delayed reciprocation that is no longer simply a return” (qtd. in Schrift 10), and for Bourdieu, “the time lag between gift and counter-gift [...] stands as the condition for the possibility of the gift” (13). The ‘time of’ or belatedness of the gift, relates to Simon’s (2005) notion of public-time, which, “conceivable as an event, [is] a time caught up with that which happens [and that] has important considerations for the future of sociality and directly binds the future of civic life with considerations of remembrance” (8). If, for example, reckoning with the critical event of the Indian residential school system coincides with an opportune moment in public-time, we might exploit the potential for reciprocation made possible between the time of testament and the lag between it and the present (acknowledging the recent pastness of this critical event) to pay it forward. The Terrible Gift aims to do just this.

1.2 A Procedure for Implementing the Terrible Gift

Considerations of implicatedness, inheritance, and memory initiate this section, an exegesis of Simon’s relevant publications that aims to parse multiple phases of the

transmission of traumatic history and memory in gift exchange such that his implicit ‘procedure’ becomes apparent. In *The Touch of the Past* (2005), Simon states, “whatever symbolic durations the past may attain it owes to a trans-generational covenant with the present—a covenant enacted through the modes and institutions of representation, distribution, and reception” (3). My proposed procedure for activating the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift as a mode of enactment of the covenant progresses through the sequential (and cyclical) stages of giving and receiving: 1) presentation, 2) articulation, 3) translation, 4) reception, and 5) response, which are described below. This is bracketed by considerations of the givers, those who bequeath the Terrible Gift, and its recipients or inheritors, from whom, if the intended transitive operation has occurred, a conscientized collective and moral community is formed. The subjects of transmission and transference of memory in exhibition, its inhabitation by visiting public, and its intended effects in society, rounds out this discussion of what the protocol of gifting in the museum context is intended to accomplish. But first, a caution: from this point forward, I use as illustrations many examples and comparisons, counterparts in existing theory and practice to the various elements of the procedure emerging from Simon’s texts. Some of them correspond to uses and display of evidence in Holocaust and other museologies of difficult history and critical events. I do not mean, in drawing from these examples, to suggest parity or commensurability of pain or suffering or scales of trauma. Nor do I support or participate in a politics of competitive memory. Rather, I am trying to render from Simon’s theoretical pedagogy an implementable procedure. Consequently, I must draw on existing practices from among a range of museologies and concomitantly consider the ethical implications of so doing.

1.2.1 *Presentation in Expository Space*

Exhibition requires expository space to stage exhibitionary *mise-en-scène* or scenarization. Expository space, the physical space of exhibition, can be expressed as anything from a fantastical re-interpretation of an historical environment, to a more or less faithful interpretation of historical events in situ, to a suggested spatial boundary delimited by nothing but the objects in assemblage. Alternatively, this space may remain identified with the host institution and resist conflation with the subject of exhibition, even becoming antagonistic to it. While all are places of encounter wherein subjects of exhibition may be experienced, only those that mediate space as a significant element of interpretation, inextricable from its other elements and thus part of the *subject itself*, can be said to constitute experiential exhibitions. Such spaces not only contextualize, augment, and heighten the testamentary address of ‘the gift’ however constituted, putting it into spatial, visual, and architectural relief, they also testify in their own manner and right in a language that speaks to the body, indeed a community of bodies, through inhabitation. Simon calls these “story spaces,” “parataxic assemblies” and places of multimodal juxtaposition that “bring out the possibilities of experiencing connections and contradictions evoking questions and insights into the significance of the presented texts and objects” (2006b, 201). Calling story spaces “the core unit of design” within the Vilna Ghetto exhibition that is the case study of his article, “The Terrible Gift: Museums and the possibility of hope without consolation” (2006b), Simon sets them “within Proustian relation between the universal and the particular,” places of disclosure but not full exposure, resistant to “a tidy narrative bounded by a historically coherent frame” (201). That is to say that the constructed and always incomplete nature of story spaces, even as

they may restage histories in situ, must be explicit in their design. As Simon states, “In such an exhibit the visitor is not so much intended to grasp the breadth and substance of the story laid out before her or him, as they are asked to participate in a conversation made possible by the limited disclosure of a cluster of items...that can only ever incompletely display their ‘knowledge’ of the events of the past” (Ibid). That is not to say that these spaces do not perform an expository function, but that the nature of their exposition is a constructed disclosure that both makes its inauthenticity explicit and creates space for “new ways of reading and interpreting documents, objects, and memories,” news ways of inhabiting and making meaning from the historical experiences of others.

From these indications, expository or story-space in the context of the Terrible Gift should:

- Be the ‘core unit of design’
- Be explicit as an inauthentic construction
- Be part of and the housing for a parataxic assembly

Be incomplete: neither fully disclosing/nor creating a bounded or tidy narrative

- Inspire and invite inhabitation and meaning-making

1.2.2 Articulation of the Testamentary Address

Given that the character of a testamentary object is expressed in the language and medium of the object itself, the mere presence of an object in exhibition is seldom sufficient for its testament to reach its intended audience. It more often requires contextualization, interpretation, and, in some instances, translation. For example, most museum visitors can neither identify the traces of chronic infection on bone specimens,

nor immediately apprehend how a door swinging in one direction could indicate a crematorium, the other, a gas chamber.²¹ By articulation, I refer to both the presentation of the object (the means by which it is made visible) and its interpretation (the means by which its message is rendered legible). Articulation can enunciate the testamentary address of those objects that speak for themselves, and bring erased, hidden, or latent testaments forward. In the context of the Terrible Gift, articulation aids in interpretation and even historical recovery (and certainly the recovery of voice and memory), and contributes to the pedagogy its forensic dimension. Articulation is the force by which the unspeakable and unrepresentable is spoken and represented. Writing about four photographs taken by the *Sonderkommando*²² of Auschwitz, Georges Didi-Huberman attests “a single look at this *remnant of images*, or erratic corpus of *images in spite of all*, is enough to sense that Auschwitz can no longer be spoken of in those absolute terms... ‘unsayable’ and ‘unimaginable’” (2008, 25). Didi-Huberman stressed that such images be understood in their *deficient* quality as the survival or relics not the survival of life (2008, 45). How they are articulated, made legible through the creation of conditions to be read, is of critical importance.

Reflecting on his strategy of working with archival photographs taken by administrators of Indian residential schools to attest to their purported “good works,” artist/curator Jeff Thomas remarked “the photographs [displayed in *Where are the*

²¹ The latter example, taken from *The Evidence Room* exhibition, which presented replicas of objects taken into evidence at the Irving V. Lipstadt trial, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

²² In his controversial work on the four photographic images taken by the *Sonderkommando*, the “special squad” of [Jewish] prisoners who operated the mass extermination” of their fellow prisoners at Auschwitz, *Images in Spite of All*, Didi-Huberman argues against the grain that the “very existence and the possibility of such testimony—its enunciation in spite of all—refute the grand idea, the closed notion, of an unsayable Auschwitz” (2008, 3, 25).

Children? Healing the Legacy of the Residential Schools exhibition], would tell a story, but not always the one they were originally intended to tell” (Pyne and Thomas 86).

Thomas explains, “Rather than dismissing the photographs simply as images of colonialism or racism, we can choose, as Indigenous people, to make them our own, to add them to our stories, and to give the children of residential schools a voice” (87).

Thomas demonstrates this potential in his compelling analysis of before and after photos of Thomas Moore (Fig. 1), an early Indian industrial school student whose image has become synonymous with the residential school system. Thomas writes:

A young Indian boy stares out at me from the photograph. He is dressed in tribal clothing—leggings with beaded strips, a shirt decorated with trade items like metal tacks, bead necklaces, and a beadwork floral design on his breechcloth. He wears moccasins and his long hair is wrapped in fur. He holds a pistol in his right hand. He leans his left arm on what looks to be a table covered in a buffalo robe.

Another photograph shows the same boy but appearing to be a bit older. The tribal clothing has been replaced with a military uniform, and his hair is cut short. He no longer holds a pistol. He stands in front of an ornate railing, probably a studio prop, which he leans his right arm on. His cap rests on the railing to his left. The body positioning is consistent in both images, as if he had been directed how to pose in both photographs. But what was most interesting to me was that the expression on his face had not changed: In both cases, it was one of a self-assured young boy” (Pyne and Thomas 80).

The import of the changes documented in the second photograph have in Thomas’ tours often become the subject of a longer conversation about the role of residential schools in the neutralization of the ‘Indian threat’ in Western Canada in the 1890s. Read on their own, the photos document changes wrought, but do not communicate the greater meaning of these changes. In assemblage with other objects, and in the dialogue such juxtaposition promotes, multiple and even conflicting interpretations may be teased out. Such items even become, as has the case of the Thomas Moore photographs, unintended

testimony. A critical component of Thomas' pedagogy in *Where are the Children?* is found in a section entitled, "the Changing Role of Photographs," wherein visitors are provided instruction on how to read photographs for themselves, increasing their critical visual literacy and becoming their own interpreters.²³

Simon stresses the fragmentary and incomplete nature of assemblages that disclose but do not assert claims to (an idea of absolute or essential) historical truth, stating, "what is disclosed is unsure and never resolvable" (202). This commitment appears to challenge evidence-based exhibitionry that strives specifically to expose 'historical truths' as a means to combatting their denial in the present. That testimonials are at times inconsistent with other evidentiary sources, complicating the reconciliation of personal and historical 'truths', and thus the efforts of exhibition-making assemblages, has been the subject of much of Simon's thought, and is discussed at length in the *Touch of the Past* (1992, 50-64). This aspect of 'gifts mnemonic' will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Suspending for a moment the questions that Simon's commitment to irresolvability and uncertainty pose, with regard to truth-claims in exhibition, we can consider what service such a commitment performs.

Striving to avoid betraying the subject matter to the seductiveness of assimilation into or with conceptual meanings, Simon's messy and irresolvable 'story-spaces' offer a "transitivity that requires an active answerability" (201-202). While images and words are often conveyed to us as expressions of singular histories and experiences, their juxtaposition, rather than assimilation, can resist absorption into synthetic histories,

²³ While I am referencing the exhibition itself, a version of its content can be found online at: "17 - Changing Role of Photos". *Where are the Children. Ca*, 2012, <http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/exhibition/>.

avoiding fetishization (201). In synergy with Simon, Veena Das opines with respect to testamentary words, that “to recover such embodied narrations seems to me the only way in which one can resist the totalizing discourses that become evident not only in narratives of the state and narratives embedded in the professional organization of knowledge, but also the discourses or resistance that use the very logic of the state which they seek to resist” (23). Such narratives can augment the testamentary address of other objects and speak at multiple registers and scales. An experience of imprisonment, for example, articulated within a carceral space that bears the abrasions of documentary graffiti chronicling multiple individual experiences both testifies to an individual and collective experience without reducing one to the other.

The efficacy of articulation relies on the time and timing of testament. The appearance of testamentary objects at a later time in history transfers the intention and agency of their creators through a material and mnemonic chain of custody. According to Simon, ‘the presence of these materials in our time initiates a transitive process in which they are always already constituting themselves in their address as a gift to those whose existence lies beyond their moment of inception’ (2006b, 194). This is the opposite of latent or indeed intentionally or unintentionally destroyed heritage, which ceases to speak as it disappears. Simon’s notion of ‘public time’ refers to both the moment of the gift’s appearing and also to the “temporal window of reckoning” a set of social conditions that makes reception possible. For Simon, “. . . public time is conceivable as an event, a time caught up with that which happens,” when “testament and coming to inheritance has important considerations for the future of sociality and directly binds the future of civic life with considerations of remembrance” (2005, 8).

Based on Simon's writings alone, articulation should:

- Augment the testamentary address of objects
- Resist reconciling and totalizing narratives by preserving the singular quality of historical experiences
- Consider the “temporal window of reckoning,” manifesting in public time

In addition, articulation could:

- Interpret the expression of objects that do not speak for themselves in terms legible to visiting publics, augmenting their testamentary address
- Introduce a pedagogy to increase critical visual literacy among visitors, improving their capacity to read objects for themselves

1.2.3 Translation into the Terms of the Present

Recalling an earlier mention of Simon's emphasis on the “incommensurable character of the historical experience of others,” (188) the aim of translation is to assist us to access things beyond our historical and cultural experience. Translation seeks to render experience intelligible to us in terms of our historical and cultural present and results in an awareness of the cognitive dissonance between that which we believe(d) to be true and the truths of others. In displacing our own experience and beliefs, albeit temporarily, translation allows us to inhabit others' experiences and to remember differently. The moment of translation is the moment of seeing what has been articulated in terms that have meaning for us. It is translation that makes acts of reception—witnessing, inhabiting, taking on memories not one's own—possible. Translation in the context of the representation of trauma may seek to jar and unsettle visitors, even inflict ‘micro-traumas’. An example of this occurs when families visiting the Apartheid Museum in

Johannesburg are assigned racial identities that separate spouses from each other, parents from children, and children from parents, as they progress through the museum, wondering at what point they will be allowed to rejoin their family (Fig. 2). Similarly, the anxiety-inducing architectural orchestration of Daniel Libeskind's *Holocaust Tower* of the Jewish Museum in Berlin (Fig. 3) inscribes unsettling memories on the body as visitors circulate through the claustrophobic space and momentarily contemplate what it would be to be trapped therein.

Given that translatability depends on communicating historical and cultural experience in the rhetoric and terms of the present, often to audiences far removed from those whose experiences are the subject of translation, incomplete, flawed, and inauthentic experiences are the only ones available to us. Despite this, Simon (2005) exhorts, "...remembering otherwise will proceed from those practices of remembrance whose overriding consideration is the question of what it might mean to take the memories of others (memories formed in other times and spaces) into our lives and to live as though the lives of others mattered" (200). For Simon, "This suggests a new cosmo-political form in which one is open to 'translating' cultures and histories in ways that make it possible to reassess and revise the stories that are most familiar to us" (Ibid). Recalling that Simon's motives are to explore the ways "...museums might initiate a reconsideration of the force of history in social life" informing the processual (difficult and often conflicted) work of "repair, renewal, and re-invention of desirable institutions," which relies on the "forms of remembrance that help open up existing relations to continual critique," the idea of knowingly transmitting memory that can only be flawed, upon which basis historical revisions will be made, seems absurd. However flawed,

prosthetic memory and experiences of inauthentic environments proceed from translation and staging of the untranslatable and incommensurable. This is the stuff of which history and museology are made, and the aforementioned challenges are faced routinely by historians and museologists alike.

Further compounding the issue of historical untranslatability is cultural untranslatability, which I evoke not in the sense of language, although that is a formidable challenge of its own, but in that of cultural significance and meaning.²⁴ In my own endeavors to communicate the profound personal and cultural violation experienced by many Survivors of Indian residential schools upon entering the schools as children, I have been periodically confronted with conflicting ascriptions of meaning and significance. For example, a common experience of arrival at a residential school was to have one's hair shorn or close cropped if a boy, or cut into a short, bobbed, style if a girl. For many Survivors, this was experienced as a violation and is a source of trauma, as Mary Matchee recounts,

My hair had never been cut, and when my hair came off, I cried. My spirit was taken off. I understood from the time I was one-year-old, two-years-old that my hair embodied my spirit; it was an extension of my spirit. They just took it. They cut it off and let it hit the floor and garbaged it (Matchee qtd. in Argan 2014).

To Canadians reflecting on their own school experiences, having one's hair cut may not appear as particularly traumatic; indeed, upon encountering this history, some may, with nostalgia, recall shopping trips for school supplies, uniforms or clothes, and getting a new haircut in readiness for the start of the school year. Having myself descended from a culture that does not ascribe sacred qualities to hair, neither one in

²⁴ See Lawrence Venuti's edited volume *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (1992).

which hair is cut only as a gesture of deep mourning for the death of a loved one, descriptions of hair-cutting in residential schools do not elicit a gut-reaction of horror in me. I know I *should* react, that an appropriate response to representations of trauma is empathy, but in the absence of a visceral reaction, I am left with only two choices: to translate and feel, or to forget and move on. Whether I choose one or the other has to do with the degree to which I am stricken by the significance of the matter described.

To achieve a visceral response in this context, an unsettling analogy or juxtaposition must be furnished. In Simon's (2016) curatorial dream, a triptych of photographs of deserted playgrounds and school buildings proximate to site of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster are juxtaposed with those of monuments commemorating the hardships and suffering experienced by Inuit relocated to High Arctic in 1953-55. This pairing is joined by a video monitor upon which a loop of Malena Tytelman's monologue "Cuando Ves Pasar el Tren" (When you see the train pass by) plays, calling visitors to bear witness to "the pain and longing within which fantasies of recognition [of children kidnapped during the 1976-83 Argentinian dictatorship] are enacted" (Simon 2016, 175). Although he does not make their connection explicit, Simon juxtaposes these histories as means of exploring the question, "Can an exhibition in which very different histories are brought together not to compare them, but to create an atmosphere of considered cross-referencing and confrontation, engender productive new ways of inhabiting the past?" (Ibid). Such combinations in exhibition not only suggest parity of narratives but provide a means of interpreting the significance of one event, increasing the chance of being 'moved' by it, through another. Comparison, commensurability, and conflation may seem

like dirty words here (as may ‘prosthesis’ and ‘inauthenticity’), but they are byproducts of juxtaposition, as are opposition, contrast, and incommensurability.

Beyond comparison, juxtaposition is one means of accessing what Fred Dallmayr calls “the Otherness of the text” (‘text’ here extended to describe the substance of knowledge more broadly), which while plurivocal and conducive to multiple interpretations is also recalcitrant, resisting interpretation (1996, 46-7). Dallmayr argues that Gadamer’s “*hermeneutics of difference* respecting both the Otherness of the text and the endeavor of understanding,” reflects an interpretive stance indicative of, “a willingness to enter the border zone or interstices between self and Other,” allowing the “exegetic latitude” (Dallmayr 1996, 46-7) necessary to “partake in the Other, to share in the Other’s alterity” (Gadamer *Das Erbe Europas* 31-4 qtd. in Dallmyr 53), suggesting ‘abiding within’ as a form of fertile yet recalcitrant translation. The interstitial space suggested by Dallmyr finds its counterpart in Simon’s story space, which becomes through the juxtaposition of ‘texts’, both a manifestation of the historical Other and space for inhabitation of the past in the present.

Recognizing difference in the juxtaposition of ‘texts’ in assemblage mitigates manipulation (moral suasion, rhetoric). As a representational (as opposed to linguistic) technique, juxtaposition allows *similarity judgements* to be made, *cognitive entry points*²⁵ for visitor immersion that make inhabitation (where the visitor becomes Other) possible. While juxtaposition has long been an integral component of the curatorial toolkit, in the context of difficult pasts, and certainly in instantiation of the Terrible Gift, to be deployed

²⁵ The terms *similarity judgements* and *cognitive entry points* are taken from Gauker, Christopher. *Thinking out loud: An essay on the relation between thought and language*. Vol. 291. Princeton University Press, 2014., a work on the philosophy of language that demonstrates how the perception of similarities create entry points for learning (consolidation and assimilation of dissonant knowledge).

ethically, juxtapositions, representations in themselves, must be both critical and self-reflexive, deconstructing and laying bare their own construction. As such, the means of translation must be apparent and translatability itself, complicated. This is particularly important given the perlocutionary act of bequest in the Terrible Gift, builds on rhetoric (the testamentary address) of the substance of knowledge in articulation or translation.

In some instances, performative strategies may prove more effective means of translation than representational ones. Drawing once more on the example of hair-cutting, performance may not necessarily emphasize the cause of trauma, but rather the experience of trauma. Alternatively, what could be explored in performance is our contemporary relation to historical trauma as people implicated through inheritance, beneficiaries of, in the words of artist Peter Morin (2013), “a land created through forcible impact, a land influenced by the movement of steel scissor blades” (46). The subject of a performance by Peter Morin in the context of the 2013 Belkin Art Gallery exhibition, *Witnesses: Art and Canada’s Indian Residential Schools*, was a dream of hair severed from children in residential school and the instrument, the scissors, that “cut off thousands and thousands of miles of hair... [enough to] make a rope and capture the moon”. His performance, “This is not a simple movement” (2013) wherein “viewers, and artist, work collaboratively to confront this difficult history,” Morin frames thus:

The meeting of these two metal blades is a concert of movement. The meeting of these blades contributes to transformation. Today, we cut the Residential School. Cut. Cut. Cut. Sadness. Cut. Cut. Cut. Grief. Cut. Cut. Cut. The pieces of hair land to create a new map of Canada. The hands make these scissors travel. Today we are remembering a nation-building act (46).

Morin’s performance evokes Simon’s (2016) consideration of remembrance as more a matter of *inhabitation* than representation if understood (or performed) “as a

practice that defines how we live with and learn from images and stories from the past, how they contribute to a sense of life's limits and possibilities, hopes and fears, identities and distinctions" (172). Translation repeats. By revisiting and reenacting the originating trauma, flipping the 'speaking wound's'²⁶ voice of accusation and victimization and giving voice instead to the instrument of wounding, the scissors, Morin repeats the act of cutting as both excision and remembrance practice. His reference to the hands that operate the scissors implicate us in a double act: the historical act of violence upon which our nation was built (the laying of hands upon Indigenous children), and the transformative act of cutting the residential school and therefrom forming a new map, which simultaneously occasions, cuts out, and remembers sadness and grief. In confrontation and performance, the wounding act is witnessed and transformed. But Morin's act of inhabitation is not ours. While we are called to witness and remember differently, our role is not one of dialogical engagement and interaction, considered by Dallmyr the "most genuine and normatively most commendable" mode of cultural encounter (1996, 31). As such, we experience no alterity, and trauma remains untranslated. We do not recognize such performances as a gift.

Descriptions of the untranslatability of traumatic experience often relate disordered communication, evidencing an incapacity to speak or an excess beyond what can be spoken. Simon describes a textured excess mediating testifiers' attempts to evoke the palpable presence of a prior traumatic event, explaining "Such an excess, an inherent structural feature of trauma testimonies, marks something rendered beyond the limits of

²⁶ I am referencing Cathy Caruth's discussion of the Speaking Wound in her "Introduction: The Wound and The Voice" to *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (pp1-10). An analysis of Morin's performance as an instance of 'double wounding' consistent with that of the double-wounding of Tasso's Clorinda, which Caruth analyses in *Unclaimed Experience*, would be fascinating, if tangential, here.

what can be spoken through available discourses for articulating incomprehensible violence and human loss” (1992, 56). Simon locates the signs of excess “...in the multidimensional texture of testimony, in its emphatic marks as well as its silences, in its outbursts as well as its hesitations, in its pronouncements as well as its uncertainties, and its narrative elisions as well as its exaggerations” (Ibid). Correspondingly, he contends that “an ethical commemoration must always take place in full awareness of what can be ‘said’ never exhausts that to which it refers...[and] must recognize the ceaseless struggle to capture the ambiguities and paradoxes of an always incomplete testimony that initiates fissures or breaks in what can be said” (1992, 63). Thus, fragments passed on, as in Simon’s (2006b) example of the fragments of the Vilna Ghetto, “cannot help to disfigure the fullness” of the experience they testify (195).²⁷

Veena Das (1995), who delves into issues of translating trauma, differentiates between restoration of speech through simulation/representation and incarnation of individual testimonies.

²⁷ I have, perhaps tactlessly, referred to an excess in the context of the discourse of gift exchange in terms of Bataille’s theorization of the ‘accursed share’. What motivates this is my desire to promote an ethics of recuperation wherein unproductive testimony and documents are deemed worthy of consideration on their own terms. What I refer to as an accursed share is that unproductive excess that we have accumulated but cannot or will not reckon with or dispose of (a latent gift?). From a literal standpoint (and perhaps I am being overly pessimistic), the accumulatum of documents collected by the TRC, which confound even the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, the TRC’s national repository and archive, present an excess of information that in its sheer volume, will likely never be rendered significantly productive, or serve ‘healing and reconciliation’ in the ways intended by the TRC. In the example of displays of great masses of personal items such as spectacles and shoes, displayed at former WWII concentration camps functioning as interpretive sites and sites of conscience, these physical manifestations of excess to what one can comprehend, the death of millions of Jews, speak/perform and thereby both continuously expend the excess in their testimony. Like the textured excess of which Simon speaks, this accumulatum is part of a terrible inheritance or gift and what is made of it, done with it, will determine its effect in society. My point is, that if we are to discount the textured excess, that which can neither be spoken, nor made definitive, nor disciplined, nor made to conform with other sources of evidence upon which truth-claims are made, like discarding the accumulated personal effects of Holocaust victims, we betray victims and deny Survivors and ourselves our rightful inheritance, the terrible gift that can transform us. The accursed share becomes a poison.

Speaking about dreams recounted by Jews incarcerated in concentration camps, Das states: “the terror became so acute that it could not even be dreamt anymore...A falling into silence, into a dumb condition, when speech may be dangerous or impossible, is the sign of a totalitarian state” (189). For Das, allowing private experiences of pain (Simon’s singular testimonies) to move out into the realm of publicly articulated experiences of pain is central to the process of healing, however, constructing memory through the common sharing of pain, is quite a different activity from constructing it through collections in museums (193). In her “Anthropology of Pain,” Das posits that “The idea that one’s pain can be located in another’s body and that the pain of the other may be experienced in my body suggests there is no individual ownership in pain, [moreover] It shows us the way in which relating to the pain of others can become witness to a moral life” (195). An example of this transference of pain occurs in the physical act of taking on the burden of another. It is clear that if private pain is to be translated such that it may move and take effect in the public realm, it can only do so through intentional acts of witness.

As a component of a procedure for enacting the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, translation should both attempt to render its subject legible while signaling its inherent untranslatability and status as an always inadequate representation. Thus, translation should:

- Temporarily displace our own experiences and beliefs
- Allow us to inhabit others’ experiences (experience alterity) and remember differently
- Create cognitive dissonance
- Stimulate affect and empathy

- Invite witness to a gift-in-exchange

As a mode of interpretation, translation is intended to communicate the substance, meaning, and significance of a subject that is the product of a specific historical and cultural context, and which is also often an assemblage of juxtaposed singular, personal experiences with correspondingly singular contexts, to the alienated collective present. In the case of the Terrible Gift, translation is also the means by which the present's entanglement with the past is made manifest and enacted through a chain of inheritance, which in the gifting and transference of past burdens becomes a chain of custody. Gift-giving is a performative act and as such translation may equally take implicit or explicit form.

1.2.4 Enacting a Pedagogy of Witness

In "The Terrible Gift," (2006b), Simon lists the various possibilities of response that gift-giving may elicit, suggesting inheritors may resent it deeply, may discard, or compartmentalize it, may disassociate from it (197). He continues: "To claim this bequest as our inheritance may be experienced as too onerous," too disruptive to daily life, "...initiating a psychic wound with no obvious resolution" (Ibid). As a correlative, Simon warns that it may become a platform of identification with victims – "one may come to define oneself within and through the very experience of loss" (Ibid), averring, "In situations when this happens, there is an abundant set of ambivalent possibilities and problems that accrue from accepting testament *on such terms*," such as "retribution, revenge, a traumatic repetition that enacts the desire for the recognition of oneself as wounded, melancholic memory, but also the working through of the possibilities of mourning and social transformation, including taking action towards establishing a more

just world” (Ibid). For Simon, the concept of witnessing enfolds the labour of working-through and responding to testimony, which, as his comments cited above suggest, may be a gradual process. As a practice, Simon claims, witnessing “...is completed not only by enduring the apprehension of difficult stories, but by transporting and translating these stories beyond their moment of enunciation,” and that “Central to witnessing is either the re-presentation to others of what one has heard or seen, or the enactment of one’s relationship with others so as to make evident that one’s practice has been informed by the living memory of prior testimony” (2005, 53). Witnessing thus, both completes translation and becomes its medium of recursive action.

On the subject of identifications, Simon remains hopeful, suggesting that “...a transactive sphere of public memory is a space cross-cut with boundaries that serve both as a limit and resource for one’s capacity to be responsive to the touch of the past and, thus, hear the counsel in the memories of others” (2005, 90). Moreover, he attests the following:

On these boundaries I can begin to enact my memorial kinship to the memory of another with the recognition of my distance from these memories. And I can accomplish this practice when, as a witness to other people’s memories, I attempt to hear and respond to the stories of others in a way that takes cognizance of the strangeness of these stories, their foreignness. This is a form of re-memory in which memories of ‘that which was never my fault or deed’ (Levinas 1987) begin to touch, to interrupt my taken-for-granted performance of the present (91).

Two projects that instantiate acts of witnessing that inscribe them with physical traces that supplement and further texture their substance and form, perpetuating the process of ‘becoming’ and returning these works—art iteratively inscribed with individual experiences—to the public realm, are Leah Decter and Jaimie Isaac’s (*official denial*) *trade value in progress*, and Christi Belcourt’s *Walking with Our Sisters*. These art works

and exhibitions (Figs. 4 and 5) embody resistance, counter-monumental, and memorial practice. *(official denial) trade value in progress*, is described by Decter as “an ongoing interactive project...[that] enacts exchange and elicits dialogue about contemporary conditions of settler colonialism and processes of decolonization and reconciliation in Canada” (Decter 2018). A large canvas comprised of a patchwork of Hudson’s Bay Company point blankets, the work renders in hand-stitched lettering, excerpts from both former Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s Apology to Survivors of the residential school system and his speech at the 2009 G20 summit wherein he asserted that Canada has “no history of colonialism” (Ljunggren 2009). Activated through collaborative sewing actions, the comments of visitors recorded in a guest book that accompanies the artwork are added to the canvas as stitched graffiti: act of witnessing and discursive supplement.

Walking with Our Sisters is a “commemorative art installation for the missing and murdered Indigenous women of Canada and the USA” initiated by Métis artist Christi Belcourt. With her invitation to create moccasin vamps, “the tops of moccasins intentionally not sewn into moccasins ... [representing] the unfinished lives of murdered or missing Indigenous women [and] exhibited on a pathway to represent their path or journey that was ended prematurely” (Belcourt 2018), Belcourt prompted the participation of thousands of people who contributed vamps, each bearing witness to lost lives and recognizing linkages between their individual stories of pain and the historical and contemporary epidemic of violence against Indigenous women and girls. Both *(official denial) trade value in progress* and *Walking with Our Sisters* call visitors to the works-in-exhibition to witness the traces of the witnessing of others, and to perform acts of witness, becoming implicated in the works themselves. On the nature of inheritance,

Simon deems inheritance a mode of reception that comes with responsibilities, those to do the work to produce a living legacy, an assemblage of which becomes, in his terms, heritage (2006b, 195). With this in mind, it becomes clear that Decter and Isaac and Belcourt have instigated the assemblage of something that has become a kind of conscientizing counter-heritage. That is to say, it creates an embodied counter-discourse that challenges received notions of history and inheritance.

Such performances and records are demonstrable attestations to visitor acts of witnessing. Whether or not these acts reference a sense of implicatedness on the part of their makers cannot be known. That being said, excepting the reflections written in guest-books and feedback stations, exhibition producers have no means to measure the degree to which visitors recognize themselves as heirs to difficult inheritances, to which they come to appreciate the inalienability of the gift either from their bequestors or themselves, and to which by having visited an exhibition, they are implicated in the necessity of a response. As such, it is difficult to apply procedural prescriptions for the part of a ritual that depends on the responsive acts of others. Rather, I offer the following thoughts and considerations toward provoking acts of witness here:

- Provide opportunities for intimate encounters with testament and testimony
- Demonstrate historical trajectories and linkages from the past to the present
- Create opportunities for visitor reflection, dialogue, participation, performance, and artistic production/heritage practice

Include visitor responses in the substance of the exhibition

- Invite recognition of vicarious responsibility

1.2.5 *Eliciting Response and Reciprocity*

Simon's pedagogy of the Terrible Gift is intended to elicit short to mid-term outcomes, which, for the purposes of this discussion, I sort into the categories of: remembering differently, formation of moral communities, and enacting reciprocity. As mentioned in the introduction, the Terrible Gift is concerned with strengthening the force of history (its messianic claim) on social life, based on Simon's premise, that "If we can enact practices of public history that recognize both its promise and its betrayal, we might yet develop an historical consciousness rooted in vigilance as to what must be done to enhance the prospect of a less violent world" (2006b, 203).

We begin with the category of 'remembering differently', which necessitates a refusal on the part of visitors to make identity-based historical identifications. Remembering differently requires we resist the compulsion to project ourselves into the past as victim, perpetrator, or bystander, but rather to remain in the present as inheritor. In a section entitled "Remembering Otherwise," in *The Touch of the Past* (2005), Simon distinguishes between two types of memory: ritualized identity-based memory (mobilizing affect and enacted through collective practice), and hermeneutic memory, which articulates the lessons of history. He explains that while both try to address 'the problem of social adhesion', the former legitimates practices, the other discourse, and so while both are constructive, generative and hegemonic (via continuities of narrative and socio-cultural practice), Simon opines that neither are equipped to deal with rupture or designed to stimulate change, different practices, or deviating narratives (3-4). He explains, "neither...is able to embrace the breaks that the memory of social disaster introduces into national and local communal aspirations that view history as being not

only in a state of partial disclosure with a yet-unrealized potential to be made whole, but as text inscribing a series of narrative instances whose specificity is sacrificed in the mobilization of significations capable of instantiating and sustaining unifying ideologies” (4).

For Simon, notions of identity and identification, must be overcome to enact the possibilities for transactive public memory, reminding us that, “...in such identity-based affiliations begins the refusal to take other peoples’ memory seriously, as of no concern, as having nothing to do with you, as not your responsibility, unless perhaps, one can forge an identification between one’s own troubles and traumas and those of others” (90). Rather he exhorts us to reconsider our understanding of “...the futurity inherent in remembrance” so that we can develop practices of remembering differently, “...clarifying their ethical, pedagogical, and political implications,” realizing, “This means becoming less concerned with the consolidating identificatory effects of practices of historical memory and attending more to the *disruptive force* [my emphasis] of remembering otherwise” (4). While one might recognize in Simon’s notion of disruptive force, Paulette Regan’s (2010) ‘pedagogy’ of unsettlement, these ideas are actually somewhat in opposition, with Regan squarely placing the obligation to subject oneself to becoming unsettled on settlers, and Simon, clearly resisting such identifications, subjecting everyone to disruptive forces.

Simon claims that creating communities of memory through exhibitions creates an ‘us’, brought together through convergent interests, who in sharing the space and experience of visiting, participate in a community of the living and dead (2006b, 195). As Das points out however, community formation requires a catalyst, arguing “...that in

order to create a moral community through the sharing of pain, as was envisaged by Durkheim, individual pain must come to be collectively experienced,” posing the expression of pain as an invitation to share (1995, 193-4). Critical of the coercive action of community constructions on the individual, Das reminds us that, “the community colonizes the life-world of the individual in the same way as the state colonizes the life-world the community,” and that concepts of community are often informed by “seductive nostalgia” (15-16). Deferring here to Das, I puzzle through ways to signal the need for caution in the procedure of the Terrible Gift as an exhibitionary pedagogy, heeding her exhortation that, “Caution suggests that in the very process of investing a community with legal personality there may follow insufficient recognition of the heterogeneous nature of communities,” which “...may be both filiative [embedded with identifications and ensuing identity-politics] and affiliative...[such that] alternative visions of a community may often be oppressed by violence, specially [*sic*] when the community first begins to emerge as a political actor in the public sphere” (14).

Das’ context is the formation of post-rupture community constructions and their emergence as actors in the public sphere in the aftermath of the violence of Partition. She writes:

Community can become a revitalizing force within India’s public culture only if it recognizes its own paradoxical links of confirmation and antagonism with its members. Collective existence is necessary, for the individual’s ability to make sense of the world presupposes the existence of collective traditions. However, equally, selfhood depends in the individual capacity to break through these collective traditions and live on their limits. Just as communities need to resist encompassing claims of the state, individuals need to resisting encompassing claims of even the most vital communities as a condition of their human freedom (17).

Her concerns are critically relevant to Simon's project of forging moral communities as an ethically-motivated collective response to pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, specifically because such communities are according to Simon, "...locations within which one can (1) work through the difficulties of responding to the symptomatic questions elicited by testimonies of historical trauma, and (2) *decide which testimonies and what aspects of them, should be told to whom and in what ways*" (2005, 62).

Regarding the community as location for individual reckoning, one wonders about its potentially homogenizing effects, particularly with respect to the flattening of narratives of what is brought forward and what is left behind through reciprocal action. Clearly, the Terrible Gift's methodology must preserve the particularity of individual experience brought into collective memory and thereby into the public realm. A collective forged through the transitive force of exhibition is no less vulnerable to a kind of self-congratulatory nostalgia that could result from its members projecting themselves into a redeemed future that identifies the present as a moment of romanticised collective commitment and action, of awakening. Such constructions of an 'enlightened' community could actually homogenize and 'settle' the newly formed collective, slackening the disruptive momentum of the exhibition that inspired its formation. In this situation, remembering differently becomes the basis of historical revision, which once established, distantiates the present 'us' from the historical 'them' rather than compelling the practice of continuous and unending unsettling and critique that recognizes in the future-present's continual state of becoming, our inalienable linkages with the past. This is the covenant the Terrible Gift is intended to establish.

If the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift has achieved its (at least short-term) goal, visitors will recognize their implicatedness and obligation as inheritors to reciprocate. As Simon avows, “one can only reciprocate the giver through the work of claiming it as an inheritance and making of it some enduring legacy—a legacy that manifests itself in thoughts and actions, altering one’s way of being with others” (2006b, 198), and it is thereby hoped that the Terrible Gift will nourish a viable “community of the living and the dead” (203). It is clear from these statements that Simon’s notion of the moral community formed in response to the Terrible Gift is distinct from Das’ community as emergent legal and political actor, although there is some overlap in their agential properties. One may infer from Simon, that his concept of moral community reflects more of an imagined collective or critical mass of conscientized individual actors than a functional body politic with its own authorizing discourses and disciplinary regimes. For Simon, performing one’s duty of reciprocity, (activated in the recognition that difficult pasts and gifts, however dispossessed, unwanted, or alienated, are in fact our inalienable inheritance) becomes an act of claiming and, subsequently, of transforming the gift’s legacy. The covenant between the dead (bequestors) and the living (inheritors of the past and progenitors of the future-present) that is formed through the claim, is both an individual and collective one, and is intended to alter the actions (and thereby the legacies) of individuals forming a moral community. Certainly, this newly-formed community is susceptible to the forms of colonization Das describes, which is why the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift must preserve its heterogeneous integrity by resisting flattening and nostalgic representations of the past. The collective must also respect, in Das’ terms, the paradoxical links of confirmation and antagonism within its membership.

Some considerations toward inspiring a practice of remembering

differently, the formation of a moral community, and reciprocal action:

- Make space for difference, include testamentary objects that cannot be reconciled
- Create avenues for interrogation and questioning
- Create space for visitors to recognize the museum, in the words of Richard Handler, as “an institution in which social relationships are oriented in terms of a collection of objects which are made meaningful by those relationships” (33)
- Empower visitors to consider their legacy, the bequest they would want to leave for others

As Simon is first to note, museological procedure cannot determine reception.

The first three ‘steps’ in the procedure here described, those of creating expository space/the scene of exhibition, of articulation and translation, initiate the gift-giving ritual.

Witnessing, reception, and response/reciprocation are visitor-initiated activities

compelled by the perlocutionary force of the gift. While museal producers can create the conditions for these activities, it cannot direct them. Fulfilled, these visitor-initiated activities complete the gift’s operation, which I have argued is transactional in nature.

The affective transaction in immanent history bequeathed and claimed, is the source of the gift’s transitivity, the momentum created, its recursive action. The obligation of the gift is discharged in paying it forward through a change in social trajectory and an

abiding vigilance against recurrence. I have argued that rupture is necessary for such a change to occur, yet rupture is a construct, as is redemption. Simon built his pedagogy

upon our most compelling social ritual, one in which our obligation is implicitly

understood, and one which transcends cultural and even historical divides. It remains to museal producers to make gifts apparent in exhibition, to trigger the completion of gift

exchange among visitors. In augmenting the affective power of images and words with

other elements of the evidentiary landscape by proposing the assemblage of a formidable

and wide-ranging mise-en-scène at the Shingwauk site, described in chapters 3-5, I attempt to model how this may be done.

Chapter 2: *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall in Context*

In this chapter, I contextualize museum praxis in terms of our current post-TRC moment—a period demanding active response to TRC calls. I discuss how and to what degree the history of Indian residential schools has permeated public consciousness such that rupture may be recognized, and some of the factors, such as issues of evidence, that complicate recognition. From there, I examine constructions of the Indian residential school system as difficult knowledge and as museological subject. Next, I introduce my field site, the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School (Fig. 6), providing a brief chronology of its predecessors and successors, culminating with its closure and subsequent occupation by Algoma University in 1970, and the Survivors driving the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition. Providing a background of the ongoing exhibition project, I set the scene for the praxiological interventions that are proposed in the subsequent chapters as a means of instantiating the pedagogy of the Terrible Gift at the Shingwauk site. Accordingly, I discuss the auspices of the project, its stakeholder tensions, and the curatorial challenges that have prompted new exhibition strategies. These challenges respond to both the great potential and the limitations to museology posed by the nature of the evidence of the Shingwauk schools, much of which does not speak for itself and requires articulation and translation to become intelligible and meaningful to would-be site visitors. A foundation for the consideration of gifts architectural, archaeological, and mnemonic that follow, this chapter signals the transition from the methods of observation, analysis, and critique, to those of performative research.

2.1 Our Post-TRC Moment

To put the TRC into context, we need to look at least as far back as 1991, the establishment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). In “A Word from the Commissioners” of the RCAP, the Commissioners describe the “difficult time” in which they began their undertaking as “a time of anger and upheaval...of concern and distress, [but] also a time of hope (“Highlights from The Report of The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples”). This statement reflects the social context of the 1990s, a period of failed diplomacy and of activism, of blockades, protest encampments, and armed conflict, and a period in which many Indigenous communities were living in 3rd world conditions, experiencing high rates of poverty, ill health, break-down and suicide, with children and youth at especially high risk (Ibid), a characterization the reader will note is little different from that of the present. Despite this adversity, this period witnessed the beginnings of cultural resurgence, reclamation, and healing, the source of hope referenced in the Report. In its 4000-page report and 440 recommendations, the RCAP set out a 20-year agenda toward achieving justice for Indigenous Peoples and establishing “a fair and honourable relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of Canada” (Ibid). Notably, the report established a causal relationship between social crisis among Indigenous Peoples and Indian Residential Schools. Among the recommendations made in its final report, was a call for a public inquiry and the establishment of a “national repository of records” to facilitate the collection of testimony and to support ongoing research (Dussault and Erasmus Vol.1.2. c.10).²⁸ Despite a federal response to the report that involved setting aside funds

²⁸ Part 2, c.10, “Residential Schools,” Recommendation 1.10.1 “The Need for a Public Inquiry.”

for healing programs designed to address the effects of physical and sexual abuse in the schools,²⁹ RCAP's proposed public inquiry was not supported. In the years following the report, litigation and a heavily criticized Alternative Dispute Resolution program became the primary means by which Survivors sought legal redress, while interest in the RCAP findings among the public waned and the report itself went out of print (Stanton 2010: 52-53).³⁰ Legal scholar Kim Stanton suggests "the government could afford not to act on the Report given that RCAP had not built up public support ...[for] their recommendations," a failure which the Aboriginal Rights Coalition attributed to "a decline in public sympathy for indigenous issues due to high profile land disputes and the rise of more conservative political movements that emphasized the need to treat indigenous peoples the same as other Canadians, an approach that RCAP 'had emphatically shown had been a policy disaster in the past'" (53-54). Thus, the lack of public will to support the proposed mechanisms of memory, among the many other RCAP recommendations, was itself a byproduct of public ignorance of the disasters of past Indian' policy (of which land disputes are but one inheritance) buttressed by an intentional and ongoing policy of containment and erasure.

The cost to the government of intentionally ignoring much of RCAP's report and forgetting the 'dangerous history' it began to uncover proved dearer than anticipated. Forced into litigation, Survivors brought "an enormous volume of civil lawsuits" against the government and churches, resulting in mushrooming defense costs and staggering

²⁹ For more information on *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, 1997, visit <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/R32-192-2000E.pdf>

³⁰ For a detailed discussion on the federal response to RCAP's call for a public inquiry and the eventual appointment of the TRC as a provision of the IRSSA, see Stanton, Kim Pamela. *Truth Commissions and Public Inquiries: Addressing Historical Injustices in Established Democracies*. Diss. University of Toronto, 2010.

projections (Stanton 2010: 73). Citing a study by the Assembly of First Nations, Stanton states “the sheer volume of claims would have taken the courts an estimated 53 years to conclude, at a cost of \$2.3 billion to litigate” (Ibid). In negotiating the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (which became the largest class action settlement in Canadian history), Survivors and their advocates pushed not for ‘another’ public inquiry, but a truth commission, “that would acknowledge and witness the IRS system and its impacts, and that would also increase awareness of – and create a public record of – the system and the impacts” (Ibid 78).

The TRC was established in 2008 to “create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy” (“Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) - Our Mandate”).³¹ Its Final Report, published in 2015, featured 94 Calls to Action with the objective of redressing the legacy of residential schools and advancing the process of Canadian reconciliation.³² The far-reaching calls targeted multiple levels of government, the judiciary, the media, many types of organizations including those in arts

³¹ The goals of the TRC, as articulated in Schedule N of the IRSSA, were to:

- (a) Acknowledge Residential School experiences, impacts and consequences;
- (b) Provide a holistic, culturally appropriate and safe setting for former students, their families and communities as they come forward to the Commission;
- (c) Witness, support, promote and facilitate truth and reconciliation events at both the national and community levels;
- (d) Promote awareness and public education of Canadians about the IRS system and its impacts;
- (e) Identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and use;
- (f) Produce and submit to the Parties of the Agreement a report including recommendations to the Government of Canada concerning the IRS system and experience including: the history, purpose, operation and supervision of the IRS system, the effect and consequences of IRS (including systemic harms, intergenerational consequences and the impact on human dignity) and the ongoing legacy of the residential schools;
- (g) Support commemoration of former Indian Residential School students and their families in accordance with the Commemoration Policy Directive (Ibid).

³² See Henderson, Jennifer, and Pauline Wakeham. "Colonial reckoning, national reconciliation?: Aboriginal peoples and the culture of redress in Canada." *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35.1 (2009): 1-26., published as the TRC was forming, for a discussion of the domestication of the TRC genre, and a critique of its use of reconciliatory rhetoric.

and cultural heritage, religious orders, private enterprise, and the larger Canadian public. While the Conservative Government delayed its response pending federal elections, the incoming Liberals vowed that the Government of Canada would, ‘...in partnership with Indigenous communities, the provinces, territories, and other vital partners, fully implement the Calls to Action of the TRC, starting with the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples’ (“Statement By Prime Minister On Release Of The Final Report Of The Truth And Reconciliation Commission”). The TRC commissioned polling and market research firm Environics Research Group to conduct a national benchmark survey “to provide a quantitative baseline of Canadians’ general knowledge of IRS, with particular focus on the long-term impact of the IRS on former students, their families and their communities, in order to provide a benchmark against which to measure the impact of actions taken by Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada (IRSRC) and the TRC related to enhancing public awareness and education” (Environics 2008, i). A more comprehensive survey was completed by the same firm eight years later, in 2016, when both the IRSSA and TRC processes had been fully implemented and their final reports³³ published. Environics’ found that “Two-thirds of non-Aboriginal Canadians [66%] have heard or read something about Indian residential schools, up noticeably from 2008 [+15%]” (Environics 2016, 29). Moreover, the survey revealed that “Canadians most closely associate residential schools with the mistreatment of young students, the break-up of families, and the loss of culture and language,” and while “four in ten Aboriginal Canadians say they have heard or read

³³ Statistics on the Implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement
<https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1315320539682/1315320692192>

anything about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission... few within this group can recall anything specific about the Commission's recommended Calls to Action" (32).

A 2015 poll conducted by the Angus Reid Institute (ARI), a research and public opinion polling organization, found that 48% of Canadians believed the TRC process had been worthwhile and a staggering 70% agreed with "using the term 'cultural genocide' to describe the residential schools policy and how it was carried out" (6). The same survey found that "Even among segments that tend to be less sympathetic to Aboriginal causes in their responses to this survey – prairie residents, past Conservative voters, and those without any personal connection to First Nations – majorities agree that Canada committed "cultural genocide" in carrying out the residential schools policy" (7).

Referencing three earlier polls beginning in 1991, ARI found that while "Skepticism about the relationship between the federal government and First Nations improving has been reflected in Canadian polling on Aboriginal issues for decades³⁴," the findings of the 2015 poll "reflect a continuation of Canadians' long-held desire for change in both the government's handling of Aboriginal issues and in the situation of Canada's First Nations themselves" (Angus Reid Institute 2015, 12).

It is difficult, likely impossible, to ascertain the degree to which the Canadian public was historically aware that a cultural genocide or 'national crime' was occurring or even of the operation of the Indian residential school system itself. Certainly, however it was regarded, the concept of cultural genocide or indeed genocide was not part of the public consciousness until coined by Raphael Lemkin in 1943-4. Rather, it was in

³⁴ The polls referenced were conducted in 1991 by Ipsos-Reid, and 2010 by Angus Reid Public Opinion, immediately following and on the 10th year anniversary of the Oka Crisis, and in 2013 by ARI, in the wake of the Idle No More movement.

response to national front-page news headlines³⁵ exposing the horrifying conditions at the schools and corresponding rates of disease and death detailed in a 1907 report by Dr. Peter Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of the Departments of the Interior and Indian Affairs, that the problems with residential schools first became known to the public at large (TRC 2015, vol 1., 405). In 1922, forced into retirement and frustrated with the ongoing failure of the department to take life-saving remedial action, Bryce published the pamphlet, *The Story of a National Crime: Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada*, distribution unknown. Despite a handful of noted detractors, other doctors among them, there is no evidence of wide-spread public attention or outcry. Nor was media coverage sustained. It was not again until the findings of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples together with those of John Milloy's 1996 report were made public that Canada's 'national crime' received national media attention. While the federal government responded with a 350 million-dollar healing fund to address the impacts of physical and sexual abuse at the schools, RCAP's called-for public inquiry was not appointed.

In its final report, the TRC asserts, "That experience [of residential schools] was hidden for most of Canada's history, until Survivors of the system were finally able to find the strength, courage, and support to bring their experiences to light in several thousand court cases that ultimately led to the largest class-action lawsuit in Canada's history" (TRC 2015 Exec. Sum. V). The resulting Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, 2007, followed by the 2008 federal apology brought not only widespread

³⁵ According to the TRC Final Report (vol 1. 1, 405), "Saturday Night magazine reviewed the statistics presented by Bryce and concluded, 'Even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the educational system we have imposed on our Indian wards.' The headline in the Montreal Star read 'Death Rate Among Indians Abnormal.' A similar story in the Ottawa Citizen concluded that the schools were 'veritable hotbeds for the propagation and spread' of tuberculosis."

instances of physical and sexual abuse to light, but also recognized what the RCAP had found a decade earlier: that the common experience of residential schools itself, that of being taken and alienated from parents, community, and culture as children, constituted abuse and resulted in pervasive and enduring negative impacts on Survivors, their families, communities and nations. The level of public awareness reported in the 2008 national benchmark survey, is, in part, attributable to the highly publicized lawsuit, its settlement, and the various public apologies of churches complicit in the system: United Church of Canada, 1986, Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate, 1991, Anglican Church of Canada, 1993, Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1994.

Of course, the system (and to some extent its failures) was known to Parliament, the vast infrastructure at Indian Affairs, the operational network of Indian Agents, inspectors, the RCMP who rounded up the children at the beginning of the school year, who tracked down runaways, working with Indian Affairs and local police to enforce attendance, the churches at every level, and the congregants who were solicited for donations to supplement the schools' operation, to school architects, builders and tradesmen, suppliers, doctors, nurses, and medical researchers, coroners and undertakers, teachers, and school staff, local police services, and adjacent communities.

Residential schools themselves were intimately and best known to the many people who attended them. Through residential school closures beginning in the late sixties, Survivors began publishing memoirs of their experiences, such as Basil Johnston's *Indian School Days*. According to Aboriginal Literatures scholar Renate Eigenbrod, "In tandem with the general marginalization of Native literature in English in the 1970s and 1980s, Indigenous survivors' stories were hardly noticed" (278), further

asserting “It was only with increasing public awareness about the schools, public testimonies by survivors, the emergence of an apology and reconciliation discourse, and the closing of the last school in 1996 that more attention was paid at the end of the twentieth and in the beginning of the twenty-first century to this aspect of Canada’s colonial treatment of Indigenous peoples” (Ibid). Questioning what anthropology can offer in the wake of violence, Veena Das orients us to the recovery of ‘voice’, arguing that recovering individual embodied narrations is a critical means of resisting the totalizing discourses that become embedded in both narratives of the state and, eventually, the discourses of resistance (23). More than any other, one such testimony, that broadcast in 1990 on national television by Canada Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) ’s *The Journal* guest, then head of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs Phil Fontaine, documenting his own physical and sexual abuse in residential school “stunned the nation” (“Phil Fontaine's Shocking Testimony of Sexual Abuse”). The TRC credits Fontaine’s disclosure with both inspiring Survivors to “break their silence” on residential school abuse and focusing “national attention on the extent and nature of abuse in residential school in an unprecedented manner” (2015. vol 1., part 2, 399). Throughout the 90s, greater numbers of Survivors shared their stories and a robust Indigenous community and scholarly discourse on residential school trauma and healing began developing. Indian residential school increasingly became the subject of histories, scholarly publications and even a “widely circulated and often repeated two-hour CBC Television movie, *Where the Spirit Lives*”³⁶ (M. Miller 205). Yet by 2008, only 51% of the Canadian population had

³⁶ *Where the Spirit Lives* first aired in 1989. Mary Jane Miller discusses two earlier CBC TV representations, *The Education of Phyllistine* (1964) and *Sister Balonika* (1969) but emphasises the timeliness and reach of *Where the Spirit Lives*, suggesting its greater impact on public perceptions of Indian

heard of residential schools (Environics 2016, 29). While the aforementioned events created a series of fissures in the collective Canadian imagination, the TRC strained them to rupture. Or did it?

In the introduction to this work I claimed that the disruptive power of the critical event of the Indian residential school system was realized only in translation, via abstracted and distantiated representations and performances that constituted and resulted from the TRC process. Building upon Jean Amery's account the body's loss of its sense of feeling at home in the face of necropolitical terror, ³⁷ Amit Baishya asserts:

The encounter with a world-shattering event strips away the protective casing that comes with our body being at ease with the world. The orientation of my eyes toward an object fixes it in space; torture is like a 'blinding light' that paradoxically renders me visionless even when I possess ocular capacity. Similarly, the skin is a protective casing against the world; pain flays this protective surface and 'burns us to the bone' (25).

Such description may begin to provide a sense of the experience of many Survivors of residential school for whom it was a world-shattering or critical event. Most Canadians, and indeed many residential school Survivors would likely not describe their experiences or understandings of the history and legacy of the residential school system in necropolitical terms. Nor, I suspect, would most Canadians identify residential school as earth-shattering or even a rupture-causing event. That being said, the extensive and

residential schools and the impacts of colonization. Miller also discusses representations in *North of 60* (1992-7), which deals, in part, with legacies of residential schools on adults (218).

³⁷ I am referencing Achille's Mbembe's term necropolitics, which reflects that, "the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large degree, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die," fusing together Foucauldian concepts of biopower and the sovereign "right to kill" (*droit de glaive*) inscribed in the ways in which modern states function (Mbembe 2003, 17). Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee developed the related concept, necrocapitalism, to describe "contemporary forms of organizational accumulation that involve dispossession and the subjugation of life to the power of death" (2006, 3). Necropolitics and necrocapitalism, together with the death-worlds they create will be discussed in Chapter 3.

sustained media coverage of the TRC process, which unequivocally declared the system to have constituted a cultural genocide, a characterization upheld by 70% of the surveyed population ("Aboriginal Truth and Reconciliation Poll"), I argue, created a kind of unrecognized rupture and even epistemological break. Consistent with Gaston Bachelard's (1938) definition of epistemological obstacles, which occlude thought, and the act of tearing down or rupturing these obstacles, which makes new forms of thought and thus new knowledge possible, the TRC may have succeeded where the precocious RCAP did not. In forcing us to confront our past *and its legacies in the present*, its basis in the rhetoric and practices of colonization which still permeate our systems of governance, the veil is lifted. The force of our will to rupture, our collective determination to distance and differentiate ourselves from our shameful past remains to be seen. Museums renegotiate the presence of the past, activating our *devoir de mémoire*, and as such can strengthen our will to rupture.

2.2 Evidence of a History not in the Past

By June of 2014, the TRC estimated its archive of individual testimonies from former students to number 6,200 out of an estimated 80,000 living Survivors (Trc.ca). This number represents .0775 of the Survivor population as defined in the Settlement Agreement, which includes only 139 schools. The collection of archival records and court documents has similarly fallen short. Since 2014, adjudicators, the federal government, the TRC, and the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) battled each other over what to do with the "800,000 audio recordings, transcripts and other documents associated with 38,000 claims of sexual abuse, physical abuse and other heinous acts" (Wittmeier). Access to these records is essential to understanding the nature

of the abuses suffered in the schools. As of 2019, their future uses and eventual fate remains unresolved as a consultation process with Survivors continues (Indian Residential Schools Adjudication Secretariat). The 2013 accidental discovery by historian Ian Mosby of government records documenting medical experiments conducted on children in Indian residential school provides an example of what evidence might lie in wait. What we do know with respect to Indian residential school-related evidence is that we do not know how much we have, nor how representative it is.

Historical representations of Indian residential school are complicated by the living. As such, a lack of temporal distance both hampers its construction and poses the potential for new understandings and enactments of ‘pedagogies of witness’. Among us are living Survivors, bystanders, administrators, enforcers, pedophiles and perpetrators of every kind of abuse, doctors, Indian agents and inspectors, supervisors, clergy, bush pilots, cooks, well-intentioned hardworking teachers – witnesses from the Indian residential school-era all. There exists as well a body of those affected by the legacy of Indian residential school: intergenerational Survivors, foster children and their biological and surrogate parents, as well as the industry of advocates, lawyers, social and health workers, child welfare officers, and others, all of whom can add nuance to our historical understandings. In the words of Geoffrey Carr (2009), ‘the physical detritus’ of the schools still haunts the Canadian landscape, some derelict, some reused, some only charred remains of arson and/or ceremonial destruction or destruction as heritage practice. Like Ian Mosby’s discovery of incriminating medical records, controversial (and non-controversial) artifacts will undoubtedly appear in the coming years to be smudged

or destroyed, perhaps accessioned into collections and made available for exhibition.³⁸ Despite uncontested legal indictments of some of the most notorious pedophiles of the Indian residential school system having come from among its fold, the Canadian Congress of Catholic Bishops,³⁹ the only implicated church entity that has refused to issue a formal apology to Survivors, keeps space for discourses of denial open. Similarly, the unreconciled legacy of Indian residential school provides a platform for an indignant Indigenous political resurgence that seeks to aggressively decolonize Canada. The contemporary context, barely sketched here, is itself an inheritance that is not easily severed from a past that has not yet passed.

Although these factors, together with those that have to do with the definition of Indian residential schools discussed in the introduction, show this subject to be contested, dissonant, incomplete, layered, and impinging, characterizing it as difficult, these characteristics in and of themselves are not constitutive of ‘difficult knowledge as representation’. Yet, many examples of existing constructions of difficult knowledge on the subject of residential schools exist, one of the best known being the federal apology. On June 11, 2008, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an apology to Survivors of Indian residential schools on behalf of Canada. This historical representation, in both its characterization and in the fact of its performance, supports the assignment of the Indian residential school system as a difficult past and morally difficult subject. The

³⁸ For example, Justice Paul Perell of the Ontario Superior Court of Justice stated in his 2014 ruling ordering the release of OPP records pertaining to Anne’s Indian Residential School in Fort Albany, ON, “It is known, for example, that an electric chair was used to shock students as young as six years old,” (Galloway). I wonder about the whereabouts of this artifact and what may come of its discovery.

³⁹ The majority of the 139 Indian residential school recognized in the IRSSA were operated by Catholic Church entities. The Canadian Congress of Catholic Bishops is the *de facto* head of the Catholic Church in Canada (disputed by CCCB on the grounds of their organizational infrastructure).

apology, and its construction of difficult knowledge⁴⁰ undoubtedly influenced and was prominently reproduced in a pan-Canadian touring exhibition and corresponding curriculum resource, *100 Years of Loss*, developed by the Legacy of Hope Foundation in 2012, which was presented at all TRC national and some regional events, offering an exhibitionary counterpart to the public Survivor statements gathered at the events. Received constructions of difficult knowledge, of which the federal apology and *100 Years of Loss* are but two examples, supplement the sources and substances of knowledge detailed above, and influence emerging museal representations including *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*.

2.3 The Shingwauk Schools Remembered by the SRSC: A Brief Chronology

On the surface, the Shingwauk Indian Residential School bore resemblance to residential schools of its era across Canada. It has the distinction, however, of being one of the few, if not the only school, conceived by an Indigenous leader and founded through his successors. The Shingwauk school, in its various incarnations, was one of the longest operating residential schools in Canada and consequently saw a number of changes in administration. The SRSC published a history of the schools in 1992, which

⁴⁰ This excerpt from the federal apology is an illustration of how the Indian residential school system has been constructed as difficult knowledge:
For more than a century, Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities... The Government of Canada built an educational system in which very young children were often forcibly removed from their homes, often taken far from their communities. Many were inadequately fed, clothed and housed. All were deprived of the care and nurturing of their parents, grandparents and communities. First Nations, Inuit and Métis languages and cultural practices were prohibited in these schools. Tragically, some of these children died while attending residential schools and others never returned home... While some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities ("Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Statement of Apology | CBC News").

organized its operation into chronological and thematic periods beginning with Chief Shingwauk's vision of the 'teaching wigwam'. According to the SRSC history:

Chief Shingwauk, 'The Pine', also known as Shingwaukonse (1773-1854), envisaged schools as part of a self-determination strategy for the Anishnabek people. Committed to a project of cultural synthesis, in 1832 he led a delegation from Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie) to York (Toronto) to petition Governor Colborne for teachers. The Church of England sent missionary/teacher to Sault Ste. Marie and in 1833 the first 'Shingwauk' school was built (Shingwauk and Agawa 1).

Shingwauk's efforts to establish 'teaching wigwams', schools offering the children of Garden River a European education to complement their Anishinaabe education, were carried on by his sons, Augustin (1800-1890), Buhkwujjenene (1811-1900), John Askin (1836-1919), and George Menissino (1839-1923). The Shingwauks were, from written (but contested) accounts⁴¹ Anglican Christians, and found a willing ally in the Reverend E.F. Wilson (1844-1915). An indefatigable English missionary, Wilson settled his family in the area, working with Augustin and Buhkwujjene to raise funds and to subsequently found an ill-fated Shingwauk school in the Ojibwe community of Garden River (Ibid). The wooden structure burned to the ground six days after its completion in 1873. Undaunted, Wilson, Augustin, and Buhkwujjenene continued to raise funds for a school, establishing the Shingwauk Education Trust later transferred to the Anglican Church of Canada (Ibid).

In 1875, they erected a replacement for the burned building, one of stone masonry construction. This 'Shingwauk' school (Shingwauk Indian Industrial School)⁴²

⁴¹ While Buhkwujjene's words are accessible to us only through E.F. Wilson's translation, his brother Augustin kept a journal, written in English, which the SRSC republished in 1992 and has made accessible online. It is the major source of autobiographical and biographical information and commentary during the period of the founding and early operation of the schools (Shingwauk and Agawa).

⁴² This structure featured a baker shop, tailor shop, carpenter's shop, and a gymnasium and accommodated 60 boys. Taught the elementary branches, some Latin, and one of seven trades, students from the 'industrial school era' in their 3-5th years were hired out as remunerated apprentices to local tradesmen (The Globe 5).

was constructed off reserve, on the bank of St. Mary's River near Sault Ste-Marie. It was followed in 1934 by a new Shingwauk Home [Indian Residential School], built to replace the then deteriorated 1875 structure, which was subsequently demolished. Over a period of twenty years, from 1873-1893, Wilson and the Shingwauks built "seven additional 'teaching wigwams' from Garden River to the Rocky Mountains" (22). In 1892-3, disillusioned with the schools and disheartened by an administration that failed to recognize the competence of Indigenous Peoples, Wilson resigned. The school subsequently "went into severe decline and eventually faced a series of crises of money and morale" (24). The SRSC history goes silent from this dark period through to the school's closure in 1970. Similarly, the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, provides only very general information indicating that the Shingwauk school had provided an elementary education and housed secondary school students who attended schools in Sault Ste-Marie (Anglican 2). Finally, in 1970, Shingwauk Hall closed, and in the subsequent year Algoma University College, later Algoma University (AU), took possession of the building. The Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association (CSAA)—also the oldest Indian residential school Survivor society—had its first reunion in 1981 and a decade later celebrated the '160th Anniversary of Chief Shingwauk's Vision', which led to the founding of 'Shingwauk University', realized in 2006 in the creation of Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig (SKG). With these changes, the landscape of the Shingwauk site shifted dramatically (Fig. 7).

2.4 The Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall Exhibition at the Close of 2019

Shingwauk Hall is built on a cruciform plan with a South-facing front elevation. A short North/South hallway leads from the main entrance to an auditorium at the rear,

meeting at the transversal hallway junction the school's East and West wings. The *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition will by 2021 occupy the hallways of both North/South and East/West axis, as well as the auditorium and its vestibule/antechamber (Fig. 9). The first three galleries of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition, occupying the hallways spaces, opened in August of 2018. The historical North/South hallway gallery, "From Teaching Wigwam to Residential School," introduces the historical figures relevant to the history of the school as well as its early history, and is a conceptual *dramatis personæ* to the vestibule gallery's collection of stage sets (still in development) representing 7 generations of 'Shingwauk' schools (Figs. 9-10). The "We are all Children of Shingwauk" gallery occupies the South side of the East/West hallway and juxtaposes portraits of three categories of students: industrial school-era children photographed at the behest of Wilson, whose short biographical sketches are reproduced with the portraits themselves, contemporary LED-lit portraits of Survivors along with their short statements of resilience, and images of current AU and SKG students, which appear (without narratives) on rotation on embedded digital picture frames (Fig. 11). This gallery also features a family panel that indicates the number and generations of family members of a single family, the Horn-Fletchers, who attended Shingwauk Schools, animated by their testimony. The work of the Keewatinung Institute, the historic 81' Reunion, the formation of the CSAA, and its advocacy and healing work, are described on a panel entitled "Healing and Reconciliation". As one of two galleries on the 'pathway of experience', "We are all Children of Shingwauk," highlights Survivor reclamation of identity and personal and collective agency. The opposing wall features the "Life at the Shingwauk Home: an Indian Residential School" gallery, which uses reproductions of

archival photography to illustrate the lives of children at school, work, and in the domestic sphere, through the industrial, residential, and integration periods (Fig. 12). While narrative panels describe and differentiate between the periods, and some captions offer supplementary description, this gallery's narrative is largely communicated through the photographic medium. The gallery that will occupy the auditorium, now in development and expected to be completed in 2021, is intended to provide greater national and international context to the Shingwauk story.

The exhibition project was initiated by Jonathan Dewar, then Director of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre (SRSC), a joint initiative between the CSAA, whose mission “is to provide for the well-being of the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association who are former students⁴³ of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Indian Residential Schools, their families and their communities,” and which is “a non-political voice for survivors concerns and interests [and] to support, promote and enhance healing and reconciliation” (Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association), together with AU. AU's objects, similar to those of other universities, “are the pursuit of learning through scholarship, teaching and research within a spirit of free enquiry and expression,” however in addition, it has a special mission “to cultivate cross-cultural learning between aboriginal communities and other communities, in keeping with the history of Algoma University College and its geographic site” (“Special Mission - Algoma”). A fourth stakeholder, co-located on the site, was SKG—a degree-granting Anishinaabe teaching lodge accredited through AU, and “committed to the restoration of the original spirit and

⁴³ From 1934 to 1970 Shingwauk Hall was home to children primarily from Garden River, Batchewana, Missanabie Cree, and Walpole Island First Nation, as well as to Mohawk children from South-Eastern Ontario. Representatives of these communities populate the CSAA.

intent of Chief Shingwauk, who envisioned a teaching wigwam where his people could acquire the necessary educational tools in modern society without compromising the values of [Anishinaabe] culture and traditions” (“Welcome to Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig”). As will be discussed in this chapter, resolving stakeholder conflict by means of channeling it in creative directions was a major preoccupation of the exhibition team.

Project funding for this and subsequent phases of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition was and continues to be provided by the Department of Canadian Heritage through a Museums Assistance Program grant. AU was the signatory to the initial and subsequent Contribution Agreements with Canadian Heritage and the recipient of the grant. As an employee of AU, the SRSC Director (initially Jonathan Dewar) was named as the ‘Project Authority’ on the Agreement. While the project is intended to be Survivor-driven through the CSAA, incoming and outgoing funds are managed by AU (as required by the Contribution Agreement), complicating the client/service provider relationship of the team to their ostensible clients, the CSAA.

Following consultations with the CSAA, the SRSC, and other stakeholders in 2014, the project team (of which I was a part) produced a preliminary design plan to transform what was then understood as the intended exhibition space, Shingwauk Auditorium. The plan was rejected within days of its submission. AU faculty and groups accessing the auditorium took exception to the plan, which would result in the repurposing of important prop storage and changing room spaces. In compensation, the available footprint for the exhibition expanded, resulting in the development of a new plan, *Healing and Reconciliation Through Education: Integrated Design and Curatorial Plan*, providing for 6 exhibition zones, that could be parceled into distinct development

phases and galleries.⁴⁴ The galleries described in the previous section, and which were conceived to create a continuous visitor journey, correspond to this plan and represent its first 3 phases of implementation. Beginning with the implementation of the first phase in 2015, my role in the project expanded and I became a historical researcher, co-curator, and interpretive writer, in addition to project manager and designer. Unexpectedly, AU contributed significant infrastructure funding, leveraging the exhibition project to obtain investment, and performed extensive renovations to accommodate the exhibition in the main hallways of Shingwauk Hall.

2.5 Aspirations of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* Exhibition

What became the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition was originally conceived to create an extensive permanent exhibition on the history and legacy of the Shingwauk schools within a larger historical narrative comprised of fixed and movable elements including all furnishings and fittings, structural, architectural, and technological elements needed to transpose a ‘museum’ onto the University. It seeks to materialize the ‘sharing, healing, and learning’ mandate of the SRSC through the physical reclamation and occupation of parts of Shingwauk Hall. At the onset of the project, it appeared that a ‘site of conscience’⁴⁵, one at the heart of a functioning university, would be created from a former site of trauma. As later discovered, this was not strictly the case. Articulated as a

⁴⁴ The original plan proposed ideas for structural revisioning of the auditorium and adjoining spaces, creating an immersive storytelling environment, and developing the story of Shingwauk, balanced AU’s requirement to retain use of the auditorium as a multifunctional space. The revised plan mapped galleries to newly licensed spaces and articulated the exhibition’s narrative arc/visitor journey over 6 thematic zones, each featuring descriptions of distinct narrative strategies, spatial and visual designs, interactives, and programmatic elements.

⁴⁵ Defined by International Coalition of Sites of Conscience Founding Director Liz Ševčenko as, “historic places that foster public dialogue on pressing contemporary issues in historical perspective” (Ševčenko and Russell-Ciardi 9).

project of a larger *Healing and Reconciliation through Education* initiative, the aspirations of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* stakeholders are, in my opinion, at least as redemptive as they are reconciliatory. In museological terms, the exhibition can be understood as a project to restore/reclaim historical representations and to symbolically repatriate/integrate prepossessed space, promoting SRSC pedagogical aims of healing *before* those of sharing and learning. Redemption and cultural healing are intimately entwined objectives, valued for their potential to transcend the personal and intersubjective spheres into the cultural collective. In this sense, aspirations for this exhibition reflect not only the desires of those directly affected by their experiences at the Shingwauk Indian Residential School together with their intergenerationally-impacted descendants, but also of larger Anishinaabe groups seeking to rehabilitate historical memory of Chief Shingwauk and reclaim his representation from present ambivalence.

It was not apparent in 2014, what manner of museal production the SRSC intended to undertake. Rather than create a standalone museum, the project proponents wanted to superimpose a museum onto a working university, without inhibiting the function of either institution. Could the project transform the former residential school/university into a site of conscience, one of the uses of the difficult heritage of Indian residential schools proposed by Christina Cameron (2010), recuperable from Geoffrey Carr's characterization (2009) as 'Atopoi of the Modern', becoming, as suggested by Anna Brace (2012), a potential site of continuous creation and layermaking (8-9)? Could it sustain its own remediation or would it require deconstruction, or even as suggested by Corntassel et al.'s example (2009), a site of ceremonial destruction? Would it simply become an exhibition embedded within an otherwise non-museal space? Co-

located with a cemetery and an existing memorial, its intended memorial function seemed evident, but how did this correspond to its pedagogical function? In one sense, what was produced can be likened to an interpretation centre (a typology primarily used in heritage interpretation) within a larger institution, taking the iterative spatial/architectural expressions/heritage of the site and the lives lived therein as its subject. But it also creates and transposes museal space and exhibitions, including memorial and heritage components, onto a successor institution. From another perspective, that which sees the exhibition as the culmination and externalization of years of collecting, documenting, and preserving work of the SRSC, it may be seen as a community museum. In some ways, but not yet others, it bears resemblance to District Six Museum, which occupies, commemorates, and interprets the Cape Town, South Africa, site and community of District Six, an inner-city community dislocated and destroyed during the Apartheid era, Ciraj Rassool asserts District Six Museum “insists on utilizing this [community museum] concept as an organizational device, in asserting a particular politics of governance and institutional orientation, and in expressing a particular commitment to social mobilization and constructing and defending independent spaces of articulation and contestation in the public domain” (311). Like District Six Museum, the Shingwauk ‘museum’ project seeks to assert its imprint onto spaces of erasure and replacement, to reinscribe its traces by means of superimposition of the spectral past onto the present. Another approach to understanding the Shingwauk project would be to categorize it as a memorial museum, which Paul Williams (2007) defines as “a specific kind of museum dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering” (8). Such categorization may appear reductive given its role as a living site implicated in a politics of recognition. The SRSC and

members of the CSAA desire to articulate a historic claim and assert an active presence—an occupation, if not reclamation, of space. Their strategies, which affirm their active presence, seem at odds with the sense of closure memorial museums can convey. A variant on the memorial museum is the ‘site of conscience’, but to what degree does this characterization mobilize trauma pedagogically while relegating cultural resilience and healing to a supporting role?

Interpreting CSAA’s mantra of ‘sharing, healing, and learning’ as a progression initiated by a purgative stage, wherein painful stories are shared and addressed in a setting of personal and cultural safety, that moves through conceptualization and construction of experiences (and spaces) of resilience and survivance, to achieving perspective-granting distantiation, allowed the team to establish a secondary set of project objectives. These involve designing spaces to reflect and absorb shared experiences contributed over time under conditions of personal and cultural safety, and creating temporal and spatial depth to allow for reinscription of representations and experiences of resilience within spatio-historical narratives. An appreciation of these ambitions presaged an engineering of experience that could not be ethically designed without significant stakeholder and community collaboration. Also in these respects, the project exceeds exhibition and resembles more accurately a museum for the community. As such, the materialization of the exhibition can be regarded as the inauguration of a community museum, rather than of an institutional interpretation centre.

Despite clear client direction and unrestricted access to SRSC’s formidable archive, including numerous pertinent oral histories, apprehension over a perceived lack of community input rippled through the team, who strove for ways to best support

community participation in exhibition development, and to make what was created sustainable over time. Two decisions aimed at strengthening ties with stakeholders and their communities came about. The first involved engaging Jonathan Dewar, who by then had left his position at the SRSC, in a co-curatorial role with Jeff Thomas. The second entailed gathering Survivors, local First Nation community members including Shingwauk's descendants, as well as stakeholder representatives to present and discuss the historical narrative and design treatments developed in response to direction provided in earlier consultations. A stakeholder advisory process was subsequently formalized and an approvals team created. With the implementation of these processes and the convening of several Survivor/stakeholder workshops, the trajectory of the project changed, becoming more community-directed. As the exhibition developed and the team and stakeholders became increasingly entangled, three challenges emerged, those of representation of trauma, historicization, and spatial interpretation.

2.6 Claiming Shingwauk: Constructing Narratives of Healing/Silencing Trauma

Cathy Caruth suggests, “the history of trauma, in its inherent belatedness, can only take place through the listening of another” (11). Drawing on Freud, she explains, “the enigmatic relation between trauma and survival: the fact that for those who undergo trauma, it is not only the moment of the event, but of the passing out of it that is traumatic; that survival itself, in other words, can be a crisis” (9). Jenny Edkins stresses, “the testimony of survivors can change structures of power and authority” (5), but that “witnessing violence done to others and surviving can seem as traumatic as suffering brutality oneself” (4). Although we learned in our consultations and research that students of Shingwauk, like other IRS Survivors, suffered abuse and traumatic experiences, the

CSAA have been clear in orienting narratives to those of survival through personal and cultural resilience. The testimony excerpts that appear below were provided by the Survivors themselves for use in the exhibition.⁴⁶

Suzie:

The creator puts you where you need to be to accomplish what the creator has for you. The creator moved me from one thing to another, but I consider my greatest successes to be teaching my children to be committed to their families, to serve the world, and to treat other people as human beings as well as my involvement in Indian residential school awareness. I have used my past as a tool for understanding humanity and how to treat other people.

Fran:

I consider the fact that I was able to care for my two siblings after I left residential school so that they could finish their schooling a great success. The highlight of my life was the thirty years that I spent living with the Crow Indians in Alberta where I learned about the Crow culture and People and participated in Crow ceremonies. It was in Alberta that I also took up watercolours and jewelry making and displayed my work in shows across the province.

These examples are striking in that they do not directly reference experiences of trauma in residential school; rather they emphasize accomplishment in the wake of an unnamed or consciously forgotten trauma. Speaking about the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* and of the experience of the Vietnam War, Marita Sturken stresses the incommunicability, not only of trauma, but of the total context in which trauma occurs (1991, 129). Yet, in my past experiences of interviewing Survivors and of accessing oral histories of their residential school experiences, I have most often found that experiences of victimization and trauma are those they most desperately want to preserve and

⁴⁶ These texts are in the public domain. They were provided by the CSAA for use in the exhibition as well as in a series of graphic banners that were also displayed publically at the Truth and Reconciliation National Closing Event in Ottawa, May 31-June 3, 2015.

communicate to others. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek argue, “sufferers are condemned to reenact their stories until they begin the work of interpretation... [and that] ...merely to transfer the story from the embodied symptoms to words is not necessarily either to integrate or to exorcise it... [moreover] development may be foreclosed when a particular version is granted complete authority” (xix). Asked how she was able to heal, Survivor Madeleine Dion-Stout, whose testimony forms a part of Thomas’ *Where are the Children? Healing the Legacy of the Residential Schools* exhibition, states, “I don’t know if one ever heals from something this traumatic,” and suggests that she isn’t sure whether she has, in fact, survived residential school (Legacy of Hope Foundation).

In a context where the recounting of trauma and/or its survival poses the risk of re-traumatization, selective forgetting may offer a form of personal safety. Ernest Renan suggests, “forgetting ... even historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (11), implying that cultural safety may be achieved through solidarity of selective memory, in this case, memories of personal and cultural resilience. But if living memory is maintained selectively, what is its remainder, its afterlife? Pierre Nora conjectures that a “secondary memory, a prosthesis memory” is formed (14), a concept taken up by Alison Landsburg and discussed in the Introduction as the necessary result of the ethical practice of taking on the memories of others. Initially, like the District Six Museum, the exhibition team had sought to create in the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project, a “live generative space,” to be “continually shifted, layered and subverted by its visitors... [such that it could become] neither a space of innocence nor one of simplistic authenticity” (Rassool 300). Implicating artist Krzysztof Wodiczko’s imposing

projections of trauma⁴⁷ (Fig. 13) as contestation of the ‘post-traumatic turn’, Mark Jarzombek suggests that by projecting testimonies, they “are not softened into a post-traumatic insistence on ‘healing’ but rather they challenged forth a Homeric respect for the telling of tragedy...trauma is denied therapy in the very face of that desire” (264). But whose ‘therapy’ is denied in projecting testimonies of trauma? Certainly, in its context, Wodiczko’s work is intended to stimulate public conscience, thwarting foreclosure of justice through a withholding and deferral of healing. While pedagogical and political aims may be served by such approaches, keeping the wound open for the public revisits the trauma upon the victimized, resulting in vicarious trauma. In the interests of best serving the needs of the Survivors and communities they represent, the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* team resolved to develop a cohesive narrative to reflect, validate, honour, and bring into form, the experiences of Survivors as they wished to remember them at this point in time.

In her work on urban regeneration, Heather McArthur applies the logics of the practice of agricultural fallowing to architectural and archaeological practice, offering a theorization of ‘fallow time’, as a period of conscious deferral of activity (archeological, preservational, etc.) to allow for the regeneration of conditions (economic, political, environmental) favourable to future activity. She suggests her theorization “could be applied towards different types of fallow time...such as the instances of tragedy, disaster or war...[whereupon]... a dramatic shift leaves in its wake a fallow landscape, or

⁴⁷ Krzysztof Wodiczko is a Polish visual artist who uses large scale projections of video testimonies to communicate experiences of trauma to the public. See Jarzombek, Mark. "The Post-Traumatic Turn and the Art of Walid Ra'ad and Krzysztof Wodiczko: From Theory to Trope and Beyond." *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (2006): 249-271., for a discussion of Wodiczko’s work in the context of the post-traumatic turn.

possibly a fallow space, that would require a deeper reading of cultural conditions, memory and loss and therefore a more specialized consideration of cultural recovery and healing” (111). Taking up McArthur’s notion of fallow time and considering memory in the wake of trauma, I would suggest that between a desire for personal and cultural safety (a space of validation), and a space of self-reflexive uncertainty, historical memory becomes a similarly fallow landscape.

2.7 Images and Words

A few words in the “Life at the Shingwauk Home: an Indian Residential School” gallery’s concluding narrative entitled “Cultural Erosion and Reclamation,” refer to the testament of the photographs and attune visitors to their function as evidence of the insidious nature of the colonizing processes that played out through the last days of the school’s operation:

The overwhelming influence of non-Indigenous ways of life, and particularly an Anglican worldview permeated this site for almost 100 years. Even as Shingwauk students were beginning to integrate with non-Indigenous students for the purposes of education, this continued. In these photos, we observe children and youth celebrating Halloween, preparing food at a cookout, and holding their diplomas – all activities that show us that Indigenous traditions continued to be replaced by those of mainstream Canadian culture.

This is the second of two bodies of narrative text that reference the photographic record. The first leads into the wanted narrative on trauma experienced by children in, and as a result of the schools, for which, ironically, we have to thank Senator Lynn Beyak. Her well-publicized 2017 claim of a ‘good side’ to residential school prompted an equally publicized response from the Anglican Church of Canada in the form of an open letter that listed in unequivocal terms the abuses the residential schools had not only

allowed, but had fostered, an excerpt of which follows: “There was nothing good about child abuse – and it was rampant in Residential Schools – physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and spiritual abuse. Such abuses were nothing less than crimes against humanity.” Enraged by Beyak’s claims, Jonathan Dewar, who had since 2016 taken on a co-curatorial role in *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*, sought to reproduce the contents of the Anglican letter (the Shingwauk schools were administered by the Anglicans) on the walls of the exhibition. I quickly came up with a design treatment that featured the letter prominently and in large type for the consideration of the stakeholder approvals group. Adapting the first body of narrative text on photographs, referenced earlier, as a lead-in to the letter, allowed us to set a more strident tone:

The photos that appear on this wall may suggest to some viewers that Indian Residential Schools were more benign than malignant. Such is the nature of the photographic record. Used in reports designed to convince the public and donors of the value of their contributions, photographs conveyed the purported ‘good works’ of staff and clergy and, most importantly, the effectiveness of the schools.

Without such context, in most photographs the children appear to be benefitting from their environment and the attentions of staff. Yet, the Shingwauk Indian Residential School and indeed the vast majority of the schools that comprised the Residential School System were ‘total institutions’. Students were subjected to a program of ‘aggressive assimilation’ for which there is no photographic record. In its Final Report (2015), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada called this cultural genocide.

Suddenly, distilled through the voices of the TRC and the Anglican Church, and generalized as a phenomenon that affected the entirety of the Indian residential school system in Canada, narratives of trauma were finding acceptance with the Survivors guiding the exhibition. Previously, the harms of residential schools had been only

suggested or implied in the various drafts of exhibition text in development and circulation. Had they not been made more explicit, which the reproduction of the letter gave us license to do, visitors to *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* might have been left with almost as much information on the abuses endured and trauma sustained at residential schools than that with which they arrived. As a result of our curatorial, design, and interpretive strategies, as well as of the changing conditions that gave unsettling narrative content a space, the “Life at Shingwauk Hall” gallery is layered with meaning while retaining the place and prominence of the children who lived there. A selection of photographs carefully curated and juxtaposed among a larger collection by Jeff Thomas, Jonathan Dewar, and me, were enlarged and reproduced on backlit LED panels in clusters distributed over the span of this hallway gallery (Fig.14). As an assemblage of images and words of powerful testamentary address, the collective testament and story space of this gallery is consistent with those of exhibitions described by Simon as having constituted a pedagogy of the Terrible Gift. I feel, however, that we can and must go much, much, further to realize its transitive and recursive operation, and thus the desired and conscientizing mnemonic transaction.

2.8 Conflicted Representations

What are then the implications of selective remembering on strategies of representation in the context of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*? Paul Williams suggests, and it could be equally said of the Shingwauk project, “memorial museums are implicitly subject to the notion that being faithful to documentary evidence and serving the historical imagination may pull in different directions” (33). The question is, whose historical imagination prevails within a collaboration? A photograph, in which Wilson is

pictured standing over the seated Buhkwujjenene, challenges the viewer to consider the nature of the historical relations between the two figures (Fig. 15). Wilson, who appears on the left, was born in London, England in 1844, “into a well-to-do family, long prominent in evangelical circles in England” (Nock). Having spent some little time on an Indian reserve, he became “infatuated with the Indians” (Ibid). Inspired by the drive and perseverance of the Shingwauks, Wilson dedicated himself to the construction and support of the Shingwauk, Wawanosh, Batchewana, Nipigon, Elkhorn, and Medicine Hat schools—a pursuit that engaged him for a period of 20 years (Shingwauk and Agawa 22). Because the schools he founded and operated were initially established at the behest of Shingwauk Chiefs, like Buhkwujjenene, who toured with him to raise funds for the schools, Wilson likely felt that Christianizing, ‘civilizing’, educating, and training Indian children would offer them the best advantages, despite the heavy social and cultural costs he would later come to appreciate. However, living in close contact with First Nations over the course of his career, and visiting a significant number of their communities in the United States, transformed Wilson’s outlook over time (169). According to David Nock, “the conversion involved an abandonment of one-way communication... as he became influenced by his visits with and direct perceptions of Aboriginal peoples in their communities and nations,” “...his good intentions derived... from his developing understanding that Aboriginal societies were valuable and competent in and of themselves” (Haig-Brown & Nock 158). In the years leading up to his departure, Wilson advocated a Native church, reversing his opinion that religious assimilation was either desirable or inevitable. According to David Nock, “It seems highly probable that Wilson was also the author of four articles published under the penname Fair Play in the

Canadian Indian between March and June 1891. These pieces argue against enforced assimilation and absorption, and advocate a large measure of self-government for natives” (DCB/BDC Staff).

This version of history, however, does not find favour with at least one of the stakeholder groups in the exhibition project. The SKG represent Chief Shingwauk as a Midéwiwin practitioner/member of the midewigaan or mide-lodge (Grand Medicine Lodge or Society), not the ‘model’ Church of England chief his biographer Janet Chute claimed him to be (1998, 250). Multiple sources confirm he was both mide and Christian (Chute 1998; Corbiere 2013; Manore 1993-4; Warren 2009; Miller 1996; Schoolcraft 1962). The construction of Chief Shingwauk as exclusively mide appears selective excision, an attempt to recuperate his image from Christian characterization. As a midew or mide practitioner, versed in the seven sacred fires prophesies, Chief Shingwauk would have anticipated aspects of colonization, and positioned his people to best meet the coming challenges. Viewed through this lens, what appeared to be Christian leaning, can be interpreted as an expression of Indigenous foreknowledge and agency, and an attunement to the shifting balance of power. Concomitantly, the formerly beloved Wilson is recast as villain to Chief Shingwauk’s hero. It is important to note that the SRSC opposes the idea of focusing heavily on mide teachings, despite coming up against SKG’s Elder Edward Benton-Banai’s strong Midéwiwin convictions. The point of capitulation between the stakeholders appears to be Wilson, in the absence of whom the Shingwauk schools story cannot be told but whose role was diminished as much as possible in the “From Teaching Wigwam to Residential School” gallery in which narratives of the school’s formation, transitions, and eventual dissolution, is told. Indeed, while AU

professor and former SRSC Director Don Jackson's sympathetic account of Wilson provided an early draft for the gallery content, my neutralized interpretive text, upon review by the approvals committee, was found still too flattering of him. The direction to de-emphasize Wilson while bringing greater emphasis to the Shingwauks, resulted in a shift from even SRSC's own historical narrative of partnership and hybridity (recall its description of Chief Shingwauk's commitment to cultural synthesis mentioned earlier) to one that pitted the Shingwauks' drive for cultural survival against the impending forces of cultural imperialism, represented by the church and federal government.

Consider the original submission by Jackson introducing Wilson:

Edward F. Wilson (1844-1915) and Fanny Spooner Wilson (1840-1826) In 1865, E.F. Wilson, adventure-seeking son of a prominent English Evangelical family, left London for Canada to farm. Within three days of arrival, he decided to become a Missionary, and soon after, "infatuated with the Indians", made their salvation and wellbeing his mission. Returning to London for his ordination in December 1867, by July 1868 and with the support of the Church Missionary Society, he and his wife Fanny, along with their faithful servant Jane Grit, were on their way to Canada.

They began their mission work in the Sarnia region, building a school, parsonage and church on the St. Clair Reserve of Chief Wawanosh, and a church and catechist's house at Kettle Point with Chief Ahbittahwahnuhquud. Visiting the Chances at Garden River in 1869, Wilson met Shingwauk brothers, Chiefs Augustin and Buhkwujjenene. Feeling "drawn in spirit toward the Indians in the Lake Superior region", a second visit and extensive Superior tour in 1870 convinced Wilson to replace the Chances upon their relocation to Brantford in 1871.

Versus the introduction of Wilson in the final text:

When the Reverend Edward F. Wilson (1844-1915) from Sarnia Mission arrived at Garden River in 1869 to visit the Chances, he was most impressed with what had been accomplished. Yet, just as the Band was gaining critical momentum toward bringing its plans to fruition, the Chances were re-posted, repeating the dispiriting pattern of previous development attempts. In 1871 came the unsettling news of their redeployment to Grand River, without any provision for their replacement.

Augustine and his brother Buhkwujjenene (1811-1900) were deeply committed to their father's vision and strove to implement 'industrial education' to better prepare the Anishinaabe to meet the challenges of increasingly intensified settler competition for resources and opportunities. Through the Wilsons' visits with the Chances, the Shingwauk brothers had come to know them well. When the Wilsons arrived too late to see James Chance off to his new posting, Augustine quietly boarded the steamer that was returning them to Sarnia. Upon their arrival, he approached Wilson with his plan to appeal to the Black-coats at their upcoming meeting in Toronto for their help in establishing a big Teaching Wigwam:

"I told the Black-coats I hoped before I died I should see a big teaching wigwam built at Garden River, where children from the great Chippeway Lake would be received and clothed, and fed, and taught how to read and how to write, and also how to farm and build houses, and make clothing; so that by and by they might go back and teach their own people" (A. Shingwauk 1872, 14).

Augustine's appeal was successful and, continuing their journey of Southern Ontario, he and Wilson began the first of many teaching wigwam fundraising tours.

The debate over how to represent the Shingwauks and Wilson bears uncanny resemblance to opposing stakeholder rhetoric documented by Annie Coombs in her critique of Robben Island as a site of memory and the nation. Therein, Coombs describes the efforts of one group to evoke the recent history of the liberation struggle at the site, historicizing its narratives to promote a politics of recognition, while another regarded the site as "just one thread in a longer and more diverse historical account" (Coombs 59). A conversation between the great-grandson of Chief Shingwauk, Elder Dan Pine, and Jackson, recounted by Magdalena Milosz, describes an ontological position that refutes the authority of understandings of Chief Shingwauk derived from sources other than his own kin. According to Jackson, "Pine had understood the residential school and the university not as a rupture, but as a continuation of Shingwauk's concept of the 'teaching

wigwam'...In response to the question of how he knew what Chief Shingwauk wanted, the Elder simply responded, 'because I am Shingwauk'" (qtd. in Milosz 182). John Urry, in "How Societies Remember the Past" (1996), suggests, "the past is viewed as real, the past and future are ideational or what [we] would now say representational. The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present" (48). But what work does the shift in the historical representation of the Shingwauks and Wilson do and for whom?

Paul Williams (2011), discussing 'precarious representation', considers the use of 'screen memory' in representing (while simultaneously withholding) histories of trauma, invoking Marita Sturken's theorization, which "conceptualize[s] how societies use mnemonic aids—people, icons, phrases, and parables—to block out larger memories and historical facts that are too difficult to conceive and articulate" (222). Williams appears to suggest that the use of screens renders trauma intelligible to audiences who cannot appreciate trauma by other means. In the Freudian sense, as a form of subconscious self-protection, screen memories also appear to render trauma intelligible to those who experienced it and for whom a fuller recollection would constitute a hazard to personal and cultural safety, or vicarious trauma to others. In art historical terms, the screen is manifested in the repoussoir, that which both withholds and directs the gaze. Critiquing the spatial dialectics of *The Apartheid Museum*, Elizabeth Rankin and Leoni Schmidt, discuss the use of the repoussoir in how it manipulates the spatial practices of visitors, drawing our attention to "the way in which the visitor is placed for a controlling act of looking" (90). Can the construction of Shingwauk as *mide* be theorized in Sturken's sense as a screen memory? If so, what is it screening and how might (and should) this be contested in the exhibition space? Can elements of the exhibition subvert the gaze in

ways that problematize the screening of traumatic memory? Do such strategies constitute an ethical design response or are they a rejection of a misunderstood or inconvenient ontological position?

What an interpretation of Chief Shingwauk as exclusively mide mitigates is the potential for his becoming a target of criticism (or worse, a source of confusion and shame) on the grounds of having ventured a project of cultural synthesis through education (including a Christianization program), which, however well-intentioned and reflective of a desire for self-determination, led to the unintentional suffering of the generations of children in Indian residential schools. While an interpretation of Chief Shingwauk through a mide lens did not, in the end, dominate his biography in the exhibition, his Christian leanings as well as those of the younger Shingwauks were certainly downplayed. Rather Chief Shingwauk was cast as the visionary leader he undoubtedly was, and his sons as champions of his vision of Indigenous self-determination through the implementation of ‘teaching wigwams’. One of the three major issues identified by the 1994 *Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples* was the need for “increased involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the interpretation of their culture and history by cultural institutions” (1), and as a result of its consultations, “it was “agreed that the role of First Peoples in Canadian history should be stressed” (4). Moreover, in its recommendations on interpretation the authors stipulate “Interpretation or representation of information relating to First Peoples should conform to an ethic of responsibility to the community presented, as well as the scholarly or professional ethics of the academic and museum communities” (8). Indeed, the right of Indigenous Peoples to represent their pasts, present and future, and thus to constitute their history and

heritage, is a major tenet of the New Museology in Canada and other post/de-colonial contexts, and is embedded in Articles 11, 13, and 31 of the UNDRIP. How this direction in interpretation has been put into practice at museums and their resulting engagements with Indigenous source communities has been the subject of much critical thought, illuminating examples of which are featured in the influential edited volume, *Museums and Source Communities* (Peers and Brown, eds., 2003).

The late Elder Dan Pine Sr., Chief Shingwauk's grandson, suggests an interpretation that, rather than distancing his grandfather from his unintentional legacy in the Shingwauk Indian Residential School, identifies it as part of an unfinished project toward accomplishing his vision of Indigenous self-determination through education.

Consider Pine's 1979 statement (qtd. in McCracken 2017):

The Shingwauk School never closed. It just entered a new phase of development. It has to be given a chance to finish what it started. It has to put back what it took away. It will be the people who went there that will care. Bring the people together. Let them gather and they will know what to do.⁴⁸

"From Teaching Wigwam to Residential School," located in the North/South corridor, is the most content-dense gallery to date.⁴⁹ It chronicles the life of the Shingwauk schools through the historical figures implicated in its genesis, implementation, and decline, presenting over a century of history, from the 1830s to 1970

⁴⁸ Two years later, in 1981, the first Shingwauk Reunion was held and Dan's prediction came to pass: The Survivors created the National Residential School Survivor Society (NRSSS) and began their collective healing journey. Their advocacy for the creation of Shingwauk University as a means of achieving Shingwauk's vision was realized in Shingwauk Kinooomaage Gamig in 2008.

⁴⁹ Looking back at the long process that eventually yielded the description of Chief Shingwauk and his vision used in the exhibition, I am amazed with the delicate balance that was achieved. Longstanding former SRSC Director Don Jackson, in particular, worked tirelessly to ensure that as much critical context was included in the interpretive text as possible. For every 1500 word draft he provided, I was tasked with distilling it into 200 words, which he then proofread, gnashed his teeth over, and renegotiated with me, before, finally satisfied with the text, we sent it to the SRSC and CSAA for their feedback.

(Fig. 16). The succession of school principals who administered the school into its decline and eventual closure following the departure of Wilson in 1893, are named but not pictured. Indeed, photographs of staff rarely appear, doing so only when they are incidental to a photograph of students. Historical figures important to the history, such as Bishop Fauquier and the Reverend William McMurray are faintly pictured and recede from view. Upholding the direction of Survivors, *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*, though categorically an exhibition of history, is foremost a reclamation of colonized space for Survivor use, for healing and education (and indeed history-making) on their terms.

Considerable limitations of space necessitated further delimiting of exhibition content. The narrow hallways impose close viewing distances and position exhibition visitors in university traffic. The visual and textual narratives of the galleries “We are all Children of Shingwauk,” and “Life at the Shingwauk Home: an Indian Residential School,” are intended to tell the story of the Shingwauk school over its industrial, residential, and integration periods through the voices and experiences of students past and present. The avoidance of narratives of trauma, together with limited available surface space, presage the development of a ‘thin’ narrative. Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi suggests, “the ‘thinner’ the message (often a consensual message), the larger the audience that can identify with it...but that the risk is that the makeup of the narrative can be reduced so much that it will repel those collectives for whom the paucity of content is tantamount to erasing the past” (35). It appeared in the early stages of the exhibition’s development that the paucity of content together with the avoidance of narratives of trauma endured by Survivors of the Shingwauk school would undermine its efficacy as a means of creating stimulating affective responses, cognitive dissonance, and reflective

questioning. As a Terrible Gift, its testamentary character would be weak. Moreover, I became concerned that the voices of the historical children, those who attended the school in the late 19th and early 20th centuries had no means of enunciation. I considered these children my clients as well, and became an advocate for telling their stories. These considerations force me to examine means beyond textual narratives that may be ethically mobilized to communicate historical depth, complexity, and criticality, and of course to provide some means by which the trauma experienced by Survivors can be communicated-some means of testament. What I felt was needed as I clung to the edge of the slippery slope of perhaps questionable curatorial judgement, was not to undermine the intent of the SRSC, CSAA, and SKG, but to inject a degree of nuance. I turned to non-textual and spatial strategies, and the concepts that led me to the praxiological interventions I now propose were nurtured. First, however, I tried to remedy outstanding issues of missing objects and spatial elements.

2.9 Missing Objects

The paucity of artifacts related to the Shingwauk Indian industrial and residential schools poses another challenge to curation. Those initially identified by Krista McCracken, SRSC Archivist, mostly took the form of handicrafts, including traditional Indigenous beadwork made by former students, which seemed to refute or disavow messaging that situates the Shingwauk school, particularly in its residential phase, as part of a regime of cultural oppression. Objects that represent aspects of the schools' history as a teaching institution, such as desks, inkwells, rulers, and the like, could be sourced but would be inauthentic in relation to the site. Much of SRSC's archival collection, mostly photographs and documents, exist in digital format only and as such those used in the

exhibition are necessarily reproductions. Just as Jay Arthur asks, “what kind of objects do you need to tell the story of the Stolen Generations in Australia (30), we too must ask what objects we need to tell the story of the Shingwauk schools. Paul Williams (2007) asserts, “even a replica can be imbued with spiritual significance, precisely because we understand that stories about the past are what gives life to objects, rather than vice-versa” (49). On the limitations of representation, particularly of cultures not one’s own, Michael Baxandall suggests, “to offer a pregnant cultural fact and let the viewer work at it is surely both more tactful and stimulating than explicit interpretation” (41). Turning the lens on the assimilationist history of the Shingwauk schools in their latter phases, what objects might present ‘pregnant cultural fact’? The exhibition team was better able to address this issue in the recently completed “Shingwauk Schools Gallery” located in the vestibule to the auditorium. “From Teaching Wigwam to Residential School” occupies the corridor that leads into this gallery, which is intended to provide visitors a glimpse inside generations of Shingwauk schools, from the 1833 Pim Hill school to SKG today. Located in unsecured narrow AU thoroughfares, the constraints that made the display of authentic artifacts in the other galleries impractical did not affect the vestibule, which is a rectangular antechamber that extends approximately 14 feet on both its East and West sides, and, before the exhibition was installed, received no traffic other than from visitors to the auditorium.

Via the *mise-en-scène* of a sequence of architectural vignettes, the 4th *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* gallery, “The Shingwauk Schools,” creates a fundamentally different quality of story space than do the hallway-bound galleries, bringing us closer to another element of Simon’s procedure: the creation of expository context and space, and finally,

to an engagement with authentic artifacts! Presented with a secure space not subject to the foot traffic of the other galleries, the vestibule, in which this gallery is situated, presented co-designer David Lemelin and me with a long-awaited opportunity to give architectural form to exhibition narratives. We had since the beginning of the planning process in 2014 amassed a collection of examples of exhibit design, installation and architectural art, commemorations, and new digital and construction technologies into a digital ‘mood board’, which we shared with the entire exhibition team. Indeed, keeping abreast of design innovation by scanning digital feeds on such topics is essential practice for both Lemelin and me and by 2018, when we began to design the gallery, we had built a massive *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* mood board. Coming upon images of artist Drew Conrad’s 2012 Fitzroy Gallery installation *Ain’t Dead Yet*, a construction of fragments of contrived architectural spaces inscribed with the violence of destruction and decay, leaving their ungainly innards exposed, I had found my inspiration. Equally inspired, Lemelin and I developed a sequence of ‘housings’ expressing the distinct architectural character of the different generations of Shingwauk schools. A wooden 1850’s schoolroom vignette strategically exposes lath and plaster, while the 1890’s print house can be seen through the mullioned window (fronting an inset display case) of a fragment of the stone masonry industrial school, which gives way to the barnboard of the factory (carpentry shop) upon which tools spanning its years of operation were hung. Next, the interior of the Wawanosh sewing room is evoked with a wall mural, and is outfitted with a turn-of-the-century sewing machine/table donated by two members of the CSAA. Following the break in sequence imposed by the auditorium doors, the 1934 residential school building emerges in brick wall sections adorned with a dedication plaque from the

late 1800's. This 'outdoor space' brackets the interior of the girls' dormitory as a cutaway. Next comes the kitchen as it appeared in the 1940's, illustrated by an archival photo mural that clads the wall of an actual kitchen with a pass-through to the auditorium, which is covered by a retractable scrim that continues the mural image. The interior of 1950's classroom containing a wooden schoolroom bookcase, which we converted into a museum display cabinet, completes the lifecycle of the residential school (Figs. 17-19). These story spaces occupy approximately 5/6th of the vestibule, the remainder being reserved for SKG's display of a contemporary classroom, a teaching lodge, now in development.

This complex and contrived design treatment may appear unwarranted or harken back to a previous phase of museology, one that took such liberties that accusations of Disneyfication were not unjustified. The irony of creating a facsimile of a residential school in the same school is not lost on fellow designer David Lemelin and me. Rather, we attempted with this design, to both create context for a visitor encounter with historical objects, and an experience of schools lost to time and the archive. The sole authentic artifacts made available by the SRSC for display in the exhibition were printer blocks and plates from the late 1800's, and student handicrafts from the 20th century, which are displayed in cases supplemented with and interpreted through adjacent digital object library kiosks. The balance of the spaces feature contextual artifacts functioning as props. While not from a Shingwauk school, these historical objects are contemporaneous with, and visual matches to, objects that can be discerned in archival photographs of the Shingwauk schools. Thus, the wrought iron and wood school desk and glass inkwell that

occupy the 1850's classroom are from a school in the 1800s, but not the Shingwauk school.

The acquisition of one object in particular, an iron bed, was of paramount importance to the Survivors. Used in the school dormitories until the 1960's when they were replaced with newer models, photographs of the austere and narrow beds and their cramped placement in crowded dormitories trigger Survivors memories and function as an important symbol of their institutionalized childhoods. This object, more than any other, has the potential to function as Baxandall's pregnant cultural fact in exhibition. Contextualized within the story space of the girls' dormitory, we knew the bed would convey an immediate impression of the vulnerability and precarity of the lives of the girls who slept there. Indeed, the proposed assemblage is an example of the kind of visual and experiential storytelling this gallery sought to create, providing textual relief for visitors who must traverse the extensively narrativized "From Teaching Wigwam to Residential School" gallery to enter, and engaging visitors with different learning styles. Controversy that arose over the acquisition of the bed is best illustrated through a student exercise I developed as the conflict was occurring, and facilitated with an undergraduate class at Carleton University in the Winter 2019 term. The text follows:

GROUP ACTIVITY CHALLENGE: Curatorial Judgement and the Question of the Bed

Background:

You are a curator working with a design team to develop an exhibition on the materiality of a former residential school. Your exhibition concept involves scenarization, or *mise-en-scène*, to stage fragments of the physical environments depicted in archival photos of the school. These environments will provide important context for objects/artifacts, which will be interpreted through text labels and panels and through digital object library stations. Thus, the exhibition is

comprised of three layers: a context layer, a content layer, and an interpretation layer.

Together with your client, an association of Survivors from the residential school, you have developed a list of objects for acquisition that will be integrated within the context layer of the exhibition. These objects will not be accessioned into the collection and will function not as artifacts but as props (context) with which to situate and augment artifacts (content). As such, there is no intention to interpret these objects. An example of such an object is a 1930's school bookcase that has been acquired, and subsequently refitted with interior lighting, glass shelves, and appropriate mounts, to display an artifact collection of textbooks, student notebooks, and trophies that are part of a classroom set. Your challenge has to do with a bed, which was identified by the Survivors as an important contextual artifact or prop on which will be placed a blanket (an artifact from the school). The bed will be part of a dormitory set that will be created to evoke the environment shown in this picture. These beds are much older than the room in this photograph, which was taken in the 1950s. They were likely moved from an earlier school on the site, which opened in 1875. A photograph from 1900 shows the bed in use at that school. Thus, the beds were used for decades and generations of children slept in them. Survivors have strong associations with the beds, which evoke the institutional (rather than familial) environment of their formative years.

After months of looking for a bed that is a match for those in the photo, you found one on Kijiji. Getting no answer from the seller, you offered double the price and finally secure the sale. On pickup, you learned that the bed had been in the seller's family for over a century and had been taken from a sanatorium where her great grandfather, a significant historical figure in his own right, had worked toward the end of his career. Previously, the bed had been used in a hospital where he worked as the Head of Pathology, discovering a flu vaccine and saving many lives. The seller was honoured that the bed, which her daughter had recently outgrown, would be used in an exhibition. As you ask for dates and details, she gets in touch with her mother for more info, provides a few more details, and urges you to get in touch with her aunt, who wrote a book on her great grandfather. You email her aunt and receive her reply.

She is shocked and horrified that the bed has been sold and will leave the family and the area. She urges you to sell it back to her and offers a sum that exceeds your cost. Arguing that the bed is a family heirloom that has been used by three generations of her family, she asserts that it should never have been sold. She wants to be able to give it to a local museum that will put it on display, likely in relation to a story about her grandfather. You know that the Survivors desperately want a bed

exactly like this one for the exhibition, and that a replacement will be difficult, time consuming, and costly (if not impossible) to find. Moreover, the exhibition will open in three months. What do you do?

Activity: Work as a group to come up with five strategies to deal with this situation in descending order of preference. Explain the benefits and disadvantages of each option. Include practical, ethical, and theoretical considerations.

While readers may gasp at the predicament the acquisition of the bed presented⁵⁰ and the artificiality of this treatment and gallery, it bears mentioning that both reflect the direction of Survivors guiding the exhibition, who participated in a workshop (one of multiple) held in August of 2018 to determine which spaces relative to the various Shingwauk schools would be represented in the gallery and what objects (however inauthentic) would animate them. That is not to say that space/object selection was entirely Survivor-driven, but it can be said that it was Survivor-directed. The curators, including myself, inserted ourselves in the process through facilitation and moving ideas forward for their consideration based on historical and curatorial criteria, but our marching orders were given by the Survivors. For example, cognizant of the availability of artifacts from the industrial school-era print office and aware of the significance of the office as both the site of student apprenticeships (offered only during that era) and of the dissemination of information (propaganda) about the school to its supporters, the curators felt that some representation of the print office was justified. Moreover, we wanted to ensure that a classroom space would be represented in each period so that visitors could easily appreciate the nature and magnitude of the changes in approach to education that

⁵⁰ Former SRSC Director Don Jackson began an email correspondence with the aunt of the seller, who quickly ceased to return his emails and broke off contact. Several months later, the bed was transported to Sault Ste-Marie and installed in the exhibition, where it will remain until such time as it is reclaimed by the seller's family.

characterized each period, and how they affected the lives and futures of children from that period. Personally, mindful of my duty to the memory of the students of the industrial era (Fig. 20), whose remote and often indistinct stories are overshadowed by those of the later generations, I was keen to summon their environments and was shocked to learn upon displaying the few archival photographs that exist from that period, that many of the Survivors did not know these spaces to have existed. Another of my curatorial priorities was to ensure the stories of the Wawanosh and later Shingwauk girls, whose schooling in the earlier periods was of a fundamentally different character than that of the boys, whose stories often predominate, was told. The design of the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery attempts to provisionally redress the absence of the built fabric of the former industrial school campus and the corresponding loss of memory and thus of advocacy for the recovery of memory related to the industrial period. It is this same challenge to which the praxiological interventions respond.

2.10 Spatial Tensions

Architecturally, Shingwauk Hall was not distinct (Fig. 21). It was one of at least 25 Indian Residential Schools designed by Roland Guerne Orr, Chief Architect for the Department of Indian Affairs from 1921-1935 (Miłosz 10). Orr is noted for his second-generation residential school designs in the Collegiate Gothic style, of which Shingwauk Hall is but one example (Ibid). Although the interior of the structure had been marred (or tempered) by the minor interventions of successive generations of administrators, including the addition of extensive 1970s-era diagonal wood wainscoting and framing, the exhibition team hoped to peel back its layers to reveal its original design. Early in the consultation process, representatives of the SRSC emphatically asserted that the

auditorium, initially a chapel, was the one place within the Shingwauk complex in which Survivors had positive experiences, and with which they continue to have positive associations. Reserving its use as a multipurpose space, while affirming their intent to see it reclaimed, the stakeholders approved the *Healing and Reconciliation Through Education: Integrated Design and Curatorial Plan's* provision for a moveable exhibit to be created in the auditorium. This was highly desirable to the exhibition team as it is the only space within the former residential footprint that offers gallery-like conditions and is the most conducive to exhibitions. The caveat was the proscription of any content that could induce negative associations of place. Sherene Razack argues, “the production of space is also the production of excluded and included bodies” (10). Extending this to the production of embodied knowledge through the experience of space, I wonder how this proscription will affect the exhibition narrative of this soon to be developed zone (intended to explore Indigenous boarding schools worldwide, their impacts on Indigenous identities and culture, and movements of Indigenous rights, healing, and cultural resurgence through art and art-practice) and affect the embodied experiences that will be had therein. How indeed might the Terrible Gift be instantiated in such conditions?

Reiterating Razack’s argument that, “to denaturalize or unmap spaces...we begin by exploring space as a social product, uncovering how bodies are produced in space and how spaces produce bodies...[entailing] an interrogation of how subjects come to know themselves in and through space and within multiple systems of domination” (17), we begin our appraisal by considering how we might unmap the various spaces at our disposal for the exhibition. Unmapping, in this regard, involves the process of exposing and countering what space produces or regulates. For artists, curators, and designers,

remapping or reinscribing spaces can be achieved through techniques of juxtaposition, superimposition, and replacement. In fact, mapping—as a form of user needs analysis—was instrumental to the process of definitively determining the footprint of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project. To that end, the exhibition team was obligated to develop a provisional narrative arc, identify and visually storyboard themes, and map them onto physical sites in various spatial configurations. The original narrative arc proposed for the exhibition, which is still reflected in the integrated design and curatorial plan, contextualizes Shingwauk Hall (the existing building) within a larger narrative of contact, change, loss, and reclamation. Created to stimulate discussion among the various stakeholders, the narrative arc reorients the school history in relation to the larger history of the Anishinaabe. Its development was informed by discussion and interviews with representatives of the SRSC, SKG, and Algoma University in 2014. Zone 1, which has not been, nor will be implemented, mapped onto to the front grounds and created new trajectories toward the school, recontextualizing within Turtle Island geo-narratives formerly oriented to the school. Zone 1 is described in the following paragraphs to illustrate how the team attempted to reckon with the spatial tensions of the site.

Motivated to stimulate among visitors a sense of ‘empathetic unsettlement’, a response evoked in visitors to the Apartheid Museum as documented by Elizabeth Rankin and Leoni Schmidt (77, 79), David Lemelin and I conceived of a series of architectural superimpositions, which informed the 2015 plan. These were designed to signal the site’s condition of pre-possession. One example involved the construction of a canopy structure evoking the roofscape of a teaching lodge, comprised of radially-disposed saplings bent into the vaulted framing characteristic of teaching lodges constructed each year by Elders

and students of SKG, in the corridor leading toward the façade of the entrance to the vestibule, which we discovered by breaching the suspended ceiling, is gabled and clad in brick as if it had once been a standalone building, unconnected to the school (a configuration inconsistent with Orr’s architectural plans for the Shingwauk school). The canopy would allow us to both reclaim space and displace its colonial architecture, replacing it with an Indigenous architectural form (that could actually be fabricated by SKG) and to suggest an outdoor/indoor transition that would coincide with narratives on the propagation of the Indigenous boarding school model, propelling visitors through the parts of the narrative arc that deal with change and loss. The necessary presence of mechanical systems within the interstitial cavity between the ceiling and the second story floor, which the 2017 Algoma renovation could not mitigate, prohibited the sapling canopy from being implemented. Attempting to reintroduce this important element and working with SKG, Lemelin and I designed a partial teaching lodge structure into the design of the vestibule (Fig.23), which has yet to be implemented.

Another concept, this one reflecting direction from SKG, involved creating a series of eight 10-foot tall responsive exterior lanterns in the form of filigreed weathering (COR-TEN) steel cylinders (also functioning as repoussoirs), dotted along a path toward the main entrance of AU (Fig. 24). While the structures are designed to evoke the trunks of tall pines, the ‘lantern’ inset in each, a glass tube enclosing a gas fireplace-like mechanism set at eye height, is ignited when triggered by a concealed motion sensor. Each representing one of the 7 sacred fires (or 8, depending on how the Sacred Fires

Prophecy⁵¹ is interpreted), the structures also conceal audio components that, upon the lighting the fire/lantern, plays a recorded dialogue between an Anishinaabe Elder, who introduces the prophesy corresponding to the fire lit, and a school-aged Anishinaabe child, who reflects on how life in the time prophesied has changed for her and her community. Thus the ‘trees’ testify to Anishinaabe society and culture before European contact, encroachment, and settlement, and to experiences of colonization from the perspective of children, the latter generations of which, begin to attend residential school.

Heritage scholar Dennis Byrne suggests that Indigenous history is made less tangible through superimposition and eventual replacement by settlers’ tangible traces, whereupon settlers totalize their historical presence in the landscape (239). Unmapping (and remapping) allows a partial reversal of this process. Reconstructing and repeating the aesthetic language of traditional Indigenous teaching environments and asserting both a contemporary and historical Indigenous presence on the landscape in hybrid (natural/synthetic) form reclaims Indigenous space without historicizing, naturalizing, or otherwise freezing its presence in time. It also asserts Indigenous presence within important sightlines of the Shingwauk/Algoma Landscape. Memorial museum architect Julian Bonder cautions against ‘redemptive’ art as compensatory measure, warning us that “this kind of [redemptive] aesthetic asks us to consider art as a correction of life, that art may repair inherently damaged or valueless experience” (65). Instead, he suggests, “what artistic and architectural practices can do is establish a dialogical relation with those events [catastrophes of history] and help frame the process toward

⁵¹ See Benton-Banai, Edward, and Gary Burfield. *The Mishomis Book: The voice of the Ojibway*. St. Paul, MN: Red School House, 1988., for information on the Sacred Fires Prophecy. Benton-Banai, Grand Chief of the Three Fires Midewiwin Lodge, was the founding academic and spiritual advisor for SKG.

understanding...opening spaces for study, re-presentation, and dialogue” (Ibid). Clearly, with the theme of redemption already having been identified as a narrative hazard, whichever artistic/architectural elements were to move toward implementation (neither canopy nor ‘tree’ has been) would need to be designed not to resolve but to complicate. James E. Young (1992), suggests, “the counter-monument denaturalizes...an artificial distance between artist and public generated by the holy glorification of art... such a monument undermines its own authority by inviting and then incorporating the authority of passersby (179). An invitation to passersby is indeed what the proposed ‘tree’ structures sought to extend. In spite of this desire, how visitor participation, beyond simply triggering their performative operation, could be designed into these structures remains to be determined. As will be made clear in the discussion of the evidentiary landscape that follows this description of the context of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project, the program of Zone 1 is being reconsidered. As such, the ‘tree’ concept has wilted on the vine, a development that makes my proposed praxiological interventions possible. Before progressing to that discussion however, a few items pertaining to the exhibition context and what has actually been developed, remain.

With interior space within viewer sightlines at a premium, vertical space and architectural detail became the focus of new strategies of representation and performance. One design iteration, instigated by Jeff Thomas, framed narrative corridors with lenticular images of Anishinaabe dancers, intended to initiate a visual narrative recounting a history of cultural vibrancy, loss, and eventual revitalization and hybridization. Lenticular graphics, responsive audio, cinemagraphs and other technologies responsive to proximity and movement, reward viewer engagement. While

designed, in this instance, to simulate dancing, such a treatment obligates visitors to move, to themselves ‘dance’ to see the dance performed. Such technologies can also be used to subtly orient visitors on desired pathways through exhibition spaces, creating an immersive and responsive experiential visitor journey. Indeed, the CSAA’s desired outcome for the exhibition is for visitors to be transformed by their journey through the exhibition. Augmented reality, technology that superimposes digital content onto existing spaces or even objects, and which has the potential to make spatial and temporal connections—geo-narratives that create experiences of site structures in their former configurations, as ‘conceived’ and ‘lived’ by generations past, were also considered. Designing interruptions through layering of competing technologies, “disturbing palimpsests that subvert narrative sequencing” (Rankin and Schmidt 93) were also considered, and, in fact one such interruption was realized, albeit without the use of technology.

At a presentation by the exhibition team to the CSAA in the winter of 2017, at least two Survivors reacted to what they considered to be the design team’s ‘overly welcoming and beautiful design treatment’ for the front entrance, asserting that it would contradict their testimonies of the foreboding and dark place they traversed entering the school as children. Another Survivor told us that she and her fellow students were allowed to use the front door only once, upon entering the school for the first time, having been obligated from that point forward to use a side entrance. Our design for the entrance was conceived to both welcome visitors to the reclaimed space of the exhibition and institution and to signal the beginning of a journey. It welcomed visitors in Anishinaabemowin and English in copper lettering, and introduced them to the

Thunderbird (a sculptural work that was suspended from the ceiling and under which visitors would pass) created, borrowing the words of Rolland Nadjiwon⁵², to symbolize “ours⁵³ long hope to emerge from a dark past into a bright future of cultural and spiritual freedom for our people in the land that our grandfathers left us” (The Shingwauk Project 1992, 3). This treatment was intended to celebrate Anishinaabe cultural endurance in the face of mainstream Canadian cultural imperialism and to above all, invite visitors into the ‘transformative journey’ of the exhibition. The concerns of the two Survivors, who were in the minority in their response, led to an hour-long debate that pitted their desires to initiate the visitor experience of the exhibition with a micro-trauma (my words not theirs) against those who preferred the welcoming reclamative address of the exhibition entrance as designed. From a curatorial and design standpoint, this conflict created the opportunity to uncover a disturbing palimpsest, to enunciate the testamentary address of the entrance as the threshold to the place of incarceration the Survivors experienced as children, while simultaneously signaling its reclamation by those same Survivors. The addition of a new text panel, situated on the wall opposite the welcome text, allowed us to bring Survivors’ traumatic experiences of entering the school forward. Created as alternative introductory text, this narrative offered a different lens on the exhibition and met with the approval of the CSAA. This and other creative conflicts, which were challenging and at times contradicted and derailed previously approved curatorial and design trajectories, enriched the exhibition. Although the exhibition team was given little direction from the Survivors

⁵² Rolland Nadjiwon is an Anishinaabe (Potawatomi) poet, writer, and educator who directed the Keewatinung Institute, established by Survivors (including Dan Pine Sr.), and other Indigenous education activists shortly after the Shingwauk Indian Residential School closed in 1970 to advocate for it to “fulfil its traditional and legal mandate as a centre for Native education and cultural development” (The Shingwauk Project 1992, 26).

⁵³ Nadjiwon is here speaking for “all native tribes of North America” (Ibid).

at the outset of the project, indeed, it consisted of creating their ‘hall of fame’, the series of portraits of Survivors alongside their stories of resilience and healing that became the “We are all Children of Shingwauk” gallery, their responses to the various design iterations provided us with necessary guidance and revealed, in some cases, that they shared our concerns.

2.11 Thoughts on *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall at the Interstice*

The Shingwauk complex is undisputedly a site of trauma and healing. Overwhelmingly, the Survivors of CSAA have crafted a narrative of recovery and resilience. Yet the spectral presence of the past persists, its stories still untold and places unexplored. The task that befalls the team is to deliver the auditorium component of the exhibition in ways that best reflect stakeholder priorities and historical truths, while limiting the potential for visitors to form negative associations of place. The task that befalls me, that I have set for myself in this research, is to try to bring forward a proposal for Survivor consideration that addresses the many absences and silences that persist; one that bequeaths a Terrible Gift and initiates the mnemonic transaction I recognize as the goal of the transformative journey through exhibition desired by the Survivors driving it. Asked what Survivors want in relation to the museum, a question Australian curator Jay Arthur posed to community members involved in an exhibition on the Stolen Generations, I would suggest the answer would be the same: “to be believed...to have their story validated” (31). Creating validating (if thin) narratives, however, neither precludes public intervention, which Rankin and Schmidt suggest “can also impact the spatial performativity of the museum” (96), nor stabilizes narratives in unalterable

fashion. Moreover, once validation and cultural safety has been achieved, the work of critical reflection can begin.

It is important for those involved in the exhibition, myself included, to temper the desire to understand and represent trauma, or to give trauma a presence that undermines healing. As Cathy Caruth suggests, “for the witness to claim to know the experience is to betray the victim” (qtd. in Bonder 65). Allison Landsberg suggests, “the museum...raises questions about what it means to own or inhabit a memory of an event through which one did not live,” providing “a terrain on which to imagine the political utility of ‘prosthetic memories’” (129). Landsberg sees the convergence of ethics and politics as a utopian dream that nevertheless “might well serve as the ground on which to construct new political alliances, based not on blood, family or heredity but on collective social responsibility” (155), Simon’s ‘moral community’. While remaining respectful and mindful of the wishes of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project stakeholders (after all, it is their history and heritage), I remain anxious about the pedagogical implications of its selective representations, silences, and lack of critical self-reflexivity. Andreas Huyssen asks “whether forms of collective consensual memory are even still possible today” (2000, 22), a view that offers some relief from my apprehensions and anxieties.

Linking the preoccupation with memorial building with evasion of memory, James E. Young (1993), suggests, “...it may also be true that the surest engagement with memory lies in its perpetual irresolution” (21). Lamenting the limitations of artistic and architectural practice and the impossibility of representing traumatic experiences, Julian Bonder suggests that we can “sustain the dilemmas of representation, the necessity for more questions, and a resistance to closure” (65). An approach Bonder characterizes as

‘ethical deferral’ involving “inhabiting distance between act and remembrance, recollected worlds and worlds to be transformed” (67) suggests a means to stage a deferred return to the site of trauma, whereupon new meanings may be signified. This corresponds to McArthur’s notion of ‘fallow-time’ and implies that an ethics of deferral or fallowing, may in fact be an ethical strategy, one that, rather than forecloses, holds open the possibility of rapprochement. Drawing from Bernadette Lynch’s theorizations, Janet Marstine suggests reciprocity may be “an effective mode to nurture shared authority,” and asserts that unlike consensus, which Lynch characterizes as coercive, ‘creative conflict’ can better elicit equitable change (12). I conclude this discussion of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* context by characterizing my misgivings, minor contestations, and design liberties taken, as ways of contributing to creative conflict, ethically deployed to keep open the possibility of interventions to come.

Chapter 3: Terrible Gifts Architectural

The premise, “Only if what has been lost is visible again it can be wrested from oblivion” (Zeller et al. 19), taken from the “Preface” of the exhibition catalogue, *Synagogues in Germany: A Virtual Reconstruction*, orients this ambitious project of virtual building by German architecture students attempting to restore visibility to synagogues destroyed in the 1938 Reichspogromnacht (Kristallnacht). Initiated at Darmstadt University in 1994, the project was intended to contribute to the debate about how to adequately represent the past, and, turning away from approaches that represent destruction and loss, “...chose visualization as a more comprehensible language of admonishment, a language also more vulnerable to misunderstandings” (Ibid). This project, which was supported by the Central Council of Jews in Germany, stimulated similar student contributions from architecture schools across Germany and resulted in the virtual reconstruction of numerous synagogues (Fig. 25) and, later, in a multi-media exhibit centered on 16 synagogues in 14 cities (Ibid).

Brought to Winnipeg by the University of Manitoba (UM), the Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre, and the German government, it was shown at Mennonite Heritage Centre Gallery in the winter of 2017, in tandem with the “Cultural Genocide in Comparative Perspective: Indigenous Studies and the Holocaust” symposium co-hosted by UM and the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), in which I was a participant. First presenting "To Exorcise or Manifest? Aspirations of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*, a museal project on the site of the Shingwauk Indian Residential School," an exploratory discussion of potential museal interventions to ‘manifest’ lost environments of the former industrial and residential school, and next

touring the *Synagogues* exhibition, I found in the exhibit a model for what I was then trying to conceive, albeit with some marked differences. Similar to Christi Belcourt's *Walking with Our Sisters (WWOS)*, which sought to visualize loss, and thus to wrest the memory of those lost from oblivion, the *Synagogues* project offered a *generative* model upon which the architecture of loss could be interpreted.

With these examples in mind, I consider the performative and generative qualities of Terrible Gifts Architectural—the material and spectral remains of architecture extant and lost—how their language can be articulated and translated as testament, but also how their gifting in exhibition may, similar to *Synagogues* and *WWOS*, recur and multiply by way of inheritor response and reciprocation. “Terrible Gifts” in this context refers both to evidence as trace, the substance of knowledge by which we can interpret the past, and, to evidence as gift-in-exchange, a potentiality already realized in the moment of the gift's appearing. That is to say, as stated in Chapter 1, the gift is always already constituting itself. Gifts architectural not yet in assemblage can be understood, thus, as *implicit* gifts, whereas configured within Simon's pedagogy of the Terrible Gift, they are gifted in an *explicit* ritual of gift exchange. While this chapter begins with a prefatory discussion complicating the delineations between disciplines that differently constitute matters or concerns architectural, it progresses to a discussion of what Terrible Gifts the architecture of Indian residential schools, and the Shingwauk schools in particular, might bestow and how they can be gifted in exhibition. It proceeds through a comparative analysis of reclamation and musealization of the *extant* built fabric of two ideological and architectural precursors to industrial and residential schools, the Irish Workhouse Centre

(Portumna, Ireland) and The Workhouse (Southwell, UK),⁵⁴ and subsequently moves to a discussion of strategies, for example those deployed by the *Embodying Empathy* project, to restore the testamentary address of lost buildings and environments and their *spectral* remains. Next, I discuss Augmented and Virtual Reality (AR and VR) strategies of historical interpretation, and the creation of Virtual Environments (VEs) as alternative sites of musealization, analyzing the mnemonic efficacies of these visualization technologies and the inauthentic representations they create. Drawing on the strategies and technologies discussed, I conclude this chapter with a proposal to enable the Shingwauk site to bequeath its Terrible Gifts Architectural, built fabric both extant and lost/spectral, to visiting publics.

3.1 Disentangling Architecture and Archaeology

While delineated as distinct forms of evidence of the built environment for the purposes of this discussion, separating Terrible Gifts Architectural and Terrible Gifts Archaeological (corresponding to the discussion of built remains above ground and below respectively) is somewhat disingenuous. Building archaeologist Charlotte Newman's (2013) article on the impact of the architecture of the Madeley Union Workhouse on pauper experience and Magdalena Miłosz's (2015) architectural thesis on four Indian residential schools in Canada both combine architectural and archaeological site-based investigation. Newman calls for "a greater representation of the marginalized, including the institutionalized, in the archaeological record," in England, where, "the material culture of workhouses remains underrepresented in the academic context" (360),

⁵⁴ Excerpts from Cooper-Bolam, Trina. "[Workhouses and residential schools: From institutional models to museums.](#)" *Modern Cartography Series*. Vol. 8. Academic Press, 2020. 143-166., are reprinted in this chapter as per the terms and conditions of Elsevier license #4775420097583.

while Miłosz probes the role of architecture in difficult and genocidal histories,”
“contributing to the telling of stories that contemporary Canadian society needs to hear”
(v). Both Newman’s investigation of the Madeley Union Workhouse and Miłosz’ of the
Shingwauk Home (Indian Industrial School) focused on built structures constructed in
same historical period, the early 1870s can be situated in the field of Building
Archaeology, an area of archaeological specialization that is practiced as a form of
historio-architectural inquiry through investigation and documentation of built fabric.⁵⁵
Manfred Schuller notes, “the Venice Charter from 1964 emphasizes the important role of
buildings...as living witnesses of the past for all mankind and calls for study and
preservation of this heritage” (2002, 38), and considers building archaeology the most
appropriate tool with which to accomplish this task. Conversely, Frank Matero (2008),
who writing on behalf of the Archaeological Institute of America, posited that “the
practices of archaeology and conservation appear *by their very nature*⁵⁶ to be
oppositional,” and that “in the revealing of a site, structure, or object, excavation is not a
benign reversal of site formational processes but rather a traumatic invasion of a site’s
physico-chemical equilibrium” (2) suggests, assuming archaeology can be defined
through archaeological practice as do Clarke (1973, 6) and Shanks (2012, 41), that it is a
necessarily *invasive* and even *destructive* discipline. Yet Newman’s analysis, intended to
contribute to England’s national archaeological record, at least in its methods and use of
source material, is not only non-invasive, but little distinguishable from the architectural
analysis of Miłosz and the forensic analysis of Robert Jan Van Pelt. Rather, hers is a

⁵⁵ See Schuller, Manfred. "Building archaeology." *Monuments and Sites* 7 (2002)., for a discussion of the history and practice of Building Archaeology.

⁵⁶ Emphasis mine.

discussion of extant buildings and landscape and the ways in which they conditioned experience differently than intended by the policymakers who motivated their construction.

In Robert Jan Van Pelt, an architectural historian with degrees in art history, archaeology, architectural history, and the history of ideas, these and adjacent fields of historical inquiry and recovery come together. He is perhaps best known for his role as an expert witness for the defence in *David Irving v Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt*. In the historic 2000 United Kingdom defamation trial, defendant historian Deborah Lipstadt was required to prove that she had not libeled historian David Irving in her 1993 book, *Denying the Holocaust*, in which she asserted he had deliberately falsified or misrepresented evidence and was in effect a Holocaust denier. Employing a justification defence, the defendants were required to prove that Lipstadt's 'defamatory' claims were true, including that Irving "has alleged that it is a Jewish deception that gas chambers were used by the Nazis at Auschwitz as a means of carrying out such extermination" ("Irving V. Penguin Books LTD, Deborah E. Lipstadt"). It fell to Van Pelt to demonstrate that the available evidence on Auschwitz supports the finding that it had been a "factory of death," (Van Pelt 2002, 432) and that the forensic analysis upon which Irving's denial was based was not credible. Invited by Alejandro Aravena, Artistic Director of the 2016 Venice Biennale to create an exhibition of the assemblage of evidence presented at the 2000 trial, Van Pelt, together with co-curators and designers Sascha Hastings, Anne Bordeleau, and Donald McKay, created *The Evidence Room* (Bordeleau et al. 2016), an

exhibition of ‘the greatest crime ever committed by architects’.⁵⁷ *The Evidence Room* provides a powerful example of how the testamentary address of ‘terrible gifts architectural’, evidence that cannot speak for itself, can through articulation and translation (a confluence of architectural forensics and museological interpretation) be rendered intelligible to exhibition audiences (Fig. 26).

The application of forensics to architecture and architecture to forensics, as explained by Eyal Weizman⁵⁸ (2017) gave rise to the investigative practice of *forensic architecture*, which refers to both “the production of architectural evidence and to its presentation in juridical and political forums” (9-11). Forensic architecture and *archaeology of the contemporary past*, both early 21st century developments in their respective fields, have expanded the domains of both disciplines. Recently, as part of the process of gathering evidence to inform the development of the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery, designed to present the materiality of the various iterations of Shingwauk schools and the objects that children interacted with in their daily lives, historian and archivist

⁵⁷ This quote, attributed to Van Pelt, has been used exhaustively in media coverage on the exhibition and was presumably first used in a media release or in other promotional material. It neither appears in *The case for Auschwitz: evidence from the Irving trial*, nor *The Evidence Room* exhibition catalogue.

⁵⁸ Eyal Weizman, founding director of the research agency Forensic Architecture at Goldsmiths, University of London, and author of *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability*, initiates a discussion of the practice of forensic architecture in *Forensic Architecture* with an account of Jan Van Pelt’s testimony at the Irving V. Penguin books Ltd, Lipstadt trial. *Forensic Architecture* describes an expanded investigative repertoire with which forensic architectural investigation may be applied in the present, drawing on media (including CCTV footage and smartphone photos), evidence, techniques, and technologies not available to Van Pelt in his investigation of Auschwitz. Thus, while *Forensic Architecture* articulates a promising repertoire that can be applied to the investigation of violence in the present, investigation of the past is necessarily confined to the media produced during the time of its occurrence and to existing and emerging techniques and technologies, for example architectural modelling and LiDAR (discussed in Chapter 4), with which the enduring traces of the past may be detected. As explored in Chapter 4, archaeologist Caroline Sturdy-Colls describes in *Holocaust Archaeologies*, desk-based and fieldwork (groundproofing) techniques similar to those employed by Weizman and his team. These works demonstrate the entanglement of their related practices and the fields (archaeology, building archaeology, forensic architecture) from which they arise. Compare Weizman, Eyal. *Forensic architecture: Violence at the threshold of detectability*. MIT Press, 2017., and Colls, Caroline Sturdy. *Holocaust Archaeologies: Approaches and future directions*. Springer, 2015., to see how their practices map onto one another.

Krista McCracken and I found a photo of the kitchen of the 1935 building (Fig. 27). It was not one of the photos used in SRSC presentations and likely had not been seen in years. Moreover, the physical space of the kitchen had long since been repurposed and integrated into Algoma University's administrative block. Excited and perhaps sobered by our discovery, McCracken and I speculated about the recovered memories and new lines of inquiry this one photo might trigger at an upcoming exhibition consultation workshop with Survivors. The photo proved extremely generative at the workshop, which was held in August 2017, and prompted the Survivors to share forgotten memories and stories of food preparation, hunger, theft, and the gulf between the quantity and quality of food prepared for staff and that fed to the children. Survivors seized on the image of a gravy boat, barely discernable in the photograph, recounting that it never would have appeared on their table (gravy never being offered, as it was reserved for the staff).

In "Archaeologies of Emergent Presents and Futures," archaeologist Rodney Harrison (2016) reviews recent constructions of 'archaeology', some finding definition through subjects, others through methods, and yet others, intents. For Harrison and others (Olivier 2004, 2008; Shanks 2012), "archaeology constitutes a material and discursive intervention in the present," encompassing historical *and* contemporary archaeology. Although his are compelling arguments, particularly with respect to archaeology of the contemporary past and of emergent presents *and* futures, which motivate much of the present investigation, little mention is made of archaeological methods. One wonders where the minimal threshold for material intervention is found? A layered and perhaps threefold argument appears to be at play in Harrison's thought-provoking article: 1) that multisource investigative techniques, those accessing documentary, oral historical,

photographic, artefactual and architectural source materials together with archaeological evidence are gaining ground in contemporary archaeological practice and are, as such, reconstituting its remit, 2) that heterogeneous domains of practice are creating world-making future-assembling capacities – a phenomenon warranting further investigation and driving the Heritage Futures project, and 3) that material intervention and excavation are distinctly archaeological methodologies and capacities.⁵⁹

In discussing the University of Southampton ‘Van Project’ as an example of contemporary archaeology, the method of excavation is referenced, which in this case involved the disassembly of the van and the study of its component parts and associated ‘artifacts’. Excavation, in the literal sense, was not required and did not occur. Harrison and Schofield explain that indeed, “no technique defines archaeology as a professional practice as much as excavation” (2010, 70). If excavation is a metaphor for other processes, what must these processes do and what result must they achieve? Can unearthing a physical archive be excavation? What of a digital archive? Was unearthing the photograph of the Shingwauk Hall kitchen a form of excavation, or was excavation at play when the Survivors examining it discovered the gravy boat, which no one prior had remarked upon?

Speaking of anthropological fieldwork, Harrison exhorts, “our bodies remain important instruments with the field by way of instruments in our field practice, as do the mediations of our engagements with the field by way of the instruments – still and moving film cameras, sound recorders, tape measures, drawing tools, trowel, laptop,

⁵⁹ A fourth, Baradian thread, is the material-discursive production of world-making/future assembling and future-in-becoming, in which the practice of archaeology, and heritage generally, is implicated.

tablet, paper and pen—we use to observe and, hence, intervene with it” (173). Such instruments and their uses would suggest that observation and witnessing form part of the fieldwork repertoire, yet in situating this list in a section on ‘archaeological ethnography’, “a series of materially focused [critically-reflexive] ethnographic engagements with a distributed network of both humans and other-than human (agentive objects, places, practices, animals) in the ‘now’” (173), Harrison is describing a practice already familiar in Canada in Community Archaeology. In the Canadian context, when such ethnographic engagements concern built fabric, they most often become subjects of *architectural* inquiry. Separating the van’s contents from the van, or the gravy boat from the kitchen, or even to see the van and kitchen as so distinct from one another in terms of typology as to merit separate methods of inquiry hailing from distinct disciplines, while artificial, allows the specific kinds of testimony offered by architecture and archaeology to come forward. As such, this chapter considers, as gifts architectural, built fabric and its loss, while the next concerns gifts archaeological hailing us from the subterranean.⁶⁰ The particular questions this chapter seeks to answer are: What stories does architecture (of Indian residential schools) uniquely tell? What are its gifts? To what does the architecture of the Shingwauk schools testify, and how do its buildings extant and demolished testify differently, requiring distinct means of articulation and translation?

3.2 What can former Indian residential school buildings tell us?

⁶⁰ I acknowledge the absurdity of decontextualizing built fabric from its subterranean foundations and its larger physical environment, and recognize the implicatedness of disciplines and practices of architecture *and* archaeology in the investigation and intervention of both surface and subsurface fabric. That being said, the separation of architectural and archaeological evidence into two chapters serves a structural purpose. It allows tangible and virtual interventions and experiences of the architectural environment to be discussed as a form of experiential envelope, which the ensuing discussion of archaeological subjects, such as artefactual objects and human remains, and the technologies of their detection, excavation, and analysis, shows us how we can understand lives lived and lost in these environments.

Magdalena Miłosz (2015) argues, “as a spatial tool, architecture collapsed the gap between ideology and practice, and through its materiality was used by both religious and secular forces in an attempt to restructure the consciousness of Indigenous peoples” (2). Miłosz further argues that the structure of the 1945 Shingwauk Hall, since integrated into the larger complex of Algoma University, an expansion characterized by similarly evoked architectural forms, has lost its original mnemonic potency through “its tiresome duplication...[which has reduced] it to a meaningless aesthetic gesture” (Ibid).

Complicating issues of identity and representation is the issue of land. Indeed, the AU campus is superimposed onto a parcel set out in the Shingwauk Education Trust (SET). Deeded in the early 19th century to the Anglican Church of Canada and later bequeathed to Garden River First Nation, the parcel was acquired to establish Shingwauk Home, a school for Indigenous education, the traces of which are concealed by the built landscape in its present form. An uneasy alliance between SET and AU makes the lands available for its current co-occupation by the University and SKG. And of course, there are skeletons in the closet. The history of acquisition, transfer, appropriation, attempted sale, litigation, and settlement of the parcel is one AU may be reluctant to reveal, despite the positive impact the renegotiation of the Shingwauk Education Trust Deed made, which was to make SKG possible. SKG in turn, has initiated a project to construct its own interpretation centre on the site where two of the Shingwauk industrial school outbuildings once stood. Yet, as Magdalena Miłosz reminds us, this place is also home: “One survivor who spoke at the Shingwauk Gathering and Conference in 2013 referred to Shingwauk Hall as being her home, citing the many years she had spent there as a child, [further noting], even in this we can sense that Shingwauk is not a single space but a

series of evolving spaces, a childhood home, a university, a historical site, a site of trauma, a place of latent reconciliation, forgetting, or movement” (219). In a recent consultation with CSAA, several Survivors emphasized the relationship between the site, the schools in their various iterations, and their own family genealogies encompassing ancestors *and* descendants - some current students, who similarly lay claim to this land - having been or being ‘children of Shingwauk’.

From a Canada-wide perspective, many things may be learned from the architecture of second generation Indian residential schools. The Indian residential school system was not only an education program, it was also one of the most ambitious building programs of its day. The built environment of the residential school system may be viewed in four roughly sequential phases beginning with the transition from day schools (one-room schools mostly on reserve) to ‘Indian Homes’, including the expansion of these homes into industrial compounds or complexes. A second phase, evidenced through identifiable second-generation schools mostly designed by Orr, witnessed the massive building program and shifted focus of education that followed restructuring of agreements between the federal government and churches under Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1913-32. A next phase occurred when Indian Affairs began to integrate Indigenous students into mainstream schools continuing to use some of the residential schools as residences or ‘homes’. The transition into the fourth phase occurred when the schools closed and comprises the current state and uses of the schools. This categorization is a simplification that is useful for looking at the major changes in the architectures and uses of the schools over time, but is not adequate as a means of examining school development. Although phases 1 and

2 correspond to what architectural historians consider first and second-generation schools (Milloy, Miłosz, Carr), school building did not follow this progression in all places. Some schools were established quite late and did not conform to Indian Affairs' building program. In some provinces, like Quebec, mission schools were established well before any others, and in others, residential schooling came in the form of a second-generation school from the onset. That being said, I find the four phases useful for delineating the architectural shifts reflective of the major changes in Indian Affairs' approaches to Indigenous schooling (among other things) over time.

According to Geoffrey Carr (2009), "the residential school can be seen as one of a number of architectural and land-use instruments meant to extend the civilizing process through isolation and individuation" (117). While one-room school houses typical of the earliest phase were populated by children of mixed age and both genders, the interior layout of the industrial and residential school buildings separated children from each other primarily by gender – the schools typically featured opposing girls' and boys' wings, in which children were also separated by age. This arrangement estranged siblings and severed family ties. Older siblings and other relatives – cousins and even aunts and uncles, could not carry out their familial duties to care for and protect their younger family members. Rather daily life was regimented and surveyed by school authorities. Carr argues that the separation of children effected by the architecture of the schools was a first step in their inculcation into a European-based economic system and work-ethic.

He asserts:

...the architectural layout of these institutions actively displaced an economic philosophy based on presumptions of spiritual interconnectedness, superabundance, practices of prodigality, and communal ownership with a modern European model of private property, wage labour, and economic

production and consumption. In place of plenty, this economy has at its core the notion of limited resources, scarcity, and the abhorrence of waste – a model of productive rationality, wherein the subject becomes useful inasmuch as he or she fulfills a calculus of utility in the production of profit for another. (Carr 2009, 124)

The second-generation schools to which Carr refers were based on a common model and included features one might not have expected of a school, such as planned cemeteries, ‘Indian’ visiting parlours architecturally contrived to obstruct parents’ view, which he contrasts with their dormitory monitor rooms, small chambers, occupied by religious or lay staff for the purposes of surveying student dorms “...to ensure obedience and safety.... [and which] also served as covert sites for pedophiles, as they were either near or in dormitories and often fitted with doors and curtained windows” (121). Carr argues that while comparable modern boarding school buildings also provided for dorm supervision through their design, their approaches were less proximate and panoptical. Using comparative architectural topologies, he argues the Indian residential schools *do not* take their place within the genealogical continuity of modern school buildings; rather they were designed to further survey and control the movements of students and to the degree to which they had access, their parents.

3.3 The Shingwauk Schools

What made the architectural vignettes of the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery necessary was the absence of built fabric of the early generations of Shingwauk schools. Our collective understanding of experiences of residential schools is largely mediated by the experiences of the Survivors collected and refracted through media and publications generated by or as a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Although oral testimony projects predate the TRC, most notably the AHF and LHF “Our Stories...Our

Strength” project, in which video testimonies of over 500 Survivors were recorded, their scale is far overshadowed by the TRC statement gathering ‘collection’. And while a limited number of stories were gathered as far back as 1991, when the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples begin its inquiry, they represent the experiences of Survivors who attended the schools in the 20th century, not before. In the context of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*, in making decisions on the exhibition, including those on representations of earlier generations of students and their experiences, living Survivors are acting not only as advocates but as proxies. That is to say that their own experiences of residential school are mediating their interpretation of those of their predecessors. Moreover, as the Shingwauk Home expanded, transitioning into Shingwauk Hall, and as residential school became mandatory for all First Nations children, the schools drew from increasingly distant communities. Children from Garden River First Nation, for whom the first school was built, were diverted to Spanish Indian Residential School. As a consequence, generations of the same family did not all attend the same school and stories of experiences from the 19th century schools were not transmitted through the generations. Another reason few stories from the 19th century exist is that many former students did not share their experiences of residential schooling. Indeed, many of the Survivors who shared their stories with the AHF/LHF “Our Stories...Our Strength” project interviewers did so for the first time, and only later did some share these same stories with their own family members.

Living Survivors cannot fully know the lives of their predecessors, nor can they be expected to channel them through the lens of their own experience. That is not to deny the incredible insight they provide, but to alleviate them of the burden of having to speak

for those whose experience they cannot know. Were the built fabric of the vast industrial and farming complex that made up the late 19th century and early 20th Shingwauk Home still standing (Fig. 28), or the objects used in daily life present, lives lived in that period would be more accessible, and the differences between their lives and those of later generations of students more apparent. The SRSC archive, for example, tells us that the children who attended the Shingwauk Home did not come under compulsion of law, that they undertook apprenticeships for which they were paid, and that, later as parents, many sent their own children to the school. We also know that many left as skilled tradesmen, while a few others pursued higher education, two becoming residential school principals. These characteristics alone distinguish industrial school students from their more recent counterparts whose daily lives and educational prospects were vastly different.

3.4 Musealizing Gifts Architectural – A Comparative Discussion

In addition to stakeholder engagement, the task of transforming Shingwauk Hall into a museum (of sorts) required comparative research on similarly transformed/transforming sites, particularly in the post-rupture context. I wondered if institutions that were once models for Indian residential schools and since musealized could become models for the musealization of those schools? That industrial schools were educational models for Canada's Indian residential school system is well documented. Their common provenance in the workhouse, however, is less so. Pursuing this line of investigation, in the spring of 2018, I traced the lineage of constructions of, and provisions for, 'children at risk' from workhouses, through industrial schools, to residential schools, and identified and visited two musealized workhouse sites, the Irish Workhouse Centre in Portumna, East Galway, Ireland, and The Workhouse (National

Trust site) in Southwell, Nottinghamshire, UK. In this chapter I argue that workhouses are architectural, social and cultural precursors to Indian residential schools. Workhouses as musealized sites can inform the emerging musealization of former Indian residential schools, and in particular the Shingwauk Indian Residential School, which has been undergoing a museal transformation. In studying the synergies between these projects, I have sought both to better understand how Terrible Gifts Architectural can be rendered intelligible to site visitors and to better understand the more distant aspects of the provenance of Indian residential schooling in Canada.

Recalling the discussion of critical events and rupture in the introduction, I suggest that the words *rupture* and *event* often fail to describe phenomena as remembered/constructed over time. A critical event causing a rupture is perhaps as often a conclusion of a slow and oscillating progression of historical transmission, re-evaluation and conscientization as it is of immediate and widespread condemnation. However recognized, critical events lay the foundation for the construction of a post-rupture society, one founded on a new identity and moral platform. Of the Great Famine, arguably Ireland's critical event, N.G. Ravichandra opined 'modern historians regard it as a dividing line in the Irish historical narrative, referring to the preceding period of Irish history as "pre-Famine"' (2013, 16). This assessment of Irish historiography, albeit from the unlikely source of a study of plant pathology (Ibid), has become ubiquitous among public information websites such as Wikipedia ("Legacy of The Great Irish Famine"), testifying to public perceptions of the Famine having caused a fundamental rupture in Irish history. As the centenary of the famine approached, historian Cormac Ó Gráda (1992) recounted that the Taoiseach, and in particular Éamon de Valera, encouraged and

funded historical research, reviving and deploying famine memory within a nationalist regime of Irish folkloric historicization. A period of revisionist and post-revisionist—if sparse—history-making, well chronicled in Gillissen’s 2014 historiography, followed by the sesquicentenary of the Famine in 1995, which ‘resulted in an outpouring of books on the subject’, (Gillissen, 2014, 208; Tóibín and Ferriter, 1999) has stimulated official commemorations ‘reflecting growing public interest in the Famine in recent years’ (212). Against this backdrop, workhouse memory ebbs, a situation complicated and exacerbated by social ambivalence and intergenerational trauma.

Histories of Irish workhouses often layer onto those of the Famine, sometimes strengthening nationalistic arguments of British culpability for deaths seen as coincident with but not caused by the potato blight (Mitchel, 1876; O’Hegarty, 1952; Coogan, 2012). However, as a last respite of the poor, workhouses conversely stand as evidence of social welfare and caretaking by British authorities. Sustained social ambivalence dilutes collective mnemonic potency, such that intentional forgetting renders memories fallow. Correspondingly, collective amnesia or forgetting, refusals of an event’s occurrence or importance, obstruct museological inquiry. Yet, historical reevaluation and attempts at synthesis remain a latent force, and together with museological methods of inquiry, are poised to intercept returns of the repressed. I argue here, as I have in the introduction, that the remit of post-rupture museological repertoire is ‘difficult history’ or ‘difficult knowledge’, whether vividly remembered and historicized or in uncanny, ambivalent and latent form.

For the purposes of discussing the reconciliatory potential of the workhouse sites, I will examine three vectors of musealization: site intervention and use, interpretation,

and animation and programming. The nature of this research is exploratory, and this discussion is confined to the outputs of participatory observation research I conducted during site visits in April 2018. The objective of my field research at workhouse museums was to determine what can be learned from them that may be applied to the Shingwauk context and, more broadly, to post-rupture museology. This involves assessing to what degree these musealized sites admit of or identify with difficult pasts, and how they contribute to or foster reconciliation.

3.5 Workhouses and Industrial Schools in the United Kingdom and Ireland

In Britain, the provision of poor relief became a responsibility of the state with the dissolution of the monasteries from 1536. Poor law legislation (the ‘Old Poor Laws’) transferred this responsibility to parishes, which provided relief from parish taxes. Despite the ‘workhouse test’, which threatened the ‘able-bodied poor’ with the prospect of houses of correction, they were, in actuality, provided the means to subsist in their own homes (provided with out-relief) between periods of employment. By the 1800s, the increase in pauperism had virtually overwhelmed existing relief systems, necessitating the shift to more economical ‘indoor relief’ and the spectre of houses of correction became material. Following the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, the design and construction of union workhouses began in earnest (Higginbotham, 2012, 27). Architects set their skills to designing structures that would effectively segregate the various classes of inmates while facilitating the overseer’s panoptical scrutiny. I suggest the design of Indian residential schools found its genesis in this architecture.

An 1839 Report of the Poor Law Commissioners reveals that “the style of building [was] intended to be of the cheapest description compatible with durability”

(O'Connor, 1995, 80). Places of extreme austerity and punishing accommodation, the workhouses were intended as a last respite of the poor, places of discomfort to be avoided at all costs. Indeed, a condition of admittance required entire families to enter the workhouse together, whereupon their members were classified and separated into distinct wards.

The miserable inmates of union workhouses... were huddled together three tiers of beds in a room's height, like the scanty provision made in emigrant ships for those classes of men whose poverty alone brands them to a fate little preferable to the worst features of slavery T.D. Barry, specialist in the 'superintendence and designing of workhouses', speaking to the Liverpool Architectural and Architectural Society in 1851, quoted in Wildman, 1974.

According to popular historian John O' Connor, "one tragic aspect of this separation was that during the famine times [in Ireland], parents often did not know that their children had died, husbands their wives, mothers their sons, daughters their fathers" (85). In the workhouse, able-bodied men and women were put to work rock breaking, oakum picking or maintaining the compound and gardens. Some unions had supplementary industries such as shoemaking, which could be learned by resident children. In most workhouses, children were given a rudimentary education, which soon was criticized as ill preparation for the life of industry they were expected to live upon reaching adulthood at 15 years of age.

Calls for the establishment of 'pauper schools' for the training of workhouse children came quickly on the heels of the institution of workhouses. Writing in 1838, Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner James Phillips Kay argued, "it is difficult to perceive how the dependence of the orphan, bastard, and deserted children, and the children of idiots, helpless cripples, and of widows relieved in the Union workhouses, could cease, if

no exertion were made to prepare them to earn their livelihood by skilled labour” (16). With the separation of children from their parents, Kay observed that skills typically taught in the home remained unlearned in the workhouse, citing the example of ““the child of a labourer reared beneath its parent’s roof [who is] early trained to labour [.] initiated in the duties of husbandry [.] ploughing, harrowing, thrashing, milking, and the charge of horses”” (16).

Rather than being an argument for a reversion to out relief, however, and after a series of comparative cost projections, Kay proposed a solution in ‘County Schools of Industry’, residential schools intended to put children to work, “not to make a profit of their labour, but to accustom them to patient application to such appropriate work as will be most likely to fit them for the discharge of their duties of that station they will probably fill in after-life” (24). Of note, Kay urged that “children should not be taught to consider themselves paupers,” and that contact with “adult paupers maintained in workhouses [including their own parents] from whose society the children could acquire nothing but evil” should be avoided (22).⁶¹ Lauding the success of the “adoption of a similar system of industrial training to reclaim juvenile offenders” by the Children’s Friend Society, Kay warns that without such instruction, “the education of the pauper

⁶¹ This belief is reflected in the following assessment by former poor law guardian and workhouse critic Susanne Day published in *The Irish Review* in 1912, who asks: “For what, after all is a Workhouse? Not merely the dumping ground for the waste human material of our cities and towns, but, as a competent authority has put it, “a home for imbeciles, a lying-in hospital for dissolute women, a winter resort for the casual labourer or summer beggar, a lodging-house for the tramps and vagrants, as well as a hospital for the sick. Within its four walls everything that is or has been of evil may be found in its symptoms or its effects, embodied in men and women whose souls are seared with the brand of vice, and whose standard of life is sometimes scarcely that of a brute. And there, too, are the children, daily exposed to the sights and sounds which cannot but have a deteriorating effect, and learning to look upon the Workhouse as a home to which in times of stress and struggle they will return in later life as surely as the homing pigeon returns to its loft (Day 1912, 170)

children can afford no effectual guarantee for their future independent subsistence by the wages of industry” (26).

3.6 Toward Industrial Schooling

Industrial Schools Acts were enacted in England (1857), Ireland (1868) and Ontario, Canada (1874). J. Walker and A. Glasner establish the English origins of Canadian ‘training schools’, where “it was discovered at an early stage in the history of the reformatory movement [that] there was an urgent need to do something for the numerous street urchins who gathered in the lanes and alleys of the large cities and who, if not cared for, would sooner or later join the ranks of criminal offenders” (1964, 344). Uncovering historical attitudes that reflect little regard for impoverished and institutionalized children, Kate Kenny reveals “‘as far back as the 1920s, government reports show that senior ministers, including one future Taoiseach (prime minister), refer [to them as] no great acquisition to the community [as persons whose] ‘highest aim is to live at the expense of taxpayers’, and from whom Ireland would experience a ‘decided gain if they all took it into their heads to emigrate’” (2016, 948). Kenny compellingly constructs these children as ‘abject-boundary’, an excluded, distasteful ‘other’, enabling and even legitimizing the perpetuation of violence against them (2016, 939).

Their ‘at-risk’ status legitimized a system that was later found to have victimized them. Indeed, “although ostensibly set up to care for children [w]e now know that many [Industrial Schools] were violent and neglectful institutions, with excessive beatings and sexual abuse commonplace” (Kenny, 2016, 939). The road to Indian Residential Schools, which have been characterized in a like manner, is often thought to have been exclusively paved by way of Indian industrial schools in the United States, with specific reference to

the influence of Captain Richard Pratt, who founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879. Discussing Canada's imperial inheritance, Milloy (1999) situates Indian residential schools within a late-Victorian empire-wide endeavor of social reform, one of "heroic proportions and divine ordination," metamorphosing the various tribes of 'savages' of the British realm into civilized subjects (6). Indeed, Milloy highlights the nationalistic rhetoric of Confederation-era Canada, wherein Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, 'dreamed of discharging his benevolent duty', fulfilling a 'sacred trust' and 'national duty' to redeem and emancipate Indigenous Peoples, such that they become productive, peaceable and self-sustaining citizens, rather than 'dependants' on government funds (1999, p. 6e7). Of course, this construal of Indigenous Peoples is a profound misinterpretation on the part of the government of its nation-to-nation treaty obligations, negotiated by First Nations to secure a portion of revenues from the transfer of land and natural resources extracted therein. As I argue, the Indian residential school system was equally a project of 1) early intervention, designed to neutralize the threat of 'Indian insurrection' and criminality (Pyne and Thomas 2019) and 2) poor relief.

3.7 Workhouse Sites Musealized

Despite the finding of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (Ryan Commission)⁶² that widespread abuse had occurred within the Catholic Church-operated,

⁶² According to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse website, "The Commission was established on 23 May, 2000, pursuant to the 'Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000' and given three primary functions: to hear evidence of abuse from persons who allege they suffered abuse in childhood, in institutions, during the period from 1940 or earlier, to the present day; to conduct an inquiry into abuse of children in institutions during that period and, where satisfied that abuse occurred, to determine the causes, nature, circumstances and extent of such abuse; and to prepare and publish reports on the results of the inquiry and on its recommendations in relation to dealing with the effects of such abuse" ("About the Commission"). See the website for the findings of the Commission.

government-funded system of residential ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools’, its recommendations did not include provisions related to redress via historical representation, museums and former institutional sites. In the absence of such impetus for reclamation and remediation of former industrial school sites through musealization, and given the trajectory of pauper children from workhouse to industrial school, the logic of studying musealized workhouse sites became apparent. The study of the Irish Workhouse Centre (Portumna, Ireland) and The Workhouse (Southwell, UK) allowed the following questions to be asked:

1. What factors motivated the musealization of these institutions?
2. How and to what degree do they identify as sites of trauma?
3. How do they function as expository spaces; what do they make visible?
4. What techniques of articulation and translation do they employ?
5. Was functional coherence maintained or realized in the rehabilitation of these buildings? Phrased differently, do they currently perform social functions consistent with their original program?

The Irish Workhouse Centre in particular was investigated to determine how and to what degree the site explicitly or implicitly reflected or embodied a need to reckon both with the trauma workhouse sites introduced into the 19th-century Irish landscape, and the role these sites played in laying a foundation for the compounded trauma of Irish industrial schools. Recognizing the legacy of British colonization of Ireland, the study of the Portumna site allowed more specific comparison with the Shingwauk site, from which the following questions emerged:

1. To what degree were healing and reconciliation factors in the musealization and program of the Irish Workhouse Centre and to whom were they targeted?
2. Was decolonization a motive for the restoration of the Portumna workhouse and creation of Irish Workhouse Centre? If so, how is this reflected in its programming?

My fieldwork, conducted in April 2018, structured through investigations of the site's approaches and strategies with respect to site intervention and use, interpretation, and animation and programming, could not have and indeed did not furnish answers to all of the above questions. Nevertheless, these places offered important insights toward a post-rupture museology, which are discussed below.

3.7.1 Portumna

The former Portumna workhouse lay derelict, covered in ivy for decades, and had effectively disappeared in plain site within the verdant Portumna landscape (Fig. 29). In 1999, South East Galway Integrated Rural Development (IRD) Company, a local not-for-profit, approached the Western Health Board, then owners of the complex, with a proposal to conserve and reuse the site to local social and economic advantage. A masterplan was commissioned and in tandem, the IRD commenced work on conserving the buildings. In 2011, the workhouse was opened to the public as the Irish Workhouse Centre, and was mandated to:

- tell the story of the Irish workhouse as an institution,
- showcase a conservation and redevelopment work in progress,
- attract visitors to the area,
- provide employment and
- provide space for community events, projects and other appropriate uses (Conservation 2018).

While the site has enjoyed moderate success, negative associations impede visitor traffic, as explained by site curator Elizabeth Carter (Personal communication, 2018), who affirms the strong and enduring presence of traumatic memory in Ireland as it relates to workhouse history. This view is consistent with that of Wildman (1974) who observed, “the chief barrier to appreciation of the workhouse as a significant architectural species

is, of course, its unpleasant associations” (291) and who predicted that, “if these gradually recede into folk-memory, it becomes possible for us to understand more clearly how the new unions became, in the middle of the last century, ‘objects of civic pride and self-satisfaction, rather like swimming baths or libraries today’,” (291)– a possibility consigned to perhaps a very distant future. George Wilkinson, English architect of all 130 Union workhouse buildings, himself entertained “the belief that, when the present calamitous period (the famine) has passed, the Irish poor-houses will, at no distant time, be found, with regard to their general building arrangements, a very superior class of public institutions of the kind” (1847, quoted in O’Connor, 1995, p. 93). This belief has certainly not borne out to date. Moreover, Carter identifies an underlying inhibitor to both cultivating relationships with communities and to inspiring patronage/visitorship in a “deep-seated unease with conventional museums and spaces of authority” (personal communication, 2018). She explains, “these experiences are background-specific; for example, people who have had negative school experiences or industrial school experience, or those from largely rural communities, will all be of a demographic more likely to feel that a museum space is not a ‘safe’ space” (Ibid).

Beginning with the opening of the National Gallery of Ireland by the British state in 1854, followed by the Natural History Museum and National Museum of Ireland, museums took their place within a series of institutions that imposed British cultural values on the Irish. Commenting on O’Connor’s 1995 claim that “the workhouse was the most feared and hated institution ever established in Ireland” (13), historian Peter Gray asserts, “the penitentiaries and asylums of the nineteenth century were surely as much feared, and perhaps with more reason; the record of the industrial schools and Magdalene

asylums has more recently attracted the appalled attention of Irish society” (22). As embodied material legacies of British cultural imperialism and rule, compounded with pervasive negative associations with public institutions, particularly those of confinement, museums came, by association, to be perceived as unsafe, inherently institutional spaces. While museums of the ilk aforementioned may not be indigenous to the Irish context, Carter asserts art and music are integral to Irish constructions of culture and identity, providing a promising entry point to would-be visitors. Arts-based programming that connects local artist practices, for example, those of textile artists, to the historical textile work of women in the workhouse, namely embroidery and lace making, elucidates lesser-known continuities of cultural practice, and contributes to the distinctly Irish museum typology in formation at the Irish Workhouse Centre. Its twofold strategy to mitigate site-based associations with traumatic memory and difficult history includes 1) prioritizing the relationship of the Centre with the local and visiting community and 2) adopting a caretaking attitude with respect to both the local visiting public and the site itself (Carter 2018).

The physical spaces of the Irish Workhouse Centre have been variously fallowed, conserved and restored. Staging is kept to a minimum (Figs. 30-31). A prominent room of the main building, formerly the Guardian’s Board Room, has been restored and fitted with modern amenities, now serving as the Centre office, resource room and gift shop. A few other rooms on the same building’s ground and lower levels offer meeting and educational program space, modern toilets and an art gallery. On the second level appears an exhibition room fitted with displays of artefacts and interpretative panels. The Centre does not make use of digital media, which may be the result of both a lack of funds, and

the view that digital media constitutes an undesirable or inappropriate form of interpretation. Rather, guides bring visitors on tours of the various spaces, from the most conserved areas to the least, and provide live interpretation. The various spaces are sparsely populated with interpretative panels, making live interpretation critical to the Centre's didactic offering, as my colleague Graham Iddon discovered. For example, when he toured the site with staff archaeologist Mary Healy, she pointed out that the children's dormitories were fitted with windows at standard height on one side of the room and well above eye-height windows on the other. The purpose was to prohibit children from seeing their parents, whose outdoor work yards were situated one storey below, on the side with the high-set windows. This information provided valuable insight into the psychology of the workhouse scheme, yet was not available on panels or through other means (Iddon, 2018). One reason for the sparse interpretive offerings of the Centre is a lack of artifacts. According to Carter (2018), who was at the time of my visit considering putting out a call for artifacts, artifacts will fill in noted gaps in the story and bridge the gap between policy, its implementation, and what actually occurred in the Portumna Workhouse. Resisting the use of replicas and contextual artefacts, the lack of objects reinforces the presence of historical absences.

The Irish Workhouse Centre augments its museal offerings with a temporary exhibition gallery, which, at the time of my visit, showed *Dark Shadows*, an exhibition of sculptures on the Irish Famine by Kieran Tuohy. While the exhibition attracted visitors for whom the Great Famine is indelibly etched in Irish history, memory and identity, it did little to further efforts to promote reckoning with the distinct and unique history and legacy of Irish workhouses. That being said and in counter-argument, such exhibitions

entice visitors to the Centre, which fulfils a social function beyond musealization. Indeed, Carter is attempting to use art as a new entry point and contact zone. Children's art programming at the site offers an unintentional remediation of place and creates positive associations with a new generation of descendants. Carter asserts that art practice, in the form of embroidery, was a part of daily life for female residents of the workhouse—a history she aspires to bring to the forefront and a heritage practice she hopes will inspire new art production. For her, art is the key to relevance to the local community and a way to connect to the Irish public (Carter 2018).

The Centre is both integrated with and provides support to East Galway community social and employment services, such that a continuity of the social function of 'the workhouse' as respite of the poor, aged and infirm is preserved. Employment at the Irish Workhouse Centre is tied, in part, to Ireland's social benefit (welfare) system through the Rural Social and Tus Schemes. These programs support rural seasonal supplemental employment and development of both community employment infrastructure and resources. The Centre provides work placements for individuals with special needs, for clients of East Galway Mental Health Services, and offers volunteer placements for retired individuals. Increasing its relevance to the community is a major goal of the Centre, which also provides placements for Heritage and Tourism students and is a site of pedagogy for postgraduate local history programs. Social justice is enacted through spatial justice: the deployment of the Centre as a means to support the mental, social and economic health of the local Portumna community and its residents at risk.

3.7.2 *Southwell*

Consistent with Section 4.1 of the National Trust Acts 1907-71 (Post-Order, 2005) to promote “the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest...” (4), the National Trust acquired the Southwell Workhouse to preserve this Grade II listed building, which had come on the real estate market in the late 1990s (Fig. 32). The National Trust tour guide who provided the tour of The Workhouse on the day of my visit, suggested that it had been acquired by the Trust to diversify its attractions, most of which were historic houses. The reason for acquisition given by Kim Drabyk, Volunteer and Visitor Experience Manager, was to promote the Trust’s ‘social history mandate’ (2018).

National Trust ‘Spirit of Place’ statements set the tone for historical and site-based interpretation. For the Southwell Workhouse, a property known formally as the Thurgarton Hundred Workhouse,

The spirit of the place is a bleak one. Not a prison, the building and the confined spaces in and around it speak of a basic regimented existence for those within; an atmosphere of dejection and lost dignity pervades. The purely utilitarian nature of every element is repeated again and again throughout the building, yet there is symmetry and a sense of intent and design permeating the structure and detail which is solid quality. This building was built to last, a solution to the high cost of out relief for the poor, a means of providing a sanctuary for the infirm and for separating out the morally inferior of the Thurgarton Hundred. The rural location is a stark reminder of this fact; glimpses of Southwell Minster from the upper windows serve to reinforce this, beckoning poignantly towards a better world beyond (qtd. in Nottingham County Council and Newark & Sherwood District Council, 2012).

Because the Southwell Workhouse operated as a site of social service provision continuously since its erection in 1824, and has only within a few decades ceased to lodge people on social assistance, it retains social stigma. Closure and a period of disuse

or of different use would have created a distancing effect, as has been the case with the Shingwauk Schools and indeed with the Portumna Workhouse. According to Drabek, the stigma that attaches to the site is mitigated by the National Trust brand (Drabek 2018).

Visitors to The Workhouse are encouraged to take first a guided tour, and subsequently a self-guided tour which conducts them through the complex in a particularized and directed manner. Live interpretation provided by the volunteer guide of the guided component traces the contours of the Poor Law and of the workhouse system as a backdrop to a more specific and anecdotal history of the Southwell site. The tour involved a visit to the grounds and focuses on spaces that surround the workhouse; while the self-guided tour and its encounters with live animators takes place within the workhouse enclosure. Most of the tour sites (workhouse exterior and outbuildings) had been restored while a few, such as the mortuary, have been minimally conserved (Fig. 33). At the time of my visit, the only fully modernized building was Firbeck House, an infirmary built on the site of the Workhouse in 1871, and partially converted to house a café and washroom facilities. Disparities between narratives delivered by the tour guide, animators, and through interpretive panels and materials were marked. In many ways, the site *spoke for itself*, triggering interpretive dissonances. For example, the guided tour ‘script’ and its delivery were most entertaining, painting a sometimes-flattering picture of the institution and its history, which may be equally attributed to the inclinations of the guide as to the direction of the administration. Peppered with amusing anecdotes (i.e. workhouse children being brought to the circus) and observations, the tour script contradicted other site-based information sources.

On the self-guided tour, visitors were instructed to view a video after which they were provided with a guidebook to assist their navigation of a directed pathway. The organization of the workhouse itself, designed to restrict the movements of inmates, enforces the prescribed visiting sequence. Live animators depicting adult male and female inmates, the schoolmaster, and the master and matron, ensure that visitors do not deviate from the tour pathway. The effect is of being herded, which promotes, through embodiment but not quite inhabitation, an experience of the control exercised over the lives of workhouse inmates. Such circulation management, however, prohibits visitor exploration and exhaustive encounter. It is not until visitors arrive in the cellars that the horrors of the workhouse are made manifest. While the areas above grade are bright and cheerful, there is no disguising the cold, dank and gloomy aspect of the cellars where female inmates worked for long hours preparing food, often ankle deep in freezing water. Here, the site defies interpretative revision.

While most workhouses across the United Kingdom were gradually absorbed in the National Health Service becoming hospitals, the Southwell Workhouse retained its social service function, closing only in the 1980s. As is popularly expressed, a greater number of Britons are descended from 'the poor', many of whom were residents of workhouses, rather than from solvent classes. Indeed, some of the guides working at the Southwell Workhouse are descendants of its inmates. Local history information-gathering occurs through the initiative of descendants, and, in fact, teams of volunteer researchers are responsible for much of the historical research that informs the site's anecdotal interpretation.

Not 700 m southwest of the Southwell Workhouse sits the Southwell Court Care Home, specializing in dementia, old age and sensory impairment care, and bearing an uncanny resemblance to the workhouse in architecture and function. In addition, care facilities for impaired children border the Workhouse's north-easterly perimeter. Their timelines overlap with a historically discordant or anachronistic exhibition on the top floor of the Workhouse, which shows how its more recent inmates, those from the 1960s and 1970s, made it their home. At the time of my visit, a dialogic and participatory community textile exhibition, entitled *Struggle for Suffrage: Workhouse Women and the Vote*, occupied the various spaces of the Workhouse, while an exhibition of works from the National Portraits Gallery, entitled *Votes for Women: Faces of Change*, was being mounted in a temporarily sealed off room. The exhibition program appears to augment the Workhouse's social history education function, simultaneously distantiating it from its more recent history and bridging the historical divide through contemporary art practice and community-based interpretation. Thus, the Workhouse appears as a nexus of reflection and interpretation of historic social services and related functions within a larger complex and continuity of social services packaged in mimetic architectural form. It is a remediation certainly, but far less is it a reclamation.

3.8 Discussion

The curatorial environments of the two workhouse museums arise from conditions similar to those found at the Shingwauk site, and indeed at former residential school sites across Canada where the scant physical remains of the school buildings, along with archival documents, a limited number of photographs, and even fewer object artifacts constitute the material landscape of this difficult history. The project of historical

recovery of the Indian industrial school era is both necessary for ethical and robust post-rupture museology and complicated by the paucity of testimony. No living Survivors of the 19th century industrial schooling remain and very few recorded Survivor testimonies relate to this period.

Common inhibitors of museological development offer another parallel. Like the Shingwauk site, the Irish and English workhouses are sites of trauma requiring remediation to succeed as places of historical interpretation and meaning-making. Despite this, all three are situated in close proximity to groups of descendants of those incarcerated and recognize them as source communities. Archaeological and architectural interventions have not yet been undertaken at the Shingwauk ‘Industrial’ site. However, the Irish and English workhouses have both been the subject of such interventions, which can provide useful models for the Shingwauk site going into the future.

In my experience of working through interpretive strategies with Survivors, I have heard them repeatedly express a desire to *simultaneously* 1) reclaim, occupy and overwrite places where they experienced trauma as children, and in so doing, to transform them into places of healing, and 2) to create a window into the past such that they may be interpreted as they presented in the moment of trauma—in effect, to freeze them in time. Thus, the drive for healing and conquest contends with that to preserve the evidence of trauma, in which the potential for its recurrence inheres. An ethical museal response then, must prioritize healing in the physical environment through reclamation, while simultaneously manifesting the historical environments and evidence of difficult pasts. Herein lies a critical juxtaposition and conundrum which asks: how can a site of trauma be both neutralized (or overwritten as a place of healing) such that it does not

retraumatize Survivors *and* retain its affective force, its power to unsettle and conscientize visitors? One would think this is well-trodden ground in Canada, which by this time would have well-developed museological infrastructure built on the reclaimed sites of the 139 Indian residential schools, and have worked out the problems of representing trauma in ways that both mitigate and promote vicarious trauma.⁶³ This is far from the case. *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* is the only museal reclamation project that has been implemented to date (April 2020) although efforts to reclaim both the Mohawk Indian Residential School⁶⁴ and the Portage La Prairie Indian Residential School, latter working since 2003 to become the National Indigenous Residential School Museum of Canada, underway. The remnants of the built environment of the residential schooling landscape have more often been characterized as detritus (Carr 2009)—mere rock and rubble—rather than being fertile ground for reconciliatory museology.

Surprisingly, or perhaps unsurprisingly, one encounters a similar museal environment in Ireland and the United Kingdom with respect to the history and legacy of workhouses. There are no industrial school museums in Ireland or the United Kingdom, although a few exist in the United States, where a former Indian residential school, Carlisle Indian School, now occupied by the United States Army Way College, offers a digital resource centre similar to the SRSC. As such, further investigation of institutional and even museal continuities may be directed southward. Of course, there has been no TRC or transitional justice process related to Indigenous boarding schools in the United

⁶³ In Chapter 5, I discuss Simon's desire for visitors to inhabit the historical lives and thus to vicariously take on the memories of others. In the context of difficult pasts, vicarious trauma effects result from the formation of vicarious memories, which become galvanized in post-memory. I argue that unsettling and conscientization relies on this affective mnemonic transaction.

⁶⁴ Visit "The Campaign." *Woodland Cultural Centre*, 3 Dec. 2019, woodlandculturalcentre.ca/the-campaign/ to learn about efforts to "Save the Evidence" of the former Mohawk Indian Residential school.

States, and while the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (Ryan Commission) revealed a difficult history, it made no recommendations for remedy that would set museologists on a reclamative and reconciliatory trajectory.

Museology at the Irish Workhouse Centre is driven by museum professionals, and although its work is rooted in the local and relates to source communities, it cannot be said to be community-led. Archaeology orients historical inquiry at the Centre, which is consistent with trends in Irish historical production. This privileges the land as a keeper of memory (artefact-based) over people as living memory keepers (oral history-based). Curator Elizabeth Carter stressed that the remains of centuries of past societies persist in Ireland, suggesting a consciousness of deep history and palimpsest that has a more recent historical basis in Canada. Rather than drawing on source communities for historical data and for direction, the Centre staff seeks to develop ties with, and to become relevant to, the local community. An apprehension toward museums, similar to that described by Carter, manifests in Canada as a historically-rooted and justified suspicion of ethnographic (and other) museums by First Peoples. In terms of speaking across cultural divides, it is evident that only part of the story of Indian Residential Schools can be told effectively in museums. Moreover, should Shingwauk become a model for museological development, source communities of Survivors will lead the charge, and reclaimed and musealized former residential schools will express their priorities.

The (Southwell) Workhouse, arguably the best funded and most visited of the three institutions, appears to operate both as a novel excursion alternative for the heritage house-going set and a site for school excursions. It is clear that all three places as musealized embody a reckoning with a difficult past, albeit to different degrees and at

different historical removes. What is considered difficult is considered as such differently; what constitutes the aspect of difficulty is relative. Because the rupture is differently constituted and understood, the sutures are different, creating distinct interpretive, educative, and reconciliatory possibilities.

Challenges to musealization persist, among them the lack of material investment, of infrastructure, ownership/responsibility, of public will, and the prohibitive distance of the some of the sites themselves. A paucity of artefacts compound these challenges, demanding either absence (as in Portumna) or prosthesis through reproduction and the introduction of contextual artefacts (as done at Shingwauk). No matter how the sites are musealized, represented and interpreted, animated and programmed, they are done so with the understanding that their subject is both a difficult and increasingly distant past, one demanding insertions of necessary inauthenticities and aids to interpretation in order to communicate and indeed translate their stories to contemporary audiences. Yet, the past dwells, persists, and communicates in the embodied and emplaced memory of the site itself, and perhaps also through the performative embodiment (inhabitation) of historical visitors in contemporary acts of visitation. Curators, visitors, and as was discovered at Southwell, guides and live animators of sites of trauma, are never passive vessels for museal ambitions. Together, they create interpretive dissonances which, helpfully, nuance and complicate received histories, contributing in so doing to producing difficult knowledge.

3.9 In the Absence of Built Fabric: Experiential Modes

What can be done when the built fabric of a difficult site—its terrible gift architectural—is gone? Simon's story space, the expository scenarization that houses and

grounds an assemblage of objects *mise-en-scène*, is undoubtedly best furnished by the actual place where the events represented—the subject of museal attention—occurred, to which the objects themselves belong. The many criticisms of alienated objects: their geographic decontextualization, their appropriation, misappropriation, and theft, their discontinuities of use, their alienation from their makers and cultures of origin, their misinterpretation, and their aestheticization and fetishization, suggest that wresting embedded objects from their geographic, cultural, and even spiritual context is a worst-case scenario. Yet these objects, cultural property ethically safeguarded or trafficked over centuries, are necessarily the stuff of museums—institutions designed to care for, interpret, circulate, and display them as a matter of heritage. Provocatively claimed by influential historical geographer and tourism scholar Richard Prentice (2007):

As consumer resources, rather than agents for conservation, museums exist to proffer as authentic an experience as possible of their chosen subject, utilizing objects as media, supplemented by curatorial interpretation designed to inform, delight and provoke. The very acts of removal to museums, abstraction and interpretation of course temper the authenticity which can be offered,” and quoting Lowenthal (1990, 17), exhorts, “Every relic displayed in a museum is a fake in that it has been wrenched out of its original context” (6).

Observing that “Museums are today immersed in a wider commodification of culture: the extensive proffering of place as a means of attaining the ‘real’,” Prentice shows museums to be competing with other sites to offer an experience of authenticity.

Of course, all museums stage environments, story spaces in which objects are contextualized, reflecting strategies that range from epitomization / reproduction of place (experiential museums) to refusal motivated either by the desire to avoid competing with objects or works on display (white cube galleries) or resistance to changing the museum for the sake of exhibitions (*grand dame* museums). While cultural heritage and museum

studies scholar Andrea Witcomb (2013) declares “it has become almost axiomatic in contemporary museum literature that it is in highly interactive, mediated and experiential museums that the most affective experiences can be found” (39), she cautions against over-interpretation, which citing van Alphen (2001-2) she suggests can ‘deaden’ the historical archive (49). Prentice argues, “there are many forms of authenticity being promoted and that these are not discrete types, but instead overlap [and that] Museums are already involved in many of them or are able to become so” (22). A temporary exhibition at the Museum of Anthropology, *Speaking to Memory: Images and Voices from the St. Michael’s Indian Residential School*, is one that participates in rather than performs authenticity. It does this by creating a mimetic but self-consciously artificial story space that maps the site of interpretation, the St. Michael school, onto the gallery. This furnishes an opportunity for the visitor, who becomes juxtaposed with the objects in assemblage (himself a sort of agent-in-assemblage), to simultaneously inhabit the space of the residential school and the museum, in a third space that does not compete with a more authentic experience that could be had at the site. Indeed, the unarticulated planes of the gallery walls skinned with photographs of architecture, which convey but flatten its dimension, create the illusion of being in a low-poly virtual environment. The derelict state of St. Michael’s Indian Residential School (subsequently demolished) prohibited visitorship. Consequently, recourse to the museum was justified, it becoming better able to recreate an experience of the school than the school itself. This said, one of the barriers to experiences of or approaching authenticity is the visitor who must embody the identity of the musealized Other in order to inhabit his historical experience.

Recalling the discussion of micro-traumas in exhibition introduced in Chapter 1, and particularly, the desire of a member of the CSAA to preserve the severe and unwelcoming aspect of the entrance of Shingwauk Hall, we must consider not only what construction of place is to be inhabited but who will be inhabiting it. At the most basic level, taking the Shingwauk Hall entrance as an example, adult visitors entering the building, even if faithfully restored to its 1935 aspect, will never know the experience of a child entering it as the threshold to a residential school. We can watch a dramatization and empathize with its characters who may be vastly different from us, or we can inhabit a place and have a spatial experience. More difficult is to inhabit the historical experience of others in ways that change us and our relation to the environment.

Returning to Witcomb's caution against over-representation, it comes from a context in which she considers the merits of imaginative means over authentically representative ones toward transformational experiences and the generation of post-memory. She is speaking to and about van Alphen (2001-2), who controversially asks if artworks that use the notion of play (and unintended role-play) to embody the Holocaust open up possibilities that more didactic and historically-informed (authentic?) genres of representation have closed off (Witcomb 49). In Witcomb's reading, van Alphen's contention is that in order to understand how the Holocaust could have happened and thus to prevent its future occurrence, the need for space for affective experiences (the space of imagination) rather than cognitive ones (the space of didactic representation), as well as that to identify, if momentarily, with the perpetrators, must be satisfied (49-50). Not wishing to here digress into a discussion of Holocaust representations or their content, I am invoking Witcomb's credence-giving discussion of van Alphen to introduce

experiential modes that move away from authenticity and toward art, and that allow for a range of visitor identifications and inhabitations and that may change the substance of post-memory. Defined by Marianne Hirsch (2012), “Postmemory describes the relationship that the ‘generation after’ bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before—to experiences they ‘remember’ only by means of stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up...transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right” (5). Importantly, Hirsch asserts that recalling the memories of others is not how postmemory is sustained; rather its connection to the past is mediated actively, through “imaginative investment, projection, and creation” (Ibid). Describing the affective power of a model of Treblinka crafted by one of its few Survivors, Chaim Sztajer, Witcomb suggests it affords the possibility for those who encounter it, whether the descendants of Survivors or not, whether Jewish or not, of becoming ‘linked-in’ to postmemory. Here the remembered experiences of others mediate and are mediated by imaginative replay and role play. Postmemory becomes prosthetic memory.

Recalling earlier discussions of Allison Landsberg’s (2004) theorization of prosthetic memory, we consider the medium of film, which has been noted by Landsberg and others too numerous to count for its power to elicit profound emotional response. “*We were Children*,” a feature-length film that dramatizes the traumatic experiences of two residential school Survivors interspersed with their video testimonies, is an explicit indictment of the residential school system, moving, unsettling, and disturbing. Lisa Jackson’s *Savage*, a short film that dramatizes the story of a child taken from her mother and placed in a residential school and which follows her daily life through a period of

incarceration in the school, provides insight into the interiority of the emotions of parent and child separated by residential schools. Both powerful films, *We were Children* and *Savage* inspire emotional response, but can they invite inhabitation or foster the embodied experiences that kindle prosthetic memory and thus begin to mediate our experience of the world? In other words, do they complete a mnemonic transaction? Landsberg claims, “the cinema transports people into lives they have not lived in the traditional sense but that they are nevertheless invited to experience and even inhabit, albeit briefly” (12). Film is an access point for the imagination, a mode of translation for filmmakers and of experience for viewers, but is ephemeral and experienced passively. Similar to Landsberg, who examines how film stimulates memory effects and prosthetic memory, shaping the individual’s subjectivity and politics, and creating the conditions for ethical collective thinking by connecting to and recognizing the alterity of the Other (9), other scholars have begun to explore the mnemonic affects/effects of AR (Augmented Reality) and VR (Virtual Reality).

Here, we arrive at another fork in the road, one path leading to a discussion of the relationship between media and memory, and other to the VEs (Virtual Environments) created by AR and VR, and how they may serve as a corrective to the loss of built fabric. While Chapter 5, on Gifts Mnemonic, will delve into the issues of memory that have been touched on only lightly up to this point, our discussion here circles back to the concern that initially motivated it, the built fabric of difficult pasts and its absence. The Shingwauk site, in its current state, discloses some of its recent history while concealing its distant past. This is primarily an effect of the demolition of the industrial school complex and the transformation of the surface topography of the Shingwauk Education

Trust Lands to suit the present needs of AU and SKG. So, while Shingwauk Hall still stands and maintains some of its former character, its interior configuration and use belies little of its past. AR, which overlays digital information onto a real environment, offers a means of superimposing the past onto the present. In effect, it can allow us to experience the former spaces of Shingwauk Indian Residential School in their present-day counterparts at AU. But what, other than a novel experience, is to be gained by doing this?

In 2015, Tomasz Oleksy and Anna Wnuk, a psychologist and an environmental researcher from the University of Poland, published the results of “the first attempt to employ AR as an experimental tool in domains of social and environmental psychology in order to modify psychological process of thinking about places” (12), inspiring similar studies in the areas of tourism (Tsai 2019; Aziz and Friedman 2019; Passafaro 2019), cultural heritage (Martó et al. 2018, 2019; Barrado-Timón and Hidalgo-Giralt 2019; Wnuk et al. 2019; Prusik et al. 2019), and museology (Capuano et al. 2016). Their study examined the use of AR to reduce memory-related ethnic bias toward places through the creation of embodied memories of place (11-14), a use that is less studied and documented in the literature on AR. Participants in the experimental group of their study were equipped with AR-enabled mobile phones and brought to a former (pre-WWII) Jewish district in Warsaw, Poland, where they encountered 16 sites augmented with historical photos depicting the Jewish life of the district before its destruction. The control group accessed the same photos on a computer in a lab. The experiment was predicated on the assumption that “the situation in which an individual acts should be considered as a whole, and that the human body is the most important medium between

the person and the world,” (Oleksy and Wnuk 12) an embodied cognition approach that recognizes the function of embodied memories of place in determining meaning. The results of Oleksy and Wnuk’s multiple regression analysis showed AR to be effective in reducing ethnic bias and enhancing multicultural place meaning (2015). Specifically, they found that a direct experience with a place’s historical meaning was crucial to creating an emotional bond with the place itself (14). Given their results, the authors suggest AR could be used in social intervention and antidiscrimination education, arguing that “showing that what we perceive to be our tradition is also a legacy of former inhabitants should result in a better understanding of the complexity of history and contemporary social reality” (16). While AR relies on a substrate, the ‘reality’ that is augmented through visualization, VR creates virtual environments (VEs) that may or may not have a material counterpart and are experienced through immersion.

The *Synagogues* project with which this chapter was introduced, created sophisticated architectural models that are experienced as VEs by visitors, who ‘enter’ the synagogues through a 3D ‘gaming’-like interface on terminals in the exhibition. Advances in VR technology since the development of the *Synagogues* project allow visitors wearing a VR headset to experience VEs directly through the headset rather than through a computer terminal or gaming device. Instead of controlling the movements of an avatar, ‘visitors’ can now access VE’s and VR content by moving their own bodies, which have in tandem with the headset become their medium of perception. As complete environments in and of themselves, VEs decouple real environments from imagined ones. Irrespective of their artificiality and immateriality, VE’s foster place and place-based associations through embodied cognition and memory. Unlike the passive experience of

viewing film, and the moderately interactive experience of AR of the like described by Oleksy and Wnuk, immersive VR places the viewer in a dramatized environment in which he can maneuver and exercise his agency. Recognizing the potential advantages of virtual spaces as sites of social inquiry that offer spatial, sensory, behavioural, and affective verisimilitude, the researchers of *Embodying Empathy*, “an interdisciplinary collaboration linking researchers and IRS Survivors in order to create and evaluate the reconciliatory potential of a virtual Indian Residential School” investigate how empathy can be ‘designed into’ a virtual environment (Muller et al. 2007, 311).

In 2018, the EE project team launched its VR model of the Fort Alexander Indian Residential School (Fig. 34), which is now being tested in UM’s social psychology lab. Notably, the project created both an immersive VR exhibition version (employing VR headsets) and a non-immersive mobile application for larger dissemination. Among the three core aims of the EE project is that of testing the team’s hypothesis that “immersive media can enhance the representation of complex experiences, including traumatic ones held to be ‘difficult’, to use Deborah Britzman’s [1998] influential term designating representational resistance” (312). In addition to VR’s promise as a means of introducing greater complexity and nuance, the project team, citing available evidence on the similarity of the effects of simulated events and environments to those of real ones on cognition, memory, (Ahn et al. 2013, 9; Slater et al. 2006, 5-6) and emotional response (Tavinor 24-5; G. Young 2010), argue that immersive environments can exceed traditional ‘fictive’ ones (312-3). What allows this is the personal (agential) intervention and narrative construction inherent to the visitor/player experience of VR, which developed largely through gaming. While their analysis draws on studies of agential

game play in VE's that do not necessarily recreate historical environments, what is of particular interest for us is that the agential capacity of the visitor "permits a whole host of previously unavailable emotional states to be directed toward characters and events" (313), similar to the art-based experiential modes van Alphen claims can allow for the multiple identifications required to understand difficult history toward the prevention of its reoccurrence. Striving to create embodied experiences, the team stresses that "together with the complex topography and elaborate matrix of possible social interactions available in the virtual IRS, this immersivity [augmented with testamentary images and words] should facilitate critical reflection on the reality of the residential schools' harms and their aftermaths, contributing to an increase in 'unsettling behaviours', in Paulette Regan's (2010) sense of the term, whereby Canadians may confront the ways in which settler colonialism has shaped their ways of seeing and knowing the world" (313-4).

Guided by a Survivor Governing Council, the *Embodying Empathy* team worked extensively with Survivors through a non-extractive participatory design process to establish its VR storyworld of the Fort Alexander Indian Residential School (Muller et al. 2018). In ceding its intellectual property rights and otherwise refusing to profit from the technology created through the project, together with its consultative and participatory approach, the *Embodying Empathy* work is consistent with the ethics of both New Museology and reconciliatory praxis (Muller et al. 2017, 313) and, once its results are made public, will provide a valuable model for interventions at the Shingwauk site. My experience of working with Survivors on exhibition has been one where multiple and sometimes conflicting perspectives, memories, desires, and priorities inform the work. Inferring from the deep commitment to Survivor perspectives described by the

Embodying Empathy team that similar challenges to representation and interpretation have been encountered, I have to assume that it has made best use of the malleability of the VR medium, which allows for infinite customization and embedding of content. Referring to its VE as a storyworld, an affinity to Simon's story space is suggested. While the VE is centered on the model of the Fort Alexander Indian Residential School, in many ways the model functions as 'staging' for performance and the various possibilities of visitor encounter offered in the storyworld. Assessing the balance of the evidence on VR and its effects, the *Embodying Empathy* team argues and is now testing its hypothesis that "VE's represent an appropriate framework for studying the formation and persistence of empathy responses, even though they exist at one remove from actual experience" (Ibid). The verisimilitude offered by VR, and its potential to create an ethical and even culturally safe space of encounter with difficult history when deployed within reconciliatory ethics and praxis, suggests its promise as a means of recovering lost spaces at the Shingwauk site.

The Evidence Room is somewhat of a material analogue to VR in that it places visitors inside a model of an historical site, providing an experience of place that is unlike and could not be confused for one that could be gained in visiting the site to which it refers, but which nevertheless augments the experience of place and its embodied effects on visitors to the exhibition in which it is staged. The "Residential Schools" gallery, which occupies the vestibule of Shingwauk Hall, operates in a similar fashion. It gestures toward lost built fabric through architectural fragments but does not offer the verisimilitude of VEs. These limitations, the loss of built fabric, and the promise of projects like *Synagogues* and *EE* suggest the promise of VR as a means of creating

embodied experiences of the lost places of the Shingwauk site. Deploying VR to wrest history and memory from oblivion necessitates establishing a relation between what exists and what is lost, transposing the past onto the present. That is to say, such ambitions require recoupling, creating through VR, a VE that functions like an AR environment in which visitors can become immersed. What I mean by this is that rather than creating a model or story space or world that can be inhabited at a remove from the Shingwauk site, these technologies can be used to redefine our tangible physical relationship to the site and its history and to create an emplaced and embodied experience of anachronism and palimpsest that preserves the singularity and particularity of Survivors experiences.

3.10 Intervention: Gifting Architecture

Restoring, whether materially or virtually, the former built fabric of the Shingwauk Home and industrial school campus is not enough to wrest its memory from oblivion; rather to restore it to historical consciousness, it needs to be both materialized, if ephemerally, and animated from within through encounters with its history in the present. Exposition without evidence that can be seen, felt, and experienced, no matter how well preserved and tended in the archive affects us little, its testamentary address inaudible to us. I propose that a Terrible Gift Architectural may be bequeathed at the Shingwauk site, contributing expository space and housing for an exhibitionary *mise-en-scène*, but also constituting a gift in its own right in the following ways:

1. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to develop a survivor-led AR tour of the interior and exterior of existing buildings: Shingwauk Hall, the Bishop Fauquier Memorial Chapel, the cemetery, the former principals' residence, the 'crying' rock, and the grounds.
2. Working with Survivors, other stakeholders, and architecture students to create virtual architectural models for Shingwauk Home, the main Shingwauk Industrial

School building, and other buildings that comprised the industrial complex/campus the buildings, creating an immersive VR storyworld impregnated with testamentary objects.

3. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to develop a strategy to mitigate the risks of retraumatization and vicarious trauma to Survivors, which making sites visible risks, while allowing for unsettling experiences among visiting publics.

Both interventions involve the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* team working with Survivors and specialists such as forensic architects to elucidate, augment, articulate, and translate the testamentary address of the architecture, extant and demolished, of Shingwauk site to visiting audiences. Key to these interventions is to create an embodied experience, whereby visitors can inhabit the history of the site, momentarily taking on multiple identifications before recognizing the legacy of these architectures as their inheritance, which occurs at the moment of departure from the immersive experience and the return to the present. These interventions are intended to build on existing site interpretation and exhibitry and to build the scaffolding for the interventions proposed in the subsequent chapters, which together form a formidable Terrible Gift and instigate the mnemonic transaction intended by its pedagogy.

In terms of praxiological museology, the proposed interventions bring together the disciplines of museology, architecture, and the archaeology of buildings in a project of transdisciplinary interpretation that makes its constructed nature apparent. No less a project of reconciliatory praxis, the virtual components of this project provide students, like those who participated in the *Synagogues* project, a means of responding to and reciprocating the Terrible Gifts they will receive in the course of working with Survivors and learning about the Shingwauk schools. From a transdisciplinary perspective, architecture and digital design students will be exposed to the work of museology

(critical, praxiological, and operational), and to participatory and reconciliatory methods and the Survivors and *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* team members will be exposed to architectural methods of inquiry and execution. Contributors to the assemblage and gifting of a bequest, museal producers all, do not escape its transitive operation and themselves become the medium of its recursive action. Undertakings such as that proposed here and in subsequent chapters affect and change the behavior of those who undertake them. The EE team stress that the affective connections made in VEs endure. So too (or perhaps even more so) do those affective connections made in the making of such environments.

From my own experience, the more I delve into the history, people, and place of the Shingwauk site, the more they affect my own professional and personal trajectory. Exposure and the opportunity to take part in healing and reconciliatory work, even as it makes rupture more apparent, is a powerful pedagogy of witnessing it its own right. Taking lessons from the interpretation of similar sites, such as the Portumna and Southwell workhouses, from dramatizations and virtualizations that result from the dereliction, change, or demolition of the built fabric of difficult pasts, and from art-based practices that move beyond didactic over-interpretation into play and immersive agential embodied experiences, I become more at ease with my gradual shift from previously-held if naïve commitments to authenticity toward those that (critically) embrace post and prosthetic memory, recognizing these forms as the only ones left to inheritors, post generations of difficult pasts. There is much more to be said about memory and place in order to justify a museological orientation and commitment to the Shingwauk site as the primary and best place of its own interpretation. Arguments respecting the land and the

inalienability of its knowledge, memory, and embedded objects will be made in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 delves further into theories of place and memory. The full extent and nature of the proposed, scaffolded, intervention will be revealed over the course of these two chapters and its potential impacts discussed in Chapter 6, the summary and concluding chapter.

Chapter 4: Terrible Gifts Archaeological

This chapter asks what emergent archaeological praxis can contribute to interventions of praxiological museology that bequeath the Terrible Gift in exhibition at the Shingwauk site. A project of rehabilitation and remediation, the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition is also, necessarily, one of historical recovery. The partial and ongoing rehabilitation of the Shingwauk Hall building is but one element of a further-ranging attempt to remediate the Shingwauk site, ground that is both sacred and contaminated, permeated with the material of colonization and imbued with traumatic memory. Our knowledge of the historical geography of the Shingwauk site is imperfect. A briefing note⁶⁵ prepared in 2016 for former Shingwauk Education Trust President Darrell Boissoneau by then AU librarian/archivist Ken Hernden for the purpose of informing the site selection for the Anishinabek Discovery Centre, a combined education, research, and cultural centre, showed approximate locations of the various buildings and features that made up the industrial school campus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 2019, in the capacity of Residential Schools Land Memory Mapping Project (RSLMMP) researcher, I produced a composite map indicating the placement of the various Shingwauk industrial campus features relative to the present site topography. Superimposing the source maps used by Hernden—reproductions of hand-drawn site plans likely made by Wilson—together with historical aerial photos from Natural Resources Canada’s National Air Photo Library and screen captures of the present Google™ satellite map, a picture of the site’s transformation over a period of 132 years, from 1887 to 2019, began to emerge. My attempt at manual geo-rectification of the original site

⁶⁵ See Hernden, Ken. *Shingwauk Property Briefing Note*. Algoma University, 2016., in Works Cited.

plans suffered from the same problems that plagued Hernden's: the absence of scale markers, slight perspective shifts introduced in the plans' reproduction, and the variance between the projections of the aerial photo and the satellite image. Although the composite map is undoubtedly imprecise, it provides a good 'best guess' indication of where to focus future efforts to uncover material traces of the former campus. A 1977 burial register for Shingwauk cemetery, compiled by the Synod of the Diocese of Algoma, exists, providing the names but not the locations of the interred. The atypical arrangement of markers makes delineating between graves difficult; moreover, CSAA members have suggested that the cemetery and environs host human remains unaccounted for. This condition of limited knowledge frustrates efforts to reclaim and accurately interpret the site.

In its most general sense, Archaeology is the investigation of emplaced and displaced material culture, of 'unearthing' objects as evidence. Archaeology reveals, triggering the recovery of memory. Through their production (as remembered pasts) in the present, recovered place-memories provide evidence of how place and space was produced over time. Sites possess aura and spirit of place, which mediates and melds with the subjective lens of those who experience them. Articulated in the *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (2008):

Spirit of place is defined as the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), that is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place (ICOMOS).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Southwell Workhouse emanates a quality of bleakness, which its museal interpretation cannot fully temper. Experiences of

place produce embodied memories, whether recovered or prosthetic. In answer to the question of “why archaeology,” I suggest, the following: 1) to better understand trauma and empathize with those traumatized, we must go back to the sites of trauma; 2) historical environments are the most effective places in which to learn from their history and to inhabit, to the best of our ability, the historical experience of others. For sites to be effective and affective however, they must reveal their secrets, a challenge to which archaeological methods of inquiry are well, and even best, suited. Moreover, 3) in articulating individuated experiences, which may be revealed in the excavation of sites and objects, we can counter the flattening of narratives that result from the aggregation of oral histories and their synthesis into narratives of common experience. Instead, we can promote disaggregated, complex and more inclusive understandings. We need archaeological interventions for the same reasons we need those of architectural recovery, because history cannot persist in memory alone. Finally, sites of trauma and their as yet undiscovered contents both haunt us and hail us, and persist as an unanswered question, resisting remediation.

So, in what sense am I invoking archaeology? In the previous chapter, I introduced the University of Southampton ‘Van Project’ as an example illustrative of recent trends in contemporary archaeological practice and, in particular, in practices of archaeological ethnography. I argued that such ethnographically (and contemporarily focussed) practices have their counterpart in Canada in community archaeology, a category of discourse and practice and the subject of contentious contemporary debate. Archaeology in Andrew Martindale et al. (2016), is defined as: “a relationship between archaeologists and the people they study... [and] stories that archaeologists tell about the

people of the past” (183).⁶⁶ Included in this definition are inherent failures of Western academic archaeology, in particular the oversimplification of the aforementioned imperfect relationship, “a set of limitations with respect to understanding history... a vulnerability to ethnocentrism... a double-standard in which archaeology values its own Western-derived way of knowing over that of people it claims to represent... a discipline that confers privileges to archaeologists at the expense of Indigenous Peoples, [and]... an asymmetrical system of power in which the dominant archaeological view does not perceive the asymmetry” (183). These judgements parallel the situation of museology before the *Task Force on Museums and First Peoples*, 1994. Citing Marie Battiste’s (2005) statement, “you can’t be the global doctor if you are the colonial disease” (172), La Salle and Hutchings argue that the ways in which community archaeology is promoted in Martindale et al., rather than challenging archaeology, reaffirm the privilege of non-Indigenous archaeologists (164).

On Community archaeology in Indigenous contexts, La Salle and Hutchings argue that “if social justice is the goal, archaeologists should be working to facilitate community autonomy, supporting Indigenous self-determination, self-representation, and sovereignty,” locating archaeology in a project of “planned obsolescence” (173). If Community Archaeology is defined by the relationship between archaeologists and a source/descendant community toward mutual research goals, a situation the authors assert

⁶⁶ How Community-Oriented Archaeology, and indeed archaeology, were defined in this work has been the subject of criticism by Marina La Salle and Rich Hutchings (2016) who criticize the “Community-Oriented Archaeology” section of the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* (Volume 38, Issue 2) authored by A Martindale, N Lyons, G Nicholas, B Angelbeck, SP Connaughton, C Grier, J Herbert, M Leon, Y Marshall, A Piccini, DM Schaepe, K Supernant, and G Warrick, for failing to define their terms. Andrew Martindale and the aforementioned authors, however, point out the multiple definitions either extant or inferable from their text.

cannot but be culturally asymmetrical, Indigenous archaeology is defined through its deployment of archaeological means for Indigenous ends. Here, Indigenous agency is either expressed through the appropriation and instrumentalization of archaeological methods (Indigenous archaeologists practicing Indigenous archaeology) or the hire of non-Indigenous archaeologists to investigate subjects of Indigenous interest, either through community or professionalized/disciplinary processes. The latter corresponds to Martindale et al.'s vision of community-oriented archaeology, where "Indigenous communities are the ones to determine archaeological value for Indigenous communities" (196). For Indigenous archaeology to become a decolonizing practice, anthropologist Sonya Atalay (2006) argues we must ask how we can create discourses and practices that counter the received Western epistemological approaches, worldviews, discourses, practices, and interpretations that continue to permeate and condition the broader archaeological field (283). Such counter-measures can unsettle existing power dynamics between scholarly and community experts, recognizing and enunciating Indigenous sources of authority, renegotiate conditions of access, intervention, control, stewardship, and ownership, and reorient knowledge production, reproduction, interpretation and dissemination.

Charting shifts in archaeological thought, Atalay notes that debates between supporters of the two paradigms of processualism and its reliance on positivist approaches, and post-processualism, which highlights the subjectivity of archaeological interpretations, continue, but that "one of the outcomes of these discussions has been the realization by many archaeologists that there are multiple ways of seeing, interpreting, and understanding the past" (291). This post-modernist turn in archaeology, which has

contributed to critique and re-evaluation, has created conditions for decolonizing archaeological practices to emerge. Positing five principles archaeological community-based participatory research projects have in common in her 2012 work, *Community-based archaeology: research with, by, and for indigenous and local communities*, Atalay states: “1) They utilize a community-based, partnership process; 2) they aspire to be participatory in all aspects; 3) they build community capacity; 4) they engage a spirit of reciprocity; and 5) they recognize the contributions of multiple knowledge systems” (63). Drawing on Freirian concepts, Atalay emphasizes that archaeology done for communities must be a truly collaborative effort, “...including research design, final interpretations, and the dissemination of that knowledge through culturally sensitive pedagogical models” (2006, 299). Readers will recognize in Atalay’s description of community-based archaeology, the characteristics of Participatory Action Research (PAR), discussed in the Methodology section in the introduction.

Archaeology as service (archaeologists serving Indigenous interests), Martindale et al., explain, “includes translation and advocacy across lines of colonialism” (194). They reference Lyons and Marshal (2016), who frame “the archaeological task as translation between the cultural contexts of Indigenous material-worlds and interpretive frameworks supposed by archaeologists” (Ibid). Yet Atalay cautions us that “well-intentioned individuals, who are often part of the oppressor group, put themselves in the position of trying to save the oppressed by imposing their own research questions, ideals, and methods upon the oppressed group” (2006, 298), impositions that certainly also encompass interpretation and dissemination. Parallels between such archaeological cautions, approaches, practices, and commitments and those of New Museology—

particularly with respect to source communities, voice, authority, and repatriation, of Indigenous and decolonizing museologies, and of museological acts of cultural translation, can clearly be discerned.

Dissociating the practice of archaeology from the temporal biases that have long consigned it to subjects of the distant past, Holocaust archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls argues, “archaeologists are essentially experts in the analysis of landscapes and the physical evidence that is buried within them” (8). This same expertise is embodied in the cultural and spiritual learning and practice of many Indigenous Elders whose ‘archaeological knowledge’ long predates the emergence of Western archaeology. Similarly, the expertise of Survivors in interpreting the archaeological terrain of the built environment of Indian Residential Schools must be recognized. The idea of applying ‘human rights archaeology’ or ‘disaster archaeology’ to community and Indigenous museo-archaeological investigations and interventions at residential school sites may seem inappropriate at first glance, however when one considers Canada’s obligations to provide effective mechanisms of prevention and redress for the actions listed in UNDRIP Article 8, Section 2, subsections ‘a’ through ‘e’, those which constitute and result in cultural genocide, it becomes apparent that we must prioritize interpretation of the sites of cultural genocide. The justifications of human rights archaeology to provide evidence, corroborate or correct Survivor accounts, to identify victims and notify families, to determine causes and manner of death, and to deter future human rights violations (Harrison and Schofield 73), apply where human rights violations have occurred as they have through the residential school system in Canada. Such archaeology, albeit within an extremely confined mandate, has already occurred in Canada, under the auspices of the

TRC's Missing Children's Project to identify the number of children who died in the residential school system and to locate their remains, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

For the purpose of community and indigenous archaeological study to inform museal interpretation, I argue the Shingwauk site offers a unique opportunity. Here, both historical archaeology and archaeology of the contemporary past (and emergent futures) come into play. While a rich archive is in place, managed by a dedicated SRSC archivist and curator, so much of the material culture of the Shingwauk site is inaccessible, necessarily skewing living memory and historical interpretation, and limiting informed experiences of the site. As desk-based methods and technologies make archaeological practice more accessible, the uncovering of photos such as the one of the kitchen discussed in the last chapter, hints at the potential generativity of community processes designed (in full participation with the CSAA and other stakeholders) to literally and figuratively unearth the Shingwauks' forgotten and fallowed evidentiary landscape. Assuming museological intention, that for evidence elicited from such work to be made public through museal exhibition, how might a community and Indigenous museo-archaeological project take shape? How can archaeological processes be articulated and contribute to ongoing museal processes even as they decolonize them? What will be defined as the archaeological subject and by whom? What methods will be deployed? Before attempting to answer these questions, we must first consider that is to be learned through archaeological investigation.

4.1 What stories can archaeology uniquely tell us?

Returning to the subject of workhouses in Ireland and the UK, and in the absence of comparable studies with respect to Indian residential schools in Canada, I offer the following example, which illustrates what can be learned about the historical experience of others through archaeological investigation. Studying mortality of children institutionalized at the Kilkenny Union Workhouse during the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-52), Jonny Geber (2016), notes that although numbers of child deaths in workhouses is not provided from available data, over half of the victims of the Famine were children and that of the burial grounds adjacent to the workhouse, more than half of the skeletons were remains of children and adolescents (101-2). Geber notes:

In the mass burial ground, there were remains present of 142 children belonging to the 2 to 5-years age class, of which most were about 3 years of age at the time of death. A sharp rise in deaths of 3-year-olds is of particular interest, as it seems most likely to relate to the segregation policy between child and mother in the workhouse (112).⁶⁷

Analyzing osteo-archaeological evidence from the former cemetery of the Manorhamilton Workhouse, researchers Tom Rogers, Linda Fibiger, L.G. Lynch, and Declan Moore found that “the individuals buried here were under considerable physiological stresses, some evidently from early childhood...In addition, the double and triple burials of children suggest that they may have been dying in high numbers during some period of use of the cemetery” (96). The workhouse diet almost universally, consisted mainly of potatoes, bread, meal, and buttermilk or soured milk. Gruel made of meal, milk and water, was a staple. During the potato blight in Ireland, potatoes were replaced with imported Indian meal, and according to Rogers et al., there was little

⁶⁷ See Tables 3 and 4 and Discussion in Geber, Jonny. "Mortality among institutionalised children during the Great Famine in Ireland: bioarchaeological contextualisation of non-adult mortality rates in the Kilkenny Union Workhouse, 1846–1851." *Continuity and Change* 31.1 (2016): 101-126.

evidence of green vegetables or fruit in their diet (95). Moreover, Rogers claims, “there was significant skeletal evidence of nutritional deficiencies, certainly from early childhood,” along with evidence of other physical hardships (97).⁶⁸

Considering these findings, I wonder if a comparable study of human remains from Indian residential school cemeteries would produce similar results. Recalling my horror at learning that children operated the large industrial machinery of the institutional food-mixing machine on display as part of the *Speaking to Memory: Images and Voices from the St. Michael's Indian Residential School* exhibition at the Museum of Anthropology, I wonder what other hardships might have been faced by the inmates of residential schools and what we could learn through excavation (however interpreted). Such musings are only that and I do not wish to be mistaken as advocating for the exhumation of the human remains of children who died at residential school for the purposes of exhibiting them, but neither am I foreclosing on the possibility that Survivors will want such investigations to be undertaken for different reasons. They may wish to restore to the interred their identities, or to better understand their conditions of life and causes of death; they may want to have the opportunity to reclaim, repatriate, and rebury them. Investigating Cree burial practices, anthropologist Morgan Baillargeon (2004) notes that the communal manner in which children from residential schools were buried, not in mass graves but in individual plots in a single location, causes their spirits to roam and that because they were denied a “...proper ceremonial process to help them on their journey—they remain unresolved decades later, still needing to be brought home and

⁶⁸ See for further evidence, Rogers, Tom, et al. "Two Glimpses of Nineteenth-Century Institutional Burial Practice in Ireland: A Report on the Excavation of Burials from Manorhamilton Workhouse, Co. Leitrim, and St. Brigid's Hospital, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway." *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* (2006): 93-104.

properly acknowledged, fed, and feasted by their relatives” (qtd. in Maass 32). While Baillargeon’s investigation was limited to Nehiyaw (Plains Cree) of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Montana, his findings suggest that it can neither be presumed that Shingwauk school Survivors—who hail from multiple First Nations, will wish to preserve the sanctity of the dead and oppose even remote sensing, or if they will desire invasive measures.

A painting made by the 12-year old Edith Kruger (Sin-nam-hit-quh) (Fig. 36), while a student at the Inkameep Day School, depicts the dancing skeletons of ancestors at their place of burial, a Catholic cemetery on the Osoyoos Indian Band Reserve. Andrea Walsh, who brought this and other paintings made by children of the Inkameep Day School, and later those of Port Alberni Indian Residential School to national attention, interprets its content as an expression of the internalized hybridization of Okanagan and Christian spirituality, which reflects Edith’s and other students’ exposure to Christianity and Catholicism (Walsh 2005, 30) in the schools. I am drawn to its representation of the persistence of being, dwelling in the place of interment (rather than ascended to Heaven or descended to Hell) and of the enduring presence of the past. Its smiling skeletons run from the cemetery into an open space, staring out at the viewer as they dance. The rooster perched on a post, calls out, which together with the orange cast of the sky suggests it as an early morning scene, not the dark and macabre backdrop upon which spectres of the dead are typically situated. Rather than haunting us, the ancestors greet us and, unbelievably, wave to us, implicating us in the tableau. We, the viewers are invited to witness their purgatoried state (if that is what it is) revealed as one of joyful assembly. I

want to ask them what we can do for them. Do they wish to be left alone, or do they wish to share their embodied knowledge?

4.2 Indian Residential School Archaeology – The Missing Children Project

In Canada, particularly given the recent TRC process, one might expect to find evidence of multiple archaeological investigations of field-sites of former Indian residential schools. With the exception of the TRC Missing Children Project (MCP), this has not been the case. A 2019 national gathering sponsored by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), entitled *Maamiikwendan: Remembering Residential Schools & Cemeteries as Indigenous Sites of Conscience*, profiled local efforts to transform individual former Indian residential schools (those still standing and accessible) into commemorative or museal Sites of Conscience, and gauged interest in digital recording (photogrammetry) and commemoration, signalling a (premature) shift from investigation to commemoration. *Maamiikwendan* responded, in part, to TRC Call #79, which states, “We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal organizations, and the arts community, to develop a reconciliation framework for Canadian heritage and commemoration,” which include, “(iii) Developing and implementing a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada's history” (TRC Call to Action), as well as to Calls #71-76, which relate to the continuance of the work of the MCP.

Beginning in July 2009, in accordance with its mandate and in collaboration with the Parties to the IRSSA, the TRC initiated the MCP, which, in the words of its lead investigator archaeologist Alex Maass (2016), sought to “...produce as a complete a

record as possible of the children who had gone missing or died while in attendance at a residential school and the cause of their deaths” (16). While multiple methods were used to collect information related to deaths and burials, most of these can be categorized as either desk-based, or interview-based. In addition to these methods, the MCP working group directed the TRC to “Conduct a limited ground search (ground-truthing⁶⁹) of a selected number of known or suspected burial sites to validate documentary and oral information...” (19). Thus, “In consultation with Aboriginal communities, archaeologists visited 20 of these sites to ascertain their exact location, current condition, and record any disturbance” (20). As a result of the MCP, TRC researchers “identified 3,200 deaths on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students and the Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Residential School Students” (TRC 2015. vol 4. 1), far fewer than thought⁷⁰ given rates of death reported in the medical reports of Medical Officers Drs. Bryce and Lafferty (Maass 2016, 23). Reflecting on the project in 2016, Maass concludes, “Given its limited time frame, the Commission was unlikely to produce a complete record of deaths and burial places within the duration of its mandate [and that] Much more work remains to be done; many future avenues will open up as more archival and historical material is received by the NCTR” (34).⁷¹ Arguing for the continuance of the MCP, Mass stresses,

Descendant families in particular have a right to know where their individual relatives are buried and to memorialize those sites for their personal and public significance. These are important sites that Canadians, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, have a need to commemorate because they are memorials and sites of

⁶⁹ In a footnote, Maass (2016) states, “In this context, ground truthing is the process used to determine the causes of patterns revealed by remote sensing or by analyzing aerial photography (37, # 5).

⁷⁰ The TRC Commissioners put the estimated number at 6000 (TRC 2015. vol 4. 1).

⁷¹ Maass (2016) offers detailed commentary on challenges faced by the MCP in “Perspectives on the Missing.”

conscience that provide an opportunity for society at large to come to terms with the legacy of the schools (37).

The sought-after commitment to continue research into missing children is forthcoming, according to the Government of Canada, which states:

Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada has begun discussions with various partners, internal and external to the federal government, towards collaborating on an engagement strategy to gain a better understanding of the range of Indigenous family and community needs and interests and about how best to move forward in a comprehensive manner on all of the calls to actions regarding children who died or went missing while attending Indian residential schools (Calls to Action 72 to 76).

In addition, Budget 2019 announced \$33.8 million over 3 years, starting in fiscal year 2019 to 2020, to develop and maintain the National Residential School Student Death Register and work with parties to establish and maintain an online registry of residential school cemeteries ("Missing Children and Burial Information").

To what degree and in what manner future archaeological work will be carried out has yet to be determined. In terms of *subjects of investigation*, it seems likely that future archaeological investigations will relate to missing children and cemeteries rather than to the larger school sites and what remains to be learned from them. It is probable that the *methods* used in the MCP will continue to be deployed. In her 2018 doctoral dissertation, *Finding the Missing, Residential School Cemeteries for Indigenous Children*, in which she sets out a comprehensive and culturally-competent process for implementing TRC Calls to Action 72-76, Maass describes lesser-invasive methods used at the behest of some Indigenous communities in Canada, and an example of an excavation in the US. Noteworthy for many reasons, this work describes the only known example in which

non-archaeologist Indigenous community members participated in conducting ground-penetrating radar readings at a burial site.

4.2.1 Remote Sensing, Test Excavations, and Excavation

Maass (2018) notes, “Indigenous communities are rarely desirous of any form of excavation at burial sites, [;] Where excavation has been carried out it has usually been in the form of a salvage project in the face of proposed site disturbance, or as a result of prior disturbance” (79). While some communities oppose even non-invasive methods, ground truthing and remote-sensing have been used at the behest of others, and in the case of the Penelakut First Nation living on Penelakut Island, located in the southern Gulf Islands between Vancouver Island and the mainland Pacific coast of British Columbia, non-archaeologist community members (youth) actively participated in taking ground-penetrating radar (GPR) readings to detect gravesites of community members who had perished at the former Kuper Island⁷² Indian Residential School. Maass recounts how Elders from the Penelakut community approached the TRC with their concerns about unmarked graves associated with the Kuper Island school at a national event in Vancouver, BC in 2012 (2018, 151). Not able to engage on the project through the MCP, which completed its research to coordinate with the publication of the TRC’s Final Report, together with colleagues from the University of Victoria and the University of British Columbia, Maass “continued the work with the Penelakut community to assist with the identification of unmarked school burials, bringing in colleagues from the

⁷² During the school’s operation, Penelakut Island was known as Kuper Island.

University of British Columbia's Archaeology Lab who also provided access to UBC's GPR equipment.

As Maass narrates, Elders and community members worked with the team to locate the burial site and community youth (the boys' soccer team) assisted the team to clear the substantial construction, logging debris, and vegetation needed to perform a visual and GPR inspection of the site (153-157). Uncovering grave markers and stone borders dating to the early 1900s, the team was able to identify the cemetery plot referenced in archival records and remembered by community members, and to detect the graves of a former school principal and several staff members, and the evidence of a number of other graves. Maass notes, "The details of these burials remain confidential to the Penelakut people" (157). It bears stressing the communal and participatory nature of the work to identify the site, to clear it, and to perform GPR, and to interpret the findings. This is the work of reclamation, which, in this case, was done at the request of and with the guidance and full participation of the Penelakut. Also, GPR is considered a non-invasive technology although considerable alteration was required to the site in order to make its boundaries, markers, and graves visible. For some, such intervention would not be considered. Others would go even further.

A project in Canada not related to the MCP or TRC, conducted at the site of the Peigan Indian Residential School (Victoria Jubilee Home), involved test excavations, as noted by Maass (2018). Archaeologist Sandra Dielissen (2012) describes her 2009 excavation at the Victoria Jubilee Home to detect and describe the archaeological signature of activities relating to the residential school and the Piikani experience with institutional space and place, as having produced an astounding 1187 objects ranging

from building materials and architectural fragments, to clothing and personal items, domestic objects, and school materials and supplies (107).⁷³ Maass also recounts “the 1996 excavation at the Industrial Indian School at Phoenix, Arizona, conducted by archaeologist Owen Lindauer [which] produced over 100,000 artifacts from excavations associated with the early period of the school’s 100-year history (1891-1990)” (Lindhauer et al. 1996, qtd. in Maass 2018, 80). In *Historical Archaeology of the United States Industrial Indian School at Phoenix: Investigations of a Turn of the Century Trash Dump. Anthropological Field Studies Number 42.*, Lindauer and his co-authors describe their findings in relation to the five research themes, the daily life of the students, types of discipline used, evidence of Indigenous religious practices, self-expression in traditional ways, home identity practices, and creation of a new identity through the assimilation of ideas from other Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples (Lindhauer et al. 1996).

Maass makes a case for archaeological study of the former Indian residential school sites where initiated by Survivors and their communities, and shows through her example of working with the Penelakut that community members can take active roles in the investigation, which can assist them to both learn from sites and reclaim them. Outlining protocols for ethical engagement with Indigenous communities, Maass’ contributes best practices in investigations that begin with desk-based methods but that may lead to excavation if desired by communities. Given that most children who die in residential schools were buried onsite, rather than transported to their communities of origin, there may come a day when communities will wish to have their remains repatriated and reburied in ceremony. It is not for archaeologists to determine what

⁷³ See Dielissen, *Teaching a school to talk*, for more information about her ethical protocols and findings.

Indigenous communities want and turn away from such interventions, assuming they are not wanted; rather it is for communities to decide to what uses they might put archaeology. Moving toward museo-archaeology, I close this discussion of the MCP with a quote from Alex Maass, who was one of the most vocal proponents of continuing its work:

Archaeology can make the missing known. History can illuminate the past and expose the truth, but only archaeology can reveal the truth in a concrete way and thus reclaim the missing, while also providing a kind of closure, which many Survivors seek. The nature of archaeology as a discipline is unique in this way because it provides tangible and physical evidence; whereas history can provide “a telling,” archaeology can provide “a knowing”. Archaeological methodologies can give communities a known physical place that may become a place of memorialization. In this way it can go some ways to alleviate the suffering of the living by providing a physical site for the dead. And so archaeology can contribute to the humanitarian effort to record and commemorate the places IRS students lived and died by providing the physical evidence that families need. This becomes more pressing as the numbers of aging Survivors diminishes. (Maass 2018, 72).

4.3 Musealizing Archaeology

From 2011- 2014, fulfilling its IRSSA obligations, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) made a sum of 20 million dollars available to Survivor, Indigenous community, and ‘reconciliation’ advocacy groups for commemoration projects related to Indian residential schools. One of the projects resulted in the creation of the *Witness Blanket*, an exhibition, national in scope, comprised of 800+ artefactual, architectural, photographic, and documentary fragments drawn from residential schools, related churches, government offices, and Indigenous places across Canada, described by its creator Carey Newman as a blanket made of solid objects (Fig. 37). In *Picking Up the Pieces: Residential School Memories and the Making of the*

Witness Blanket, Newman (2019), an artist and carver of mixed Kwagiulth, Coast Salish, and English, Irish, and Scottish descent, and an intergenerational Survivor, explains the way in which the blanket, a wooden structure comprised of 13 panels upon which objects are appended in a quilt/star blanket motif, bears witness. He states, “My role as an artist is to bear witness...the pieces themselves are witnesses...the people giving us the pieces are witnesses and, at some level, we are all—or we should all be—witnesses” (8-9).

Aligning witnessing with traditional Kwakwaka’wakw and Salish ways, Newman states, “we [Kwakwaka’wakw] hold Potlatches to tell our stories, and then we give gifts to our guests and ask them to remember what they saw,” whereas in Salish tradition, “we ask people to stand and speak about what they have witnessed...then we acknowledge them by giving tokens or paying them to carry our history” (9). Carrying on this tradition, Newman gifted contributors with Witness Blanket coins to thank them and acknowledge their contributions.

Working with a coordinator and a regional collection team of three who travelled through the country collecting items, Newman managed to unearth a staggering number of artifacts related to residential schools, a feat that puts the Canadian Museum of History, with its handful of Indian residential school artifacts, to shame. The advance work of contacting communities by letter and phone, providing information about the project and its maker, of contacting Survivors and Elders, together with working through Indigenous coordinators, in sum, of approaching communities in a respectful manner to invite them to contribute their objects and stories to a meaningful, original, needed, and historic work of bearing witness to the Indian residential school system and its legacy and of honouring its Survivors, opened doors for Newman and his team. So too did the ethic

of gift-giving and reciprocity embedded in his process. Interestingly, similar to the Vilna Ghetto project described by Simon in “The Terrible Gift” (2006b), the exhibition curators were the first to receive and reckon with the assemblage that became a ‘terrible gift’, and it was through their mediatory curatorship and exhibitionary pedagogy, that its recursive ‘regifting’ was initiated.

Inspired by the *Witness Blanket*, in August of 2018, SRSC Archivist/Curator Krista McCracken, co-curator Jon Dewar and I, who were then preparing for the Survivor workshop that would initiate the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery, put out the following call to Survivors, which was published in the program for the 2018 Shingwauk Gathering and Conference:

“Speaking Through Objects” Workshop with Trina Bolam and Krista McCracken - Saturday August 4th at 1:30pm - 3:00pm in Room NW200

Calling Shingwauk Survivors: The Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre (SRSC) invites you to join us in developing the next phase of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition - a gallery that will present the stories and experiences of generations of survivors through the physical spaces of the various Shingwauk Schools and the objects they encountered in their daily lives.

Very few objects and artifacts were preserved from the Shingwauk residential schools, yet objects are essential to telling the story of lives lived in those schools. The SRSC requests your assistance in uncovering objects and artifacts and unlocking their stories, which will help visitors to connect to the history of this site, to your experiences, and those of others who spent their childhood and adolescent years here.

Join our workshop on Saturday August 4, 2018 at 1:30pm - 3:00pm in room NW200, where we will share physical objects, artifacts, and memories of Shingwauk school spaces.

Shingwauk survivors and descendants are invited to bring any objects and artifacts they wish to share. Staff will be on-site to 3D-scan objects that survivors wish to have digitally replicated and made accessible in the gallery’s Digital Object Library. Simply participating in this workshop is a valuable contribution to exhibition development.

Participants are under no expectation to digitize or loan their objects and artifacts to SRSC. Object and artifacts can be brought for discussion only, OR, for discussion and digitization, OR, for discussion, digitization and loan to SRSC for display in the new exhibition gallery. The choice of how to share your object or artifact is up to you. We hope you will join us in building this exciting new gallery.

The workshop was attended by approximately 25 people, with the CSAA well represented among its participants. Other participants included Survivors and intergenerational Survivors who were not CSAA members or Survivors of the Shingwauk schools, who for the most part, witnessed the discussion but did not contribute to it. Only one Survivor brought an object, which she did not introduce into the conversation but rather held back. Prepared for the possibility that objects would not be forthcoming, Jon, Krista, and I presented a series of photographs of spaces within the various iterations of the schools (including the kitchen photograph discussed in the previous chapter), asking Survivors to comment on the spaces and the objects depicted therein. From this session, the spaces that would be evoked in the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery and some of the objects used to animate them were identified. A long process of design and content development, reviewed by CSAA and other *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* stakeholders and advisors, followed this workshop, determining object acquisitions and the final form and content of the gallery. As described in Chapter 2, the few artifacts displayed in this gallery were heavily supplemented with contextual artifacts or props.

That objects related to the Shingwauk schools are not forthcoming is likely a reflection of the fact that its Survivors have been gathering to share their stories and photographs, and perhaps even some objects, on an annual or biennial basis since 1981, their gifts already represented in the SRSC archive and collection. That being said, Jon, Krista, and I thought additional objects would come out of the woodwork, provided we

created a culturally safe environment in which to introduce them. Indeed, as a result of the workshop, two Survivors, who are also CSAA members and siblings, donated their mother's sewing machine to the exhibition. While not from the school, the sewing machine is similar to those used in the school from the 1900s onward, and was thankfully accepted for use and later displayed as an important contextual artifact.

Those who cringed at the discussion of the use of such objects in the “Shingwauk Schools” gallery in Chapter 2, are likely revisiting their earlier discomfort. For example, one might ask, to what extent may objects such as a sewing machine used by students of a residential school constitute their material heritage? What about a sewing machine purchased by a Survivor for its likeness to ones they used in a residential school in their childhood? If, for example, the sewing of quilts is an expression of contemporary Indigenous artistic and cultural practice, is the sewing machine upon which they are made not implicated in the assemblage of quilting objects and practices that constitute the cultural heritage of their makers? Non-Indigenous appropriation of Indigenous objects has been the subject of much disapprobation as reflected in the discourses of the New Museology, post-colonial and decolonial theory. Does Indigenous appropriation of colonial objects cause us the same concerns? Receiving the sewing machine as a gift, the exhibition team embraced and used the subject of its ‘inauthenticity’ as an opportunity to discuss the practice of sewing that was taught to girls attending the Wawanosh and later Shingwauk schools, and the continuity of sewing practice through generations of girls and women at schools *and* in their home communities. Commissioned by an Anishinaabe intergenerational Survivor, a quilt is also displayed in the exhibition, indicating how in addition to their functional use, sewing machines have become a means by which

Indigenous artistic traditions and contemporaneities are expressed. Its placement between sections illustrative of the residential school era and that of SKG, foreshadow and contribute to the narrative of cultural resurgence that is realized in the current generation of Shingwauk school.

Our refusal, as curators, to attempt to impose rigid (ethnocentric) museal standards on ‘artifact’ acquisitions is central to our commitment to *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* as a Survivor-driven exhibition, whereby Survivors determine that which is of heritage significance. This statement may appear to suggest, on the one hand, that the degree to which it is Survivor-driven is determined by its curators, and on the other, that standards of curatorial integrity with respect to artifacts are not being respected. On the first point, experienced museal producers, whatever their role, witness routine shifts of authority in the exhibition development process, particularly in participatory work with source communities. Community members will, at times, rely on the specialized knowledge of museal producers; at other times, they will oppose them. As museal producers, we sometimes revert to conventional museum prescriptions and prohibitions, technical knowledge to which we unconsciously subject exhibition development, countering community wishes, and in so doing, asserting authority that can tip the balance of the collaboration. The balance of power is a boundary that curators must surveil and actively maintain, as they or any other party to the collaboration, can compromise the other. On the second point, a commitment to transparency, showing the provenance of objects in exhibition, and in cases of contextual dissonance like that created by the sewing machine, interpreting them and providing a rationale for their inclusion (for instance on a panel), allows curators to signal how significance has been

ascribed to these objects. Such practices reveal the constructed nature of exhibitions and contribute to their self-critical aspect, consistent with praxiological museology.

I suspect that Carey Newman received the gifts given by Survivors and other contributors to the *Witness Blanket* graciously and without scrutiny, as the protocol of gifting demands. Whether a nail genuinely came from this IRSSA-recognized residential school or somewhere else, was likely not of concern. Rather it is a gift that represents something of significance having to do with residential schools as determined by the giver. So, while the totality of artifacts that comprise the blanket may not meet the authenticity standards of institutions like the Canadian Museum of History, it is no less representative, no less significant, and no less an assemblage of objects of heritage value than any other. In fact, there is no comparison because the *Witness Blanket* is unlike any other Indian residential school artifact collection, there having been no other archaeological projects to recover or make accessible the materiality of residential schools.

What the *Witness Blanket* succeeded in unearthing was made possible through relationships of trust, without which the project would have found the artefactual landscape barren ground. Newman (2019) recounts the leap of faith taken by early contributors to the project and how their objects and stories, brought into other communities (but never alienated from their source) gave both the project team and prospective contributors confidence in themselves and in the project: “People could see that the blanket was going to be built—and even began to imagine how the items they donated would become part of something real” (16). Survivors asked Carey and the team what they would accept: would hockey skates be appropriate? moccasins? a doll? The

teams received a wide range of items, prohibiting none, returning none, the exhibit expanding and adapting correspondingly, becoming a 39-foot by 10-foot structure, weighing more than 1.8 tonnes (16-17).

Skepticism that an exhibition would be realized seemed to pervade the early consultations that resulted in the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition. Once the first three galleries were unveiled, the project took on new life for the CSAA and other stakeholders, some of whom thenceforth became involved in the project. Although the fourth gallery, that of the “Shingwauk Schools” has been in place since July 2019, it has not been visited by many Survivors. The annual gathering that brings Survivors to Algoma University was deferred from 2019 to 2020 and presents the first opportunity for the larger Survivor community to witness it. I suspect, and hope, that this object-oriented gallery will either inspire the donation of relevant objects held back, or create interest in a museo-archaeological intervention.

By now, I hope that it is clear that I do not make a categorical distinction between the archaeological practice of unearthing objects in the safekeeping of would-be contributors to exhibitions and those of archaeologists seeking to discover what is to be found in the ground. Indeed, the retrieval of objects occasioned in the making of the Witness Blanket can be seen as a form of field excavation. Objects witness history and history is witnessed upon them, inscribing them with traces of experiences past. In Chapter 3, I presented archaeologist Rodney Harrison’s (2016) definition of archaeological ethnography’, “a series of materially focused [critically-reflexive] ethnographic engagements with a distributed network of both humans and other-than human (agentive objects, places, practices, animals) in the ‘now’” (173), which I likened

to community archaeology already occurring in Canada. The *Witness Blanket* is one such project and can certainly be described as a work of museo-archaeology. Like the Southampton ‘Van’ Project previously mentioned, no physical excavation took place in the *Witness Blanket*. Rather, excavation occurred in a way that does not alienate objects ‘buried’ in homes and communities, but rather makes them visible in assemblage with other objects, create new relationships and ways of understanding the common history to which they bear witness.

As the blanket was coming to completion, Newman worried about the schools that had, up to that time, not been adequately represented, keeping spaces open for them. In response to late-coming objects and to the growing number of photographs and documents that continued to come in, Newman added a digital slideshow component to the exhibition (94). His 2019 exhibition catalogue co-authored with Kirstie Hudson, presents some of the themes, people, objects, and stories that emerged in the exhibition development process. Despite these supplements, I suggest the work of interpretation, connecting the blanket’s objects to their origins, should and will continue. Mapping the objects, establishing a geo-narrative and relationship between their place in the blanket, their provenance, and their previous caretakers, is one way to support ongoing interpretation. Doing so would also allow the circulation of the *Witness Blanket* to be mapped, to create a travel history of its objects and their collective testamentary address. However interpretation of the 800+ objects that make up the *Witness Blanket* is realized, indeed there are multiple ways it may be done, this critical dimension will reveal the enduring relationships between objects and their histories, which are histories of material, place, people, and experience.

4.4 The Residential Schools Land Memory Mapping Project (RSLMMP)

Coined by geographer Fraser Taylor in 1997, Cybercartography describes not only digital or virtual cartography, but also a critical framework for participatory research that includes mapping (and counter-mapping), with place and spatial relationships as organizing factors (Taylor 2005; Taylor and Pyne 2010). Described as a family within the critical cartography clan that uses the map as a metaphor and takes a holistic approach to blending theory with practice (Pyne, 2019b), Cybercartography has been deployed by communities in collaboration with researchers to iteratively build and share knowledge, to express multiple perspectives and agency, and to reclaim and reconstruct sites:

Cybercartographic atlas projects are transdisciplinary and holistic in nature, with an emphasis on storytelling, knowledge sharing, and enhancing awareness of different perspectives. The name of the software developed to create atlas modules—Nunaliit—illustrates the community orientation of the project. The word ‘Nunaliit’ means ‘settlement’, ‘community’, or ‘habitat’ in Inuktitut, the name given to the dialects of the Inuit language in Canada. This name was given to the cybercartographic framework to emphasize the community-based approach that was driving the development of the software in different domains: (1) open specification approaches; (2) modularity; (3) ‘live’ data; (4) geospatial storytelling; and (5) audio-visual mapping (Pyne 2019b, 231).

Cybercartographic researcher, Stephanie Pyne (2014; Pyne and Taylor 2015, Pyne and Taylor 2019), describes the cybercartographic atlases produced through cybercartographic practices as interactive multimedia websites containing map modules, which become embodiments of the ongoing iterative collaborative relationships and processes that go into making them (Fig. 35). Countering their colonial history and use, Pyne, Taylor, and Cooper-Bolam in their “Introduction” to *Cybercartography in a Reconciliation Community* (2019) claim, “Maps are increasingly thought of in

performative terms and are far more inclusive and reflective of multiple agendas than they were in their positivist and colonial past” (6). Reflexive deconstructive and reconstructive mapping practices animate critical cartography, which contribute to the de- and reconstruction of the cartographic field, bringing different epistemologies, and even ontologies into dialogue. The authors note that the critical turn in cartography has and continues to yield projects and practices that reflect and disseminate Indigenous perspectives, participating “in the collective quest to decolonize knowledge and knowledge-gathering processes” (Ibid). Discussing multi-disciplinary research in a reconciliation context, the authors reference the two-fold need for reconciliation between Peoples (intercultural reconciliation) and between people and the land—that is to say, for ‘environmental reconciliation’ (5). It is in this context and against a backdrop of active entwined Indian residential school mapping projects that the RSLMMP (funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) emerged.

As described by Pyne and Taylor (2019), the RSLMMP was proposed in 2014 to build on and contribute to four projects: (1) the Residential Schools and E.F. Wilson Maps of the Lake Huron Treaty Atlas upon which Pyne was then working, (2) the *National Commemorative Marker Project* in development by the Assembly of First Nations and the AHF⁷⁴, (3) emerging work with the NCTR, and (4), intersecting work with the *Embodying Empathy* project (46). Generally speaking, the RSLMMP proposed to work with Survivor and other community groups, religious organizations and among

⁷⁴ In 2013, aware of Pyne’s collaborative work on the Residential Schools Map, which was developed for the Lake Huron Treaty Atlas, in my capacity as co-manager of the AFN/AHF National Commemorative Marker Project, I contacted Pyne and Carleton University’s Geomatics and Cybercartographic Research Centre (GCRC) to develop a map that would both identify IRS sites and showcase community-based commemorations. This is how I first became involved in the work of GCRC and later, the RSLMMP project.

residential schools and sites across Canada (Ibid). With funding from a SSHRC Insight Grant for a five-year period from 2015-2020, the RSLMMP was initiated. I came onboard in its first year as a PhD-level research assistant. My field site has been the Shingwauk Education Trust, my focus, to develop a prototype Shingwauk Industrial Home map module. My ongoing research contribution to the project has been to try to piece together a historical geography (and land biography) of the Shingwauk Education Trust—the site of the Shingwauk industrial and residential schools from the late 19th century to the present. Its shifting topography and shoreline relative to St. Mary’s River, the result of successive locks-construction projects in the mid and late 1800s, and of natural accretion and dumping from river dredging⁷⁵, has made my labour of attempting to map the location of the many buildings that comprised the industrial campus over time, with many of their remains now underwater, a formidable challenge (Fig. 38).

In many ways, through the Shingwauk Industrial Home map module, I am trying to create a virtual representation and environment like that of the virtual Fort Alexander Indian Residential School developed through the *Embodying Empathy* project, only in plan view, rather than as an architectural model. Recreating the plan drawings of Shingwauk Home, the main building of the industrial school, over a series of phases in its construction, I am, with the help of many other research assistants, attempting to locate the places where children worked, ate, studied, prayed, and slept as a means to better understanding their histories and experiences, and to convey this framework in a format in which Survivors and other stakeholders and project participants can ‘locate’ and convey their knowledge, learnings, and perspectives. It is one means to reclaim ‘virtual

⁷⁵ River-dredging is mentioned in the 2016 Shingwauk Property Briefing Note prepared by Ken Hernden, University Librarian and University Archivist, Algoma University for Shingwauk Education Trust.

space' and reconcile, at least virtually, the site to the features it has lost. Learning from the *Embodying Empathy* project, which noted, "even spaces created with close reference to 'official' blueprints proved inaccurate when compared with Survivors' memories" (2018, 255), the Shingwauk Industrial Home map was designed to allow the virtual building plans and their allocations of space to be contested and/or supplemented through layering of multiple perspectives and experiences. The SRSC has in its collection recorded testimony of Survivors from the early 20th century, the late industrial period of the school. Their descriptions of space, together with archival building data, will determine the representation of the buildings and campus in the map. That being said, there is much we do not know. An often overlooked aspect of the industrial period of the Shingwauk school was the expansiveness of the enterprise. Acres of land were under tillage at any given time, numerous other buildings and outbuildings, including the chapel, hospital, factory, barns, dairy, laundry, etc., dotted the landscape, which was occupied by children, clergy, teachers, staff, tradesmen, a farmer, one or more guards, and a range of livestock (Fig. 39). The paths trod upon by generations of children, their secret places of refuge, their food caches, and their runaway routes are all unknown to us and remain to be mapped along with their stories. Eventually, the module will be populated with polygons representing former buildings, with stories and photographs, and, hopefully, recovered geographic features.

Unlike *Embodying Empathy*, navigating the module is not expected to stimulate the same sort of embodied experiences of empathy, the user having no opportunity to enter buildings in an immersive simulated environment. That being said, geo-narratives are critical ones and this research performs an important role in assisting its participants

to understand the relationship of the history of the Shingwauk schools to the site on which it left its indelible but partially hidden marks. Interpreting maps and map-making as performative iterations made and re-made over and over again with each encounter (Del Casino and Hanna 2006), reveals the transformation of map users into map makers. In this way, the RSLMMP becomes, like *Embodying Empathy*, a model of living and decolonized heritage practice, of reconciliatory praxis, and non-extractive Indigenous/non-Indigenous co-creation and research (Muller et al. 2018, 249).

The RSLMMP explicitly demonstrates the effects of Ellingson's (2009) methodology of *crystallization* (discussed in the introduction) on research in progress. The main 'trunk' of the RSLMMP is the Residential Schools Land Memory Atlas of which the Shingwauk Industrial Home map is but one module. A number of complementary and supportive modules have iteratively/organically branched off the main trunk, for example, the "I Have a Right to Be Heard," the "Jeff Thomas and WATC Exhibitions," and the "In the News" modules.⁷⁶ Pyne explains (Personal Communication 2020), "as a compilation of many 'mapped' narratives, the Residential Schools Land Memory Atlas evolved through processes of oral knowledge transmission among a distributed team of participating contributors and spans a variety of scales, reflecting the various interrelated dimensions of the residential schools legacy in a reconciliation

⁷⁶ As explained by Pyne (2013), the "I Have a Right to Be Heard" module is a geo-transcription of an essay by Jeff Thomas. The "Jeff Thomas and WATC Exhibition" geo-archives solo and group exhibitions by Jeff Thomas in juxtaposition with the various instantiations of the "Where Are the Children Exhibition" over time. The "In the News" module is a gathering place for news stories on various themes of a broad interpretation of the "Residential Schools Legacy," which includes such dimensions as language and culture, institutional policy, Survivors' stories, healing, day schools, sixties scoop, art and performance and foster care. The aims underlying its design and development include: raising awareness of the multitude of events, issues and perspectives relevant to reconciliation that occur at local, regional and broader scales; engaging students in summarizing and reflecting on the stories, in addition to potentially sharing and mapping their perspectives; and presenting the results in the map for further comment and input by others (Pyne 2020).

context.” Pyne and Taylor assert, that a broad and critical interpretation of cartography enables a fuller understanding of the extent to which cybercartographic maps are being created in a collaborative transdisciplinary context involving critical approaches to cartography, archival studies, museology, archaeology and education (2019).

4.5 In the Absence of Artifacts: Uncovering Terrible Gifts Archaeological

This section focusses not on artifacts in circulation, but those in community possession and those that may be discovered in the course of public archaeological work, or that Survivors and other stakeholders may choose to preserve in fallow space and time. Human remains, which rest undisturbed in the Fauquier Memorial Cemetery, and will likely continue as such, are included in this discussion of Terrible Gifts Archaeological.

The Shingwauk site is currently host to AU’s sprawling and ever-expanding campus and complex, to SKG and its Anishinaabe Discovery Centre now in construction, and to the Bishop Fauquier Memorial Chapel and Cemetery, municipally designated heritage sites (Part IV). In addition, part of the Shingwauk Education Trust land is forested. A large berm is situated in front of the main AU building, close to a commemorative cairn to Wilson, upon which a plaque commemorating Survivors has also been placed. Pyne suggests the berm was created from the rubble of the former Shingwauk Home building (Personal Communication 2019). What we know of where it was situated reinforces Pyne’s hypothesis, the premise of this cache of material sparking the museo-archaeological imagination. There are several parties with archaeological interest in the Shingwauk site. AU’s new Canada Research Chair in Healing and Reconciliation, archaeologist Paulette Steeves, has an interest in AU/SKG/SET site-based archaeological projects, which would undoubtedly unfold in partnerships with AU’s

Geography faculty and program. Steeves' upcoming book, *The Indigenous Paleolithic of the Western Hemisphere (the Americas)*, scheduled for release by the University of Nebraska Press in 2020, will provide evidence, first published by Steeves in 2015, of pre-13,200 cal BP (calibrated years before present) archaeology sites in North America, validating claims (Gilbert et al. 2008; Waters et al. 2011 a and b; Steeves 2015) of a pre-Clovis record of Indigenous occupation of North America. With a focus on decolonizing Indigenous history and relationships to the land, Steeves' archaeological investigations at the Shingwauk site may prove at odds with those oriented to increasing the visibility and uncovering the materiality of the 19th century colonial history of the site, such that its inheritors may better learn its history, better empathize with the historical experience of others, and better reckon with and reclaim (and decolonize) the site.

4.6 Intervention at Shingwauk

Despite different focusses, Steeves and Pyne and I, have considered the possibilities of using LiDAR (light detection and ranging) remote sensing technology to perform a non-invasive scan of the site to reveal historical configurations and patterns of use not discernable to the human eye. While LiDAR is a type of laser-based aerial scan, ground penetrating radar (GPR), which involves using electromagnetic radiation to image the ground surface, requires participants to push the imaging devices, which are fashioned with a degree of likeness to small lawnmowers, across the ground surface. Considered non-destructive, GPR requires that the ground surface has been sufficiently cleared to allow the device to move across it, and necessitates its operators to walk across the ground surface, which in the case of cemeteries or burial grounds, may not be considered appropriate. On the other hand, the work of Alex Maass with the Penelakut

shows that some communities may be willing to initiate, direct, and participate in the use of such technologies to find the burial places of their missing children, which may even become a precursor to repatriation and reburial.

The Site:

For the purposes of exploring options for a museo-archaeological intervention at the Shingwauk site to bequeath its Terrible Gifts Archaeological, I propose the following for Survivor consideration:

1. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to perform non-invasive archaeology through remote-sensing technologies to locate the foundations of the former industrial school campus, and to determine historical topography and land-use patterns.
2. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to connect archaeological projects that demonstrate the pre-possessed state of the site and its occupations over time.
3. Working with Survivors through cybercartographic and material processes to re- and counter-map the Shingwauk site as a means of virtual and physical reclamation. With the geographical locations of the former campus buildings identified, their corresponding digital architectural models may be integrated within the RSLMMP or similar cybercartographic atlas to create an accurate (geo-rectified) landscape model and map.
4. Working with Survivors to scan the berm though remote sensing, and if found to contain the demolition rubble of the former Shingwauk Home and industrial school building, to dig a test trench through invasive archaeological processes to determine what artefactual material might be found there. If once this is done, the

artefactual material retrieved is of interest to the Survivors and other stakeholders, to expand the dig to retrieve additional artifacts (which would hopefully provide new evidence of the historical experiences of lives lived in the industrial school period).

5. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders, to encourage community participation to the degree desired and possible in the archaeological work itself and on the interpretation and display of artifacts in exhibition.
6. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to document and disseminate the archaeological work through the exhibition and other sources as determined by them/
7. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to reclaim, cleanse, and decolonize the site, in a manner determined by the them.

In the Community:

I propose the following for the consideration of Survivors and other stakeholders: Working with the SRSC, AU, and AKG to bring the *Witness Blanket* exhibition or screen the *Picking Up the Pieces: The Making of the Witness Blanket* film with Survivors to initiate a renewed *Speaking Through Objects* workshop. In the workshop, participants would jointly discuss the artefactual record and objects and stories of objects from the Shingwauk schools. This would create an opportunity for participants with objects or stories to share to come forward. Object biographies could be developed both in the presence and absence of objects, which could then be used in the exhibition.

The Cemetery:

Returning to the discussion of TRC-led investigations of missing children and burial sites and of the Manorhamilton Workhouse project, which involved exhuming human remains to learn about the lives and deaths of its former inmates, it is apparent that such archaeological work yields important information without which we cannot get a full picture of these related difficult pasts. That being said, invasive archaeology, exhumations and testing of the kind performed at the Manorhamilton site was not part of the Missing Children project and is not likely to be supported by Shingwauk Survivors and stakeholders. For Survivors who question the comprehensiveness of the burial register of the Bishop Fauquier Memorial Cemetery and who may wish to undertake archaeological investigation, minimally invasive techniques are possible. For example, Holocaust archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls (2015) discusses how stripping, removing the turf and overburden of a suspected grave site, can reveal enough of the soil to confirm the presence of a grave and to allow laser scanning and high-resolution photography without disturbing the human remains there interred. Sturdy Colls explains, “these techniques can facilitate detailed analysis of any trauma or pathologies evident on the remains that are visible, and may even allow further anthropological analysis, in the form of age and sex estimation to be carried out, depending upon the condition and visibility of the remains” (191). The advances in scanning and imaging technologies detailed by Sturdy Colls, who makes significant contributions to the advancement of desk-based and non or minimally invasive archaeological methods, should trigger a degree of reconsideration of what is possible and desirable with respect to archaeology and even museo-archeology. GPR (without stripping) can also be used at the cemetery but may not

provide the kind of anthropological insights available through the use of the technologies previously mentioned.

It remains to be seen whether conditions of the cemetery would allow entirely non-invasive investigation of the cemetery via LiDAR. The cemetery is situated in a small clearing of a fairly densely forested area adjacent to the East Wing of the main Algoma University building. Methods of archaeological investigation, if any investigation is desired, would be determined by assessing the project goals in combination with field site conditions, and prohibitions against site modification through clearing and excavation. Although I feel it unlikely that Shingwauk Survivors and other stakeholders will wish to initiate archaeological investigation, I cannot make the assumption that this is the case; it is not for me to decide how and to what extent they may wish to make the site's Terrible Gifts Archaeological visible. That being said, much can be done through site interpretation, including using VR. For example, some cemeteries in Japan offer a virtual memorial accessed through Suma Tomb, a mobile application that places an image of the deceased at their gravesite ("SXSW: Designing Our Digital Death | Art&Seek"). While this may seem a crude tribute, it does raise the possibility of employing VR to provide biographical information on those interred in the cemetery, giving visibility to those who cannot speak for themselves. Also, the exhibition can provide visibility for the deceased in displaying the documentation surrounding their death and burial. I propose the following for the consideration of Survivors and other stakeholders:

1. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to create a forum for discussion of the potential for archaeological investigation and/or inclusion of the cemetery and

those buried in exhibition interpretation, whether in situ through VR or commemorative plaques or interpretive panels, or in an exhibition gallery.

Such a session would require Survivors and stakeholders to gain some familiarity, for example, through a presentation, of the range of archaeological and museological technologies and methods available. Researchers involved in the renewed Missing Children Project should also be invited to present ideas and information about the project and about archaeological work taking place at similar Indian residential school cemetery sites. While, as previously mentioned, it is unlikely that an archaeological agenda will result, in the interest of advancing community-based and Indigenous, and even decolonizing archaeology and museo-archaeology, a full range of options must be presented, respectfully, for consideration.

In Exhibition:

It may have by now become clear to the reader that the combination of proposed architectural and archaeological interventions both recreate lost spaces and ground them in their physical and material counterparts, creating the potential for an emplaced experience of an historical landscape and storyworld. The next chapter, *Terrible Gifts Mnemonic*, discusses how these spaces and object and artifacts found therein can become animated through performances of story and memory. The proposal I have been building toward is the following:

1. Working with Survivors and other stakeholders to realise a project to project the virtual architectural models for the Shingwauk Home and the other buildings that comprised the industrial complex/campus onto their actual historical geographic locations at 1:1 scale using projection mapping techniques and technology to

restage the campus as a whole as a storyworld space for experiential exhibition, and encounters with Survivors' and others' stories and performances as proposed in Chapter 5.

Projection mapping, a form of spatial augmented reality, uses still images and film clips mapped onto a substrate to create the illusion of 3D form and space, and can transition and morph. Holographic technology is similar but does not require a substrate and its images appear to hover in space. Both can be used to visually manifest phenomena in three dimensions, creating the illusion of presence from absence. An example of projection mapping can be seen in *Northern Lights, The Sound and Light show on Parliament Hill*, which as part of its display, animates the fire of 1916. The appendices to the *Missing Children* volume of the TRC Final Report list the school fires that the TRC identified in the course of preparing the volume. These include schools and outbuildings destroyed by fire, additional fires that did not destroy buildings, and school fires that were suspected or proven to be deliberately set. The reasons for appending this information is not made clear in the volume, but its placement suggests these fires in some way respond to the victimization chronicled in its first 138 pages (TRC 2015). In *Healing Heritage: New Approaches to Commemorating Canada's Indian Residential School System* (2014), I discuss examples wherein demolition of former Indian residential schools, often in the context of ceremony, take the form of healing and commemorative practices, allowing Survivors, their families and communities, to reclaim and reinscribe places of victimization as places of healing and reconciliation (97-99). Where schools no longer exist, as in cases where perpetrators have died, Survivors are denied an opportunity for confrontation and or/healing and reconciliation. By evoking these spaces

through virtual means, Survivors can also virtually burn them down, over and over again. To rebuild such spaces would be tantamount to colonizing the land upon which they are built a second time and, a strategy, I argue, is not compatible with reclamation. Survivors having the technology and means to manifest these environments in their own time and for their own purposes, however, allows for repeated engagements with place within a culturally safe context. As will be discussed in the next chapter, such virtual, ephemeral environments can also become the stage sets, story space or expository space for exhibitionary assemblages and performances that function as epitomizing events and site of secondary and prosthetic memory formation. They allow for testamentary address in an environment without the need of VR headsets or handheld devices, where history, a Terrible Gift, is literally virtually manifested, powerfully evoked, in front of our very eyes and around us.

Praxiological museology demands that the (disciplinary) approaches, processes, methods, and technologies of exhibition are rendered visible and open to critique. The staged and ephemeral nature of VR and AR is apparent as expressed in the character of the representations and experiences it constructs. A landscape now dark, now brilliantly illuminated and animated cannot be mistaken for reality, but I argue, is not less affective than the filmic representations described by Landsberg (2004) in *Prosthetic Memory*. The AR, VR, and projection mapping technologies described and proposed, supplement the existing Shingwauk site landscape with a new interpretive layer, one that reveals and bestows Terrible Gifts. These technologies also correspond to places within the site itself, and as such require visitors to discover them, creating embodied memory. In returning

history to its geography, such projects create opportunities for reckoning and what Pyne (2019) calls, “environmental reconciliation.”

4.7 Performing Archaeology as Praxiological Museology

Community-based, Survivor-led museo-archaeology has the potential to uncover and make visible much of the now fallowed material fabric of the Shingwauk site. As previously discussed, the TRC Missing Children Project has been the primary driver of archaeological investigation of Indian residential schools and has relied chiefly on desk-based methods supplemented with limited ground-truthing to discover the number of children who died, their cause of death, and where they are buried. Little attention has been focused on the archaeology of the former residential school buildings and grounds and until the *Witness Blanket* unearthed 800+ objects, the artefactual landscape of the residential schools was thought impoverished. The participatory practices of Penelakut performing GPR, and of contributors to the *Witness Blanket*, which is my opinion is a project of museo-archaeological character, suggest a way for Survivors, their families, and communities to become involved in ongoing public museo-archaeological practice. I believe the Shingwauk site offers an appropriate context for some manner of archaeological investigation and practice, to be determined by Survivors and other stakeholders. This belief responds to the express desires of some CSAA members to investigate the Bishop Fauquier Memorial Cemetery. Work undertaken, whether archaeological or museo-archaeological, will reveal gifts and testament, and the land and material remains will become part of the prospective exhibitionary assemblage, exercising agency previously unrecognized and unheeded. As a form of praxiological museology, the potential for the Terrible Gift through a hybrid archaeology (professional

and community – sharing in historical recovery) and through virtuality (imaging, projections, projected environments, performances, juxtapositions may presence and call us to witness multiple occupations of the landscape, making palpable its palimpsestic nature, and laying the groundwork to enjoin Simon’s community of the living and the dead.

Chapter 5: Terrible Gifts Mnemonic: Witnessing, Form & Performance

In the last two chapters, I proposed material and virtual interventions as a means of historical inquiry, recovery, and remediation, emphasizing both the testamentary quality of things in themselves and highlighting the necessity for specialized interpretation and translation of evidence that does not communicate its secrets to the layperson. While the latter category of material fragments makes the imputed significance and thus the constructed nature of the object transparent, my argument, thus far, has muted three important issues that I will now address. The first 1) is the constructed nature of mnemonic evidence, of testament and testimony, the second 2), its mediating influence on the interpretation of other forms of evidence and on historicization in general, and third 3), the impact of the confluence of evidence *mise-en-scène* on witnesses, secondary witnesses (those artists and cultural producers who historicize anew, re-enacting a history through which they did not live to perform a difficult return) , and on publics taking on vicarious memories and, sometimes, vicarious trauma. Marianne Hirsch (2012), describes as postmemorial work, efforts to “reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression [whereby]...less directly affected participants can become engaged in the generation of [persistent] postmemory” (33). This chapter, while showing testimony and memory to be co-constitutive, also considers those gifts of memory distinct from but always in entangled relation with testimony, which become embodied in and activated through monuments and other postmemorial expressions. Following a last comparative analysis, an exploration of postmemorial expressions (public art, monuments, memorials, virtual

commemorations) in the context of difficult history, I describe a final intervention, which layers onto, configures, and activates those proposed in the previous two chapters, and culminates in the bequeathing of a Terrible Gift at the Shingwauk site.

5.1 Memory Mediates Materiality

My text, up to this point, might be taken as suggesting that evidence projects its gifts forward, to posterity, either directly or through the mediation of a specialist ‘handler’ (forensic architect, archaeologist, curator, etcetera). Survivors involved in the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition and the larger though undefined Healing and Reconciliation Through Education projects both drive their efforts and form a critical segment of their target audiences. Their needs must be satisfied first. Established in 2008, the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre is a creation of the CSAA and the National Residential School Survivors Society (NRSSS) in partnership with AU, that “co-ordinates, catalogues, stores and displays the Residential School artefacts, photographs, documents and resources donated and collected” (“The Shingwauk Project | Shingwauk Residential School Centre”). To a significant degree a Survivor-directed initiative, the SRSC relies heavily on Survivor memory. Indeed, its collecting practices, and its uses and interpretations of its formidable archive are Survivor-informed and Survivor-centric. Interpretation and experience of the materiality of the evidentiary landscape of the Shingwauk schools (and its absence) are as mediated by this significant edifice (the collective of Survivors directing the work of the SRSC) on the mnemonic landscape, as they are by the memories of individual Survivors who communicate with and through the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition. What I have argued in the previous two chapters,

that materiality mediates memory, is also true in its inversion: memory mediates materiality.

Things from the past, as archaeologist Bjørnar Olsen (2010) asserts, are vessels through which the past lives in the present, their encodings and inscriptions at least as provisional as they are (also provisionally) fixed through the normative technologies of seeing maintained by the disciplines whose business it is to see. Prominent scholars of material culture from both sides of the constructionist/materialist divide, together with those advocating and realizing its elision, have in the past two decades sought to redraw our attention to the thingness of objects (Brown 2003, 2004, Olsen 2010), to their agential properties in entangled relation (Gell 1998, Latour 2012, Ingold 2016, Thomas 2009, Olsen 2010), Barad 2007), and to their ‘dynamic’ and ‘vibrant’ presence and qualities (Olsen 2010, J. Bennett 2010). My project is neither to survey nor to disentangle these positions, which mirror the entanglement of theorists and objects in and in relation to discourse. Rather, this chapter looks at gifts mnemonic within the discursive, material and virtual terrain of postmemorialization as they relate to the museological efforts of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*. It does this not only in terms of mnemonic evidence: what is remembered and communicated as a form of gift and inheritance, but also in terms of memory’s reified and emplaced transmission over time, its functional inscription on the physical landscape and its associated mnemonic legacies and social impacts. As such, this chapter is concerned with the relationship between memory and form, postmemory and monuments.

5.2 Qualities of Memory (we don't talk about)

In chapter 2, I discussed how Canadians became aware, to the extent to which they have, of the history and legacy of the Indian residential school system. Those who attended a TRC event, and specifically those who partook of the spectacle of Survivor statement-sharing, are among the minority in Canada for whom this history became vicarious memory. Psychologists David Pillemer, Kristina Steiner, Kie Kuwabara, Kirkegaard Thomsen, and Connie Svob (2015) term vicarious memories “recollections people have of salient life episodes that were told to them by another person” (234). In their study rating autobiographical memories and memories recounted by others on phenomenological measures of memory vividness, emotional intensity, visualization, and physical reactions, the aforementioned authors found vicarious memories functioned in ways similar to autobiographical memories but at a lower intensity (242). Incredibly, approximately half of the study participants reported ‘seeing’ the memories of others not from an observer perspective but from their own at least some of the time (Ibid). Citing recent and emerging research, the authors suggest that 1) remembering the past and imagining the future, and 2) remembering one’s own past and taking on the memories of others, may reflect more consistent neurophysiological patterning than previously thought (243). What this suggests is that the effects of recalling autobiographical memories, of instantiating the recall of witnessing and thereby witnessing a second time and those of dwelling in the memories of others, may not be the different animals they seem, calling into question the categorical differences of ‘authentic’ and ‘prosthetic’ memory.

The authenticity and ‘truth’ of memory, particularly of traumatic memory in its conveyance to others in testimony, has long been a subject of debate. Testimony is a

motivated (re)construction of memory as experiential historical narrative. In attending to testament and testimony, curators circulate within and among what Simon (2006a) calls “the community of the living and the dead” (120), deploying curatorial judgment in articulating stories (sometimes assisted by the living), which are necessarily as constructed as the material upon which they draw. That is not to say that material testimonial or curatorial is inauthentic, but that it foregrounds bits of information and conceals or forgets other bits. In *The Era of the Witness*, Annette Wieviorka (2006) documents the mistrust Survivor testimony has been met with by historians of the Holocaust who find themselves confounded by its inconsistencies with other, more empirically-qualified, sources of data. Simon (2005) discusses the paradox of testimony that is both historically significant and perforated with factual errors, positing:

This paradox suggests that rather than attending to testimony as simply a conveyance of observed events, one must also attend to how a person translates his or her experience of historical trauma across time and space. This requires a moment wherein a witness adjourns the trial in which the speaker’s testimony is judged with regard to the elision between what the testifier claims to know, and what that person, does not, or could not, know. This adjournment acknowledges the limits of what can be said, while opening up what might be heard in testimony to a referent beyond what is fully masterable by cognition (Caruth 1995). It allows for truths to emerge from the plane on which testimonial reference cannot be recognized and adjudicated as discursively organized knowledge (57).

Similarly, Dominick LaCapra (1998) states “...the challenge is not to dwell obsessively on trauma as an unclaimed experience that occasions the paradoxical witnessing of the breakdown of witnessing but rather to elaborate a mutually informative, critical questioning relation between memory and reconstruction that keeps one sensitive to the problematics of trauma” (183). Adjournment becomes a form of ethical deferral or following, creating a moment in which we can listen and know differently. What happens

when the moment has passed? How does reconstruction begin? As the aforementioned scholars attest, subjecting Survivors and Survivor testimony to empirical standards of proof is problematic on many levels and may constitute for testimony-givers a final betrayal in the series of cascading betrayals that occasioned the originating trauma. Veena Das (1995) suggests a theory of chaos may best reflect the victim's understanding of the world as accidental and contingent in nature (22). If that is the case, memory then manifests in the absence of a structuring framework or durable referents, a lack the rememberer must fill with anchoring details of personal significance, which may not map neatly onto other sources of evidence. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, Jenny Edkins (2003) suggests "the subject is formed around and through a veiling of, that which cannot be symbolized [through language]—the traumatic real" (12). Yet redress is often predicated on the ability of victims to verbally articulate their experience of trauma, and in doing so, makes of them subjects of medicalization, which can be seen as a further disempowerment and condition of voicelessness. The pursuit of social justice through public inquiries, truth commissions, among other investigative instruments, requires national narratives to emerge, stories of common victim experiences, which can often provide the referent missing in singular narratives, resulting in both a 'recovery of memory' and a more generalized account of shared historical trauma. Citing research on memory's instability and susceptibility to distortion in "The remembering of forgetting: recovered memory and the question of experience," Marita Sturken (1998) asserts "that the debate over the truth and falsehood of these memories is essentially irresolvable" (104), and suggests we turn our attention instead to issues of how these memories are

directly experienced as truths, creating an empirical situation (105-106) and gaining agency of their own.

5.3 Memories Not Our Own: Representation, Reconstruction, and Return

It bears restating that Roger I. Simon's (2006b) claim, "there is no futurity (no break from the endless repetition of a violent past) without memories that are not your own but nevertheless claim you to a responsible memorial kinship and the corresponding thought such a problematic inheritance evokes," exhorts us to take on memories not our own. It would appear from this statement that the responsibility and sense of kinship Simon seeks to stimulate necessitates that representations of traumatic memory are met with empathy. Alison Landsberg (2004) suggests that prosthetic memory itself is a source of empathy across difference. Dominica LaCapra (1998), cautions however, that without critical distance, empathy "...raises knotty perplexities, for it is difficult to see how one can be empathetic without intrusively arrogating to oneself the victim's experience or undergoing (unconsciously or consciously) surrogate victimage" (182). Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert (2000) similarly recognize that remembrance practices that do not introduce necessary discontinuities between the past and present, in their "...performances of surrogacy that may leave the living in the breach of melancholia" (5), create or reinforce both identificatory continuities and vicarious trauma. In her abstract to *The Generation of PostMemory*, Marianne Hirsch (2012) asserts that "Children of [Holocaust] survivors and their contemporaries inherit catastrophic histories not through direct recollection but through haunting postmemories, multiply mediated images, objects, stories, behaviors, and affects passed down within the family and the culture at large." Such inheritances assert "a relation that risks our becoming wounded in

the attendance to the wounds of the other” (Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2000, 5). Recalling the earlier discussion of the post-traumatic turn and Mark Jarzombek’s (2006) insistence on privileging the telling of tragedy over healing, we must wonder: is not becoming wounded a necessary harm; is it not the means by which affective force conscientizes? Simon et al. (2000), calls hopeful trauma, “memorial enactment that interminably unsettles what it means to be invested in and guided by (consciously and unconsciously) the normative frames that govern our existence” (5).

5.4 Memory Made Material

Memorialization is the practice whereby memory ritually reproduces itself, often at a memorial or commemorative site. While some memorials, (often called monuments) perform history—that is to say they symbolize or reproduce an historical event or site, others perform memory, a representation or embodiment of an experience of history. Of course, many, to greater or lesser degrees of success, attempt to do both. In proposing to occupy and thus intervene with the physical landscape of the former Shingwauk Home and Hall, transforming little programmed recreational space fronting AU’s campus into a spectral Indian industrial school complex of the 1890s, I am attempting to support the Survivors in their efforts to realize *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*’s commemorative objectives, in addition to its pedagogical, cultural and socio-political ones. Recreating, if ephemerally, the material attributes of this would-be Site of Conscience corresponds in grand scale to Simon’s mise-en-scène. Inhabiting the space created by the architecture of the mapped 3D projection assembles Survivors and visitors alike in the scene of exhibition, a place where memory is transacted. I am suggesting that the category of thing that would be created by the proposed intervention is that of a performative monument.

Similarly, the rituals performed and practices enacted in the space of the monument become both memorial and postmemorial contexts wherein the Terrible Gift is bequeathed and reciprocated, in part, through the committed active perpetuation and taking on of memories not one's own. Before discussing the proposal and its performative elements and intended effects further, a discussion of select recent forms (material constructions of history and memory) and processes of difficult commemoration, and the insights they might offer the Shingwauk site, is warranted.

5.5 A Glance at Difficult Commemorations in the 20th and 21st Century

A consequence of Charlottesville Vice Mayor Wes Bellamy's 2016 call to remove a statue of Confederate general Robert E. Lee from a local city park, an action that inaugurated widespread public contestation, repudiation of monuments, and scholarly debate, is the recapitulation of late 20th century interrogations of form, expression, and performativity. Our discursive and material inheritance from that period of counter-monumentality, which responded to the inadequacy of the commemorative repertoire to represent the Holocaust and other genocides of the recent past, is a memorial landscape dotted with alternating expressions of postmodern minimalism and traumatic figuration. Loosely and respectively associated with state performances of redress (performances of history) and victims' struggle for recognition (performances of memory), these expressions have, with some notable exceptions, defied codification within a counter-monumental grammar, which, given the provenance of counter-movements in artistic defiance and license, is a testament to their reflexive durability as a typology or genre. While no playbook with respect to form is hence forthcoming, trends and tendencies in monuments in the 21st century are observable. Calls to commemorate difficult pasts, a

product of late 20th/early 21st century transitional justice processes, particularly those involving truth commissions, have placed the burden of redefining the monument on states and citizens alike, resulting in its elision with memorial and associated commemorative practices. No less has Canada been called upon to create monuments to difficult pasts, yet its 2019 counter-memorial landscape can be described as barren at best, and as such we are compelled to look from without for promising models, beginning with Germany, the birthplace of the counter-monument.

Described as a landmark study of Holocaust memorials, James E. Young's (1993) *The Texture of Memory* reflects on the "rise of countermonuments: brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being" as instances of "memory against itself in Germany" (27). Examining the features of what Stevens, Franck, and Fazakerley (2012) consider to be Young's two paradigmatic examples, Horst Hoheisel's 1987 *Aschrott-Brunnen Memorial* and Jochen Gerz and Esther Gerz's 1986 *Monument Against Fascism*, the authors attempt to distinguish counter-monuments from 'traditional' ones in terms of form, expression, and performativity. Stevens et al., assert counter-monuments eschew and invert traditional monumental forms, "express a position opposing a particular belief or event rather than affirming it," and, "invite close, multi-sensory visitor engagement," which resisting didacticism, necessitate that visitors work out meanings for themselves (954). The authors further differentiate counter-monuments into the categories of anti-monuments and dialogic monuments (968).

Maya Lin's (1982) *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Fig. 40), an early example of a counter-monument outside of Europe, is considered by Robert Morris (2000) not a

therapeutic monument, as claimed by Kirk Savage (2006), but an anti-monument, which, in facilitating the working through of private grief, has prematurely sealed a national wound (484). Conversely seen as “The nation’s first therapeutic memorial...made expressly to heal a collective psychological wound” (Savage 2011, 267), the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1982) conflates the functions of monument (whether counter, anti, or dialogic) and memorial, categories differentiated on a substantive or cultural basis by some (Sturken 1991; Marschall 2010) and undifferentiated by others. According to Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Barry Schwartz (1991), commemorating the Vietnam War posed particular challenges because the war itself was “politically controversial and morally questionable and resulted in defeat; [but that] it resembled other wars because it called out in participants the traditional virtues of courage, self-sacrifice, and honor,” and that as a result, “the task of representing these contrasting aspects of the war in a single monument was framed by the tension between contrasting memorial genres” (376). If its genre or typology is a hybrid of monument and memorial, and its subgenres anti-monumental and therapeutic, it is most certainly, given its siting and orientation on the Washington Mall, also dialogic. Stevens and co-authors draw the same conclusion, based on the memorial’s “contrasting spatial, thematic, and experiential relationships to Washington’s existing commemorative topography,” (684) yet rearticulate Morris’ assertions (2000, 484; 2003, 688) that it fails in its dialogic function. From these examples, it becomes clear that our monumental repertoire has inherited from the late 20th century, not only forms, expressions, and performativities hitherto unexplored, but also critiques that remain relevant today.

If efforts to counter traditional monuments as a means to challenging the very premises of their being have produced projects like the previously mentioned *Monument Against Fascism* (1986) and *Ashrott-Brunnen Memorial* (1987), and those to commemorate victims inspired others like Sol Lewitt's *Black Form Dedicated to the Missing Jews* (1987), Gunter Demnig's *Stolpersteine* (1992-), Micha Ullman's *Bibliothek* (1995), and more recently, Peter Eisenman and Buro Happold's stela-like *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (2004), what kinds of monuments have more recent social and transitional justice, truth commission-driven, and/or post-colonial decolonial projects contributed? Seeking to "establish a new, more inclusive and 'reconciled' understanding of political identity," in 2002 the Australian Government created an intentionally counter-monumental initiative, a major memorial complex named *Reconciliation Place* (Strakosch 269). Elizabeth Strakosch argues that, in the Australian context, the abstracted counter-monumental grammar of the anti-pedagogical and un-interpreted works of art that resulted, rather than provoking dialogue with the pre-existing traditional monuments, or promoting new interpretations toward reconciliation, went unnoticed by passersby unaware that what they perceived to be apolitical artworks were intended to constitute a memorial (272). For Strakosch, this "suggests that abstract [counter-monumental] forms in themselves do not always effectively challenge the legitimizing national narratives encoded by traditional memorials" (Ibid). Moreover, Strakosch asserts, "while abstract memorials tend to be built by perpetrating nation-states in relation to their crimes, their victims seem to seek out more pedagogical, emotive, figurative, and traditional memorials to their experiences" (274). To Strakosch's point, it bears mentioning that the abstract and anti-monumental design of the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, was initially the

subject of a backlash from critics for whom, as Marita Sturken (2015) describes, the ‘wound’, ‘gash’, or ‘antiphallus’ symbolised the “open, castrated wound” of the US venture into an unsuccessful and emasculating war (123), necessitating its supplementation by the figurative memorials: *The Three Soldiers* and the *Vietnam Women’s Memorial*. Sturken observes that the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* has come to be regarded as a “healing wound” or “memorial shrine,” the subject of an “extraordinary outpouring of sentiment,” and “the most visited site on the Washington Mall” (133). Indeed, its design, with or without figurative supplement, has been extensively iterated upon, revealing that despite the original backlash it provoked, and in the face of scholarly critique to the contrary, the memorial is actually working.

But what does a successful monument do and by what measure can it be determined to have succeeded in doing it? I suggest the monument’s most basic task is to attract notice. For it to succeed in this it must give passersby pause, be easily recalled or brought to mind, and become a popular vector of orientation. If it then stimulates our curiosity, draws us in and communicates something, implanting a word or name that has some resonance for us, that provokes a Google inquiry, it has succeeded in making a small intervention. If it stokes awareness, historical consciousness, becomes a source of conversation and a site of visitation and gathering, if we intentionally associate with it, take a selfie, post a photo, it has made an even more successful incursion into our psyche. If, becoming preoccupied, we respond to it, supplement it, copy it, iterate upon it, and it evinces a change in our relationship to its history and site, creating newly mediated perceptions and experiences, I argue, it can be said to be a successful monument.

Discussing *El Ojo que Lloro*, a Peruvian monument that both reflects “official memory” of the death and disappearance of 69,000 Peruvians during the 1980-2000 internal armed conflict reported by Peru’s Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), and reinvigorates new memory, Ñusta Carranzo Ko (2019, 77) reinforces that, in keeping with the goal of all transitional justice measures to recognize victims, the monument must also keep memory alive. Achieved through the addition of supplementary memorial and interpretive elements that connected past injustices to more recent ones, and the ongoing development of the landscape and provision of amenities surrounding *El Ojo* (including creating a leisure-picnic area), the memorial became a “new space of memory, one that recognized a broader group of victims while also celebrating life (and supporting daily activities), adding new layers of meaning to a traditional place of mourning (79).

First published in 1936, Robert Musil’s oft-cited statement, “*es gibt nichts auf der Welt, was so unsichtbar wäre wie Denkmäler* [there is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments]” (506-9) reflects his perception of the banality of the medium in his era, but also the stasis of monuments rendered irrelevant through time and distance. A monument can be said to have ceased to function when it is not tended, it becomes invisible, it cannot be recalled to memory. When no one remembers its meaning, the history it represents or how it represents it, and if we notice it at all, we ignore it as embodying something we no longer value or recognize as important, it has died. The dead monument is paid notice by no one, an unrecognized obstacle mindlessly circumnavigated on our way somewhere else. It is never used as a meeting point; protests and marches never begin or end at it. It fails to appear in images, or if it does, it does so only accidentally

and as part of the landscape. It does not even attract vandalism. It has no secondary uses. Alternatively, it might be resented or scorned. The process by which it came about may have aroused general disapprobation. It is dead as a doornail if those it represents or purports to commemorate want nothing to do with it. Speaking about the *Long Road to Freedom*, a monument comprised of South African struggle icons along a symbolic pathway, discussed in the next section, Runette Kruger suggests that “a truly living monument could take the form of commitment to ongoing dissent against crushing power and exploitation and as an unremitting struggle for lived equality—values that cannot be captured by sentimentalizing and commodifying struggle icons” (2019, 94), a statement equally applicable to other representations of figures associated with difficult history and their legacies in the present. She wonders however, whether a ‘bellicose’ monument culture, one that takes up forgotten narratives of the abject, can ever find expression in bricks and mortar (Ibid).

5.5.1 *Form and Expression*

Counter-monuments have contributed a repertoire of formal inversions and voids (*9/11 Memorial*, New York), and unexpected and jarring forms (*National Holocaust Monument*, Ottawa), have expressed trauma, an absent-presence and opposition (*Comfort Women Memorials*, Nanjing, Seoul, San Francisco among many others), functioned as “social mirrors” (Stevens et al 954) and as a “‘counterindex’ (*Monument Against Fascism*, Harburg) to the ways time, memory, and current history intersect at any memorial site” (Young 1993, 30), and have inspired visitor responses from consternation to ritual memorial practice and the leaving of offerings. The language in which they express their difficult subjects, though influenced by a grammar of Holocaust

memorialization created by Continental artists of the late 20th century Avant-Garde, has changed to reflect cultural and regional vernaculars, while also responding to the increasingly Survivor/victim-led processes stemming from mechanisms of social and transitional justice.

Putting Rwanda's Ntarama Genocide Memorial Center into dialogue with Germany's Topography of Terror Documentation Center, Dan Haumschild (2019) investigates the continuities between (culturally-determined) standards of visual practice predominant during the genocidal periods of the respective countries, with those deployed in contemporary memorialization. While his argument that the conscientizing qualities of these memorials in the present depend on their commitment to unsettling hegemonic visual practices is credible and very much in the vein of the counter-monuments previously discussed, the incredible cultural contrast his study illuminates is the reason for its inclusion here. While the Ntarama Center features human remains and personal effects of the Rwandan genocide at the place of massacre, remains that cling to visitors in the form of odour and particulate matter, the Topography of Terror Centre is cleaned and sanitized of the traces of its victims. This extreme contrast in the maintenance and presentation of sites of trauma mirrors that which has emerged in the representation of trauma through monuments and memorials. For those who abjure direct figuration in monuments, the idea of the bodies of victims representing themselves is likely abhorrent. Yet, as Ntarama shows us, figuration in memorialization is not dead for reasons cultural, and as the (Lidice) *Memorial to the Children Victims of War* and the (US) *National Memorial for Peace and Justice* attest, figuration remains a legitimate (if not the quintessential) means for humanizing representations of victimization.

Artist Marie Uchytlova's *Memorial to the Children Victims of the War* (Lidice), a recently completed monument that employed direct figuration to embody victimization, is a sculptural grouping of representations of the 82 children murdered in conjunction with the 1942 Nazi razing of Lidice, Czechoslovakia (Fig. 41). Although representations of the personalities of the children rather than their sculptural portraits, the statues create an account of the children massacred as well as symbolize the millions of child victims of World War II (Steele 124). The memorial sought to redress the absence of presence, and to become an unsilenced-able voice. The memorial site, which is situated where the residents of Lidice were killed, is not programmed. Rather, visitors leave offerings of flowers and children's toys, in a manner that likens the memorial to a cemetery site. Similarly, *The Long March to Freedom*, the aforementioned succession of 100 statues (out of 400 planned) of 'struggle heroes' who fought oppression in South Africa from the 1700s to 1994 certainly create recognition of the lives and works of struggle icons but can also, according to Runette Kruger (2019), "be interpreted as a manipulative hyper-commodification of liberation rhetoric," one that "is belied by ongoing attempts to repress current sociopolitical dissent" (93).

The 2018 *National Memorial for Peace and Justice* (Fig. 42) was created to offer a "sacred space for truth-telling and reflection about racial terror in America and its legacy" ("The National Memorial for Peace and Justice"). Visitors to the site make a memorial journey where they encounter figurative sculpture, art, and text that presents the history of racial terror: from slavery, through lynching, Jim Crow laws, the civil rights era, to contemporary issues of racially motivated violence and discrimination. Contextualized within the six-acre site, 800 six-foot monuments represent each county in

the US where a lynching took place and symbolize the thousands of lynching victims. In the park surrounding the monument is a field of identical monuments waiting to be claimed and installed in the counties they represent. It is believed that over time, the memorial will “serve as a report on which parts of the country have confronted the truth of racial terror and which have not” (Ibid). While not comparable to the Lidice monument in terms of scale, in the *National Memorial for Peace and Justice*, emotionally charged figures are staged, among other elements, to create a series of encounters. Located in close proximity to the companion Legacy Museum, the memorial reflects a range of counter-monumental features that layer onto one another to create a transformative experience.

While we identify the figures of the *National Memorial for Peace and Justice* as persons victimized by slavery, unlike the figures in Lidice, they have no individual identity, but perform instead as archetypes. It is upon the 800 suspended stela-like Corten steel monuments, abstracted proxies for the bodies of the lynched, that the names of known victims are inscribed. This treatment is similar to that of the 70,000 *Stolpersteine* or ‘stumbling stones’ upon which the names of victims of Nazi persecution are inscribed and which are embedded in streets throughout Germany and other European countries where Jews were persecuted during WWII, making the *Stolpersteine* the world’s largest decentralized monument. Another memorial that centers the names of those it commemorates is the *Irish Troubles Linen Memorial*, “an ongoing site conscious memorial installation” that acknowledges the 3,721 people who lost their lives during ‘the troubles’ (“Memorial, Ulster Northern Ireland, The Troubles”). The memorial features names individually hand-embroidered by volunteers on handkerchiefs of Irish

linen, a traditional export of Northern Ireland, and is intended to “act as witness to the on-going need for mourning from grief and trauma,” and to create “a quiet space for healing, and perhaps, also, for reconciliation and forgiveness” (“Ireland Troubles, Northern Ireland Conflict - Linen Memorial”). Although, as I have elsewhere argued, in post and decolonial contexts, the listing of names on memorials may be problematic in that, “their presence would legitimate the replacement of Indigenous names and identities with [English] Christian ones,” (Cooper-Bolam 2018, 64), whether or not names or figures should be employed to represent victims must be determined by the victims or their descendants. Proxy objects, such as shoes, have long been used to represent actual victims in memorial contexts, an example of which is Can Togay and Gyula Pauer’s *Shoes on the Danube Bank*. In Canada, a similar strategy was deployed in Christi Belcourt’s previously mentioned commemorative exhibition, *Walking with Our Sisters*, in which participants were invited by the artist to create pairs of moccasin tops or vamps, each pair representing the unfinished life of a missing or murdered Indigenous woman (Belcourt), creating a present absence without recourse to colonial reinscription.

5.5.2 *Performativity*

Author of *Performative Monuments: The Rematerialisation of Public Art*, Mechtild Widrich (2014) theorizes Thomas Hirschhorn’s *Bataille Monument* as a temporally and physically distributed event (3). Certainly, the constituent elements of Hirschhorn’s monument (selling kababs, lending, videos, and broadcasting amateurs) bear more resemblance to an event than a conventional monument, however its example is useful for recognizing what Widrich considers the intertwined nature of performance and monumentality (4). Crediting performance with the revival of the monument as

‘democratic’ community-builder, Widrich reflects on the relationship of monuments and socially-engaged artistic practice, situating the ‘performative’ monument at their intersection (4-5). In this sense, the ephemeral objects and material byproducts of the performative monument (including media generated) contribute to its distribution across time and geography, which also works to decentralize the monument itself.

Described by its co-creator Tim Piper as an on-going performance (Lambert 2019), *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red*, was a 2014 commemorative installation at the Tower of London (Fig. 43a) that marked one hundred years since the outbreak of World War I. Created by ceramic artist Paul Cummins and stage designer Tom Piper, 888,246 ceramic poppies, placed by volunteers, progressively filled the Tower’s famous moat between 17 July and 11 November 2014. Each poppy represented a British military fatality during the war. Once the work was dismantled, the poppies were sold, raising money for six different service charities. 888,246 pieces of the memorial are scattered throughout the UK, and likely elsewhere. While literally a distributed event, the commemorative installation instantiated a monument. It gathered itself through the performance of making by volunteers, wept (the effect was described as that of a ‘weeping window’), was activated through public performance of commemoration, was unmade and its materiality dispersed, becoming a decentralized and fragmented reminder and proxy for the monument itself simultaneously representing an, albeit unidentified, victim of WW1.

Rebecca Belmore’s *Trace*, which takes the form of a giant ‘blanket’ of ceramic shards or beads, was developed for and permanently installed in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (Fig. 43b). Created from Winnipeg clay pressed into beads in a series

of participatory workshops, the work responded, in part, to the invasive excavation necessitated by the building of the museum, which resulted in the disturbance and displacement of artifacts, evidence of over 6000 years of Indigenous presence on the site (Martin 2014). It is an aggregate work, like *Walking with our Sisters*, inscribed with the traces of individual makers, who were not themselves artists but rather participants, now connected to and implicated in the work. The examples of *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red* and *Trace* demonstrate how commemoration (if not production) can be a cause for gathering, how it can be performative and participatory, and can also furnish elements that can be installed permanently or temporarily, instantiating a monument of short or long duration. Moreover, such monuments have a dialogic function in relation to their sites. In some instances, pieces may be taken away such that part of 'the monument' lives with individuals.

Examples of collaborative projects show the multiple directions in which collaborations can occur. In *The Gathering Circle*, an open-air pavilion located within the Spirit Garden at Prince Arthur's Landing on Thunder Bay's Downtown Waterfront (Fig. 44), is a product of the collaboration between non-Indigenous architect Brook McIlroy, a seasoned professional, and Anishinaabe intern architect/artist, Ryan Gorrie, and visual artist Randy Thomas. *The Gathering Circle*, an impermanent monument, "gives expression to the deep cultural and historic roots that link Aboriginal peoples to the Lake Superior shoreline," while its form embodies hybrid Indigenous and non-Indigenous building technique ("Gathering Circle at The Spirit Garden By Brook McIlroy And Ryan Gorrie – Aasarchitecture").

Collaboration can be a process of reciprocity. The *Long March to Freedom* created work for 40 professional sculptors, 8 South African foundries, some of which expanded as a result of the project, and trained 5 new sculptors (Corner 2019). In the Assembly of First Nations and Aboriginal Healing Foundation *National Indian Residential School Marker project*, a group of five Indigenous artists from across Canada (largely unknown to each other) came together to workshop the monument concept in an intensive 6-day charrette (Fig. 45). This created the opportunity for cross-cultural mentorship, established-to-emerging artist mentorship, and for the transmission of multi-media techniques between artists working in diverse media.

5.5.3 Failure

Speaking on the failure of two public art projects, Jen Budney (2019) asserts that art itself does not create social value; rather the relationships between people and art do. Discussing Sam Durant's *Scaffold* and Rebecca Belmore and Osvaldo Yero's *Freeze: Stonechild Memorial*, Budney emphasizes that "what is history for some, is memory for others" (Ibid). *Scaffold*, a representation of seven gallows used in historic U.S. government executions, including those used in the largest mass execution in US history, the 1862 hanging of 38 Dakota men in Mankato, Minneapolis, installed and subsequently removed from the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden in 2017 was not interpreted as art by local Dakota. According to Durant, "the Dakota people basically saw something that looked like a monument to their massacre.... As one person said to me, 'That's a killing machine'" ("Artist Sam Durant Was Pressured into Taking Down His 'Scaffold.' Why Doesn't He Feel Censored?"). Durant explains that the work was intended to symbolize aspects of American history and examine "the state monopoly on violence, of which

execution is the ultimate symbol” (Ibid). Through the emotionally-charged responses and protest that the installation triggered, he learned that Mankato is burned into the consciousness of living Dakota, for whom the executions/massacre is ever-present memory, not distant history. Recounting having neglected to reach out to the Dakota to start a dialogue in advance of the installation, Durant recalls initially attributing warnings of potential protests by the Walker Art Centre which hosted the work, to a lack of understanding of the work itself. As the discussion of form and expression demonstrates, abstract form often fails to achieve the emotional valence desired on the part of groups affected by difficult pasts, who more often wish to see the trauma they experienced embodied by a representation of themselves, rather than of perpetrators with whom the instruments of violence are associated. Accordingly, Durant’s re-creation of the scaffold, an iconic instrument of violence, served in this instance as excessive provocation such that no degree of advance notice, dialogue or ‘understanding’ of the work by the Dakota would have rendered it an acceptable monument. Durant’s license, as a white artist, to create the monument became a compounded subject of criticism. Returning to Budney’s critique, with advance dialogue, the negative value created in the relationship between the work and its audience (and perhaps that between the artist and his subject) would have become apparent before its installation, or indeed its production.

Budney’s second example, *Freeze*, an ice sculpture commemorating Neil Stonechild, a 17-year-old Indigenous teen who froze to death on the outskirts of Saskatoon as a result of a ‘starlight tour’ in 1990, was met with some opposition when installed outside the Remai Modern Gallery in Saskatoon in 2019. First created and installed in Toronto in 2006, Anishinaabe artist Rebecca Belmore envisioned the

Saskatoon installation as the work's homecoming ("Ice Sculpture Dedicated to Neil Stonechild To Be Installed Outside of Remai Modern"). Instead the work provoked anger and an act of vandalism (apparently with an axe) prompting its removal. Neil Stonechild's best friend, Jeff Crowe, was particularly upset with the work and its appearance, of which he was neither forewarned nor consulted, in that it did not conform to any recognizable commemorative mode and did not bear Neil Stonechild's name. Belmore, who reached out to Crowe after the fact, stated that the work had not been intended as a monument but as a means of exposing how Neil Stonechild lost his life ("Neil Stonechild's Best Friend 'Disappointed' By Art Installation). That both Wanda Nanibush, curator of the Remai Modern *Facing the Monumental* exhibition, of which *Freeze* was a part, and Rebecca Belmore are Indigenous and known for their public consciousness-raising works on issues faced by Indigenous peoples, did not mitigate the Indigenous *Freeze* backlash. Budney attributes the backlash primarily to Nanibush and Belmore's failure to consult with Stonechild's friends and family, but also to the work's unexpected and less accessible commemorative form, which departs from memorial convention. It should also be considered that the story of Neil Stonechild, who was Saulteaux, is perhaps not the place of Anishinaabe curators and artists to tell, at least without significant consultation in its development stage. Although both *Scaffold* and *Freeze* can be considered less accessible works, requiring interpretation to be understood by publics not conversant in art and cultural theory, it was believed by the artists that once audiences understood their intent, they would accept their form and expression. This was far from the case. These were failures of process, unforeseen by the artists who did

not anticipate that their works would be interpreted as monuments. So they are interpreted, so they become.

5.6 Toward Instantiating a Monument at Shingwauk

The preceding discussion of difficult monuments contrasted two tendencies in what may be loosely termed counter-monuments. Although a bellicose tendency can be easily discerned in overtly anti-monumental forms, Horst Hoheisel's 1987 *Aschrott-Brunnen Memorial* for example, it can be argued that even those that reflect a therapeutic tendency, such as the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, create "spaces conceived to challenge the very premise of their being" (Young 1993, 27). Both employ formal inversions and voids, as does Michael Arad and Peter Walker's (2011) *Reflecting Absence*—the twin pools of the *9/11 Memorial*. I suggest that such monuments are conceptually similar to deployments of virtuality to reflect the absence of materiality, and function as social mirrors, providing critical recognition and conferring value on that which was lost. What then, in the absence of a physical monument, contributes the material form required of memorialization? We do. Spontaneous memorialization and commemoration occur, but never in our absence. We contribute the minimal material threshold in our bodies, in our presence; we inhabit the bodies of historical witnesses, becoming figurative elements and proxies in postmemorial assemblage. In *Monumental Interventions: Jeff Thomas Seizes Commemorative Space*, Art Historian Claudette Lauzon (2011) argues that Thomas' artistic work on the site of the base of the plinth of the Champlain monument formerly occupied by a statue of an Indian scout "prolong[s] the dialogue initiated by the controversy [over the removal in 1999 and subsequent relocation of the scout] in order to disrupt the monological narrative imposed by the commemorative space, and ultimately

to reshape that space.” The monument to Samuel de Champlain, was originally erected without the scout at its base. The Indian scout – so named by Thomas, added in 1924, symbolized the necessary wild and savage Other, the very incarnation of the land, which seemingly invited civilization and cultivation in its deference. In 2006, at the insistence of the Assembly of First Nations, the scout statue was removed from its plinth. Despite its problematic historical ascription, Thomas argued: “Why do the Indians always have to move?” (Lauzon 2011, 84) preferring instead that the scout rest frozen in place – lending itself to reflexive post-colonial interpretation and interrogation.

Staging several occupations of the plinth vacated by the scout, Thomas invited the public to ‘instantiate the monument’ with their bodies, reinscribing, if ephemerally, its narratives through a process of intervention and photographic documentation that “transform[s] monumental spaces into spaces of contestation between hegemonic colonial narratives and oppositional post-colonial narratives, or what Homi Bhabha terms the ‘Third Space’” (Ibid 80). In 2013, Jeff once again “seized the space” reprising his earlier photographic work and together with Greg Hill, Indigenous Curator at the National Gallery of Canada, performed a restorying action in the form of a conversation between the artist and the scout embodied by Hill. According to Art Historian Ruth Phillips (2003), Thomas “regards the re-membering of the pasts of aboriginal people—pasts that have been overlaid with romantic and popular cultural stereotypes—as an essential defense against the threats to indigenous identity” (294). Phillips argues, “a key strategy of his interrogation of the Champlain monument is the juxtaposition of images that contrast the specificity and immediacy of living people and popular culture with the romanticization of historic monuments” (Ibid). In examining race and space, Sherene

Razack (1983) considers, the “symbolic meaning of spaces” and stresses the significance of “understanding ourselves as located in a [racialized] social system” relative to our constructed material landscape (8). Following her formulation, sites are lived: experienced by their various inhabitants, conceived as sites of assimilation as education, perceived through the regimentation of quotidian routine, and in some cases reconceived through commemoration. This may involve at one end of a spectrum, repurposing - creating new memories as relived and re-perceived spaces, and at the other demolition and destruction, which also create opportunities for new (decolonized) memories, associations, and lived/perceived experiences.

Thomas’s practice of engaging participants in becoming the monument, which necessarily changes their relation to the site of the monument, bears some resemblance to that of Krzysztof Wodiczko, who deploys large-scale projections of testimony-giving in public spaces, as described in Chapter 2. One of the key differences, however, has to do with the time or immediacy of the monument. Photography and video-recording transfers the agency of participants to the producer, issuing if not an unalterable fact, evidence that can only be altered through the further mediation of the artist. Conversely, participants in performance (proxies for historical bodies and their figurative representations in material monuments) retain their agency, making adaptation, response, and dialogue, possible. Relevant to this discussion is the distinction between photographs and photography made by Nuno Porto (2001) in the context of museums and print colonialism. Porto claims, “the print is an object,” photographs are objects, they are what he terms, “representational imprints” rather than the better known “imprinted representation” (38). He is drawing our attention to the thingness of photographs. On the level of image, the photograph becomes

photography, the potential for imprinted representation. With this in mind, the testamentary quality of the inherent potential for image-creation of the representational imprints becomes the subject of curatorial judgement and a site of stakeholder negotiation.

Discussing the social implications of live art and planned and documented street actions as a form of historical rapprochement in 1980s Europe, Mechtild Widrich (2014) posits a critical connection between ephemeral performance, the lasting monument, and documentation of responding public actions and practice, asserting that, “Under the force of performance, made durable and rhetorically powerful through photographic documents, the monument became a practice that involved audiences explicitly in actions with binding social force” (4). Applied to the potential for making memory material at Shingwauk through the instantiation of a monument and the initiation of memorialization, the former industrial school campus becomes both the monument and representational imprint, its manifestation is both performance and documentation, and public presence, actions, and practice become its activating force, the conduit by which memory is transacted. This *mise-en-scène* of expository space, articulation of memory, gift and response is populated with an assemblage of space, images, historical representation, memories, and bodies. It is the scene of autobiographical and vicarious memory, wounds, scars, and prosthesis. Such postmemorial events allow us to inhabit and dwell in memory and memorial practice.

In the UK, but not in Canada, the word monument has a double meaning, describing both an historic building and a work of public art or statuary that commemorates. In both countries, buildings that survive the predations of time and

redevelopment become monuments to their own histories. The proposed projection of the Shingwauk Industrial school home and campus becomes a virtual monument by both definitions. It both performs history and creates the conditions for memorialization and the performance of memory. Inhabiting it infuses and animates it with memory in a performative assemblage that is generative, is itself a product of witnessing and secondary witnessing. It transacts in memory, stimulating recovered memory and vicarious or prosthetic memory that may be inauthentic but is not less authentically experienced. This is the gift mnemonic and scene of the affective transaction.

The citizens of Ottawa engage in a similar collective performance and mnemonic practice every November 11th and have done so annually since the *National War Memorial* was erected to great fanfare in 1939. There, silences are observed, recitations are uttered, Survivors are honoured, and the symbolic gravesite of the war dead is ceremonially adorned with wreaths. While the form the observance of Canada's National Remembrance Day Ceremony takes may be antiquated and is at times subject to criticism from underrepresented, excluded, and dissenting parties, from its steady levels of attendance, and increased appeal among millennials ("More Millennials Interested in Attending Remembrance Day Events: Poll"), it appears no less effective in making its mnemonic transaction. Lest we forget, the Monument testifies.

The form the 'performance within the performance' of the proposed projected monument at Shingwauk takes is to be initiated/gifted by the Survivors and completed/received by participants. Yet, the risk of failures such as those described by Budney, discussed earlier, must be mitigated by meeting the expectations of affected communities. In the context of difficult history, particularly where monuments are

produced as a form of redress, injured parties expect to (and so should they) be involved in the visioning of the monument such that it best reflects their experience as defined by them. Moreover, they expect to recognize and see themselves recognized by others in the monument, which requires that the monument be artistically and culturally accessible. These expectations are nothing new and have, at least in Canada, been largely integrated into national monument visioning and procurement processes. Other expectations have more recently emerged, posing greater challenges to monument producers. More recently, affected communities have begun to demand a role, at times a highly visible one, in commemorative practice and other performative aspects of the monument, and in some circumstances, expect the monument to be produced by or in collaboration with members of their community, whether a cultural community, a Survivor community, or both.⁷⁷ Consistent with these expectations and in keeping with the community-based participatory process of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* project, the CSAA, SRSC, and other stakeholders should expect that the process of developing this commemorative aspect of the exhibition will support:

- their involvement in the representation and interpretation of the monument
- elements that reflect their trauma and suffering from their perspectives
- their desires to see themselves recognized by others in the monument,
- their desired role in the performance of commemoration
- collaboration with other stakeholders

5.7 Creating a Space for Memory

⁷⁷ Consulting at present as an advisor to the Department of Canadian Heritage on the National Residential Schools Monument project corresponding to TRC call #81, I have been party to the monument visioning process, in which these expectations were articulated, which is reflected in part by former TRC Commissioner Marie Wilson's report to the Chiefs in assembly at a Special Chief's Assembly of the Assembly of First Nations in 2019: "Special Chiefs Assembly". *Youtube*, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHMr4yIljI0&feature=youtu.be>.

The projection technology envisaged as the means by which the architectural model of the former industrial school and campus may be visualized on site creates a projection that can only be seen clearly at night. As such, the school manifests (at the prerogative of the SRSC) at dusk, like a mirage. Performances against the backdrop of the expository space created by the projection will be determined through the Survivor and stakeholder engagement process, and may take the form of dramatization, storytelling, projected still or moving images, and be punctuated with dance, singing and drumming, rites and rituals. They may be public facing or public-participatory, tied to calendrical rituals of commemoration, such as the annual Shingwauk Gathering. It is hoped that the projection technology will afford visitors an opportunity to dwell in spaces and encounter people, objects, and stories, and thus to re-member differently. As they do in the *Embodying Empathy* project, visitors will be able to traverse and inhabit the various projected spaces, albeit in real time and without the mediation of handheld or worn digital devices. The experience is intended to be spectral, ephemeral, reverent, and otherworldly, but most importantly collective and conducive to interpersonal encounters and experiences of memory. It is intended to be a living monument, animated through practice and amenable to supplementation and change. Place, materiality, and memory together form the basis of this culminating intervention in praxiological museology. How it enacts Simon's pedagogy and procedure and conducts the affective transaction, along with its implications for practice and politics of ethical remembrance are discussed in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 6: The Smoking Gun in My Hand

Coincident with a frisson of horror, the act of receiving in the moment of the terrible gift's appearing occasions our impulses of recoil and apprehension. Perhaps in the moments following, the gift and its gifting will provoke skepticism. We will question the veracity of its provenance or the propriety and logic of its appearing. We will ask, why us, why now? Those among us conditioned to regard gifting as a gesture of friendship, or even an exercise in trade, will wonder what is to be done with such a gift and how its gifting might be adequately or appropriately reciprocated. We oscillate between reactions of self-reproach and indignation, alternately admitting our culpability and defending our innocence. Sooner or later, we realize we are the beneficiaries of the gift and our children, its inheritors. Sooner or later, we reckon with the terrible gift itself.⁷⁸

Examining the evidentiary landscape from a broad perspective allows transdisciplinarity to emerge, which brings adjacent fields together with museology to elucidate the testamentary expression of evidence that cannot speak for itself in a way that is understood to the non-specialist ear. In the context of the Terrible Gift, difficult knowledge that challenges both received knowledge and the construction and display of knowledge in the museum context is produced. This reflexivity is no less difficult for the curators constructing and exhibiting knowledge than for museum audiences receiving it. Making visible and concurrently problematizing the constructed nature of the museal representation/performance exposes the entanglement of authentic objects of testamentary character with the prosthetic armature that assembles and contextualizes them, even as the Terrible Gift performs its transitive operation.

Simon addresses the increasing suspicion and scrutiny of the efficacy of museum representations of genocide in the prevention of its future occurrence, an assumption he

⁷⁸ I wrote this short narrative upon first encountering Simon's pedagogy of the Terrible Gift as a means of recording my process of working through the idea of the gift's appearance and how its calls for response might be reacted to. Supplementing my initial documentation and subsequent close-reading of Simon's 2006 and later texts, this narrative documents my affective response to the concept of the gift in a way that academic description does not.

characterizes as a form of consolation driving museum pedagogy, in taking up an “intended paradox” at work in Theodor Adorno’s thought (2006b, 200). Interpreting Adorno’s *Minima Moralia* (1974), Simon argues that, “the formulation of authentically redemptive knowledge must always begin with a turning away from the conceit that redemption is possible through our worldly actions,” embedding this intended paradox into his pedagogical approach, which not only sensitizes publics to the duty of vigilance, but also stimulates change in the present (Ibid.). Simon calls this hope *without consolation*. Taking up this concept, I have aspired, in further theorizing, developing, and implementing the pedagogy of The Terrible Gift as a method of praxiological museology, to contribute to a post-rupture repertoire. We must continue to strive toward this reconciliatory museology from the position of having attained it, but with the understanding that it can never be achieved.

Having embarked upon the museological challenge set by the TRC not at a museum but at an undesignated heritage site, one currently used as an educational rather than museum space, I have exchanged the conditions and priorities found in the museum for those of the university. Canadian museums struggle with the competing priorities of societal relevance and fiscal sustainability which increasingly marginalize critical discourse within processes of exhibition development, more often catering to perceptions of visitor limitations than to the promise of curatorial dreaming. In contrast, I have sheltered in a place of applied academic experimentation, off the radar of most museums. I have situated my investigation in emplaced praxiological museology in three related interventions corresponding with the archaeological, architectural, and mnemonic qualities of the evidentiary landscape. In doing so, I have sought and continue to seek to

contribute needed methods to critical museological practice that articulate difficult knowledge and bestow its gifts at heritage sites and museums alike.

6.1 Until We Speak, We Cannot be Heard

On October 8-10, 2019, Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig, Nipissing University, Cape Breton University, the University of Northern British Columbia, and Algoma University jointly hosted the Universities Canada 5th Annual National Building Reconciliation Forum at the Shingwauk site. While the agenda of the 9th and 10th largely followed that of a conventional academic conference, albeit with important cultural and ceremonial elements, the pre-forum activities of the 8th were designed to create a transformative experience for conference delegates comprised of university presidents, senior administrators, and ‘Indigenization’ faculty and staff. I was involved in both the planning and delivery of the pre-forum programme. The plan was to divide the delegate group into two, and to further subdivide one of the two groups into five smaller groups. The single large group would participate in SKG programming in the morning and divide into five small groups to encounter Survivors stationed at sites in the afternoon and vice-versa. The five small groups were each assigned a guide who would lead them to important sites of memory on campus, the cemetery, the chapel, the ‘crying’ rock, the cubby hole, and the front doors of the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School, where they would be greeted by a Survivor who would share their memories of that space. The spaces were chosen by the Survivors for whom they had the greatest significance. The format required that Survivors share their memories ten times, corresponding with the ten groups scheduled to visit them for 30 minutes each that day. Although the burden placed on the participating Survivors was manageable for some, it

was not for others. I had thought the format mad and (unsuccessfully) advocated at the planning stage for the number of Survivor visits to be dramatically reduced. Despite my misgivings, I committed to my role in the pre-forum, which involved speaking about the exhibition at the plenary, and accompanying one of the Survivors, who I will hereafter refer to as John X at his chosen site of interpretation, which was the front entrance of the former school and *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition. As I had feared, things did not go to plan.

Sharing his memories of leaving one world behind and entering another, symbolized by his passage through the threshold of the school, proved very emotional for John X. The doorway, where visitors congregated, offered no seating or comfort for John, and no signage was created to deter passersby from bustling through our group to traverse the school. A chair, tissues, and a bottle of water were not on hand and had to be obtained with haste and without disruption. John became emotional as he warmed to his theme, and spoke, brokenly, at length to those assembled who stood respectfully as the schedule got away from us and with it the opportunity to encounter the other Survivors and sites. My role, and indeed that of the other interpreters, was originally conceived to supplement John's narrative as he transitioned from a discussion of his experience of passing through the front doors of the school as a child to how the CSAA is currently reclaiming the space through exhibition. However, it became one of making John and the group comfortable, which entailed moving the discussion into the Residential Schools Gallery, a quieter and more private space. With no time to peruse the exhibition which is intended, in part, to alleviate the burden of testimony-giving on Survivors, the format and its predictable consequences, compromised both John X, who was forced to recall his traumatic

memories repeatedly that day (he managed to speak with four groups out of the scheduled ten), and the visitors, who in attending respectfully to him, forfeited their opportunities to visit other Survivors and sites of memory on campus. Moreover, the Survivor-driven *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition, which was expected to feature prominently in the experience of pre-forum delegates, received almost no attention, to the consternation of many.

The situation was especially disappointing because it is primarily through the vehicle of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition that the history and experiences of CSAA members are communicated to the public; this is its pedagogical premise. As a strategic proxy for their stories it is necessary for at least two reasons: i) so that Survivors do not have to undertake and endlessly repeat the emotional (and physical) labour of educating audiences about what happened to them at the Shingwauk site, and ii) so that a much wider audience may be reached over a more sustained period than was reached previously through annual gatherings and other sharing, healing, and learning events. My comments should not be taken to suggest that an exhibition that incorporates and features Survivor testimony is a replacement for encounters with Survivors themselves—far from it. Rather, I am advocating the use of exhibitions as an appropriate and important means of performing the ‘heavy lifting’ of interpreting the many layers of the evidentiary landscape and of exposing the often-confounding complexities of difficult pasts. John X’s testimony was undoubtedly profoundly moving to those who received it, but who unfortunately did not benefit from the rich contextual and experiential offering of the exhibition, which reflects the singular experiences of many Survivors. Ideally, Survivor testimony is supplemented and augmented by exhibitions and vice-versa. Indeed, the

greater and more varied the exposure of publics to a particular history, the greater chance it has of permeating their historical consciousness. The more present and relevant this history is perceived to be, the greater its capacity to influence the politics and behavior of its inheritors/progenitors in the present. Conscientization, borne of historical consciousness in the recognition of continuities and effects in the present, can create a sea change in individuals and publics. It is the Reversing Falls of critical historical pedagogy, and, I argue, the legitimate goal of the Terrible Gift and the praxiological museology by which it may be conveyed to the public.

6.2 Reversing Falls: An Observation on Reception

While giving a paper on literary representations of Indian indentured labourers in the Caribbean, Anil Kumar Tripathi (2016) paused to ask his fellow conference attendees their opinions as to why there is so little public knowledge on this history. In response, and in all earnestness, I offered the following opinion: “because there is no high-production-value feature film with mass distribution on the subject [in English], no TV mini-series, no best-selling novel, no *bande dessinée*, no songs, no curriculum, no touring exhibition, no monuments in places we can see them.” I continued that for an issue to permeate our social or historical consciousness, its representation must be ubiquitous across multiple media and multiple geographies; we must be saturated with it.

Conversely, in the US, the collective memory of slavery perpetuates itself with great historical, if not social, efficacy. Beginning with the award-winning and record-holding TV mini-series *Roots* (1977), at least one blockbuster feature film on slavery in America is made approximately every decade. When considered from the perspective of profile, ratings, awards, and box office sales, the subject of slavery is gaining rather than

waning in interest. Consider the timeline of the following top-grossing films: *12 Years a Slave* (2013)—directed by Steve McQueen, grossed \$187.7 million, and won 145 awarding including 3 Academy Awards (Oscar) including the award for Best Picture, *Django Unchained* (2012)—directed by Quentin Tarantino, grossed a staggering 425.4 million, and won 29 awards (3 Oscars), *Amistad* (1997)—directed by Stephen Spielberg, grossed \$44.2 million, and won 6 awards. The sheer ubiquity of representations of slavery in America would seem to cement this subject as the American critical event even if the rupture of the American Civil War has ceased to be remembered as such. As mentioned in the introduction, Veena Das (1995) suggests that Partition, which far overshadows historical memory of indentured labour, is India’s critical event. In Chapter 3, I emphasized the eclipse of Irish workhouse history by the critical event of the Great Famine.

Canada is different, and Canadians may be hard-pressed to articulate their quintessential rupture-causing event even if 70% of those polled concede that a cultural genocide has taken place on Canadian soil. Genocides occur, violence occurs, but their occurrence does not become significant to us until we accord them significance; they do not become critical events. In this context, what can museologists do to spur a collective public acknowledgement of implicatedness and consequently the ‘will to rupture’? Put another way, working through the medium of exhibition, how can we contribute to the conscientization of the public so that the Indian residential school system is recognized as a rupture-causing critical event, reversing the tide of continued discriminatory trajectories and relocating us within a post-rupture landscape of changed possibility? This is where

hope insinuates itself. In *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School*, literary theorist Sam McKegney (2007) notes:

...a perverse irony in the connection between suicide rates and the residential school experience is that Aboriginal suicide participates in one of the ostensible goals of the residential school system: it speeds the disappearance of the Aboriginal people from the geographical space of Canada without forcing Euro-Christian Canadians to feel violent or culpable. It allows the non-Native majority to witness the death of Indigenous impediments to 'progress' without seeing themselves holding the trigger (4).

In the same chapter, McKegney claims, "Narrow historicization won't reverse the system's corrosive social and political effects unless harnessed to a clear vision for the future and mobilized in the service of Indigenous empowerment," and that "historicization (alone) dangerously orients our thinking away from the present and future, binding us in a reactive manner to the power dynamics of the past" (6). While I contend that narrow or thin historicization (or indeed musealization) is dangerous irrespective of the vision to which it is harnessed, McKegney's point in regard to historicization removed from legacies in the present is well taken. Indeed, Simon's pedagogy of the Terrible Gift is designed to reveal the smoking gun in the viewer's hand. It responds to our need, as described by Michael Rothberg (2019), to reflect on "...modes of responsibility and justice that exceed the legal frames in which crimes are usually adjudicated, [demanding]...that we take into account legacies of violence that spread beyond the stable categories of what [he calls] 'the victim/perpetrator imaginary'" (7).⁷⁹ Seeing the smoking gun in our hands allows those among us, the majority of Canadians who were neither victims nor perpetrators of Indian residential schools, to identify as

⁷⁹ The pedagogy of the Terrible Gift does not simply create the conditions to reflect on modes of responsibility and justice, it pursues active and immediate social-justice-oriented commitments from visitors as their ethical response to the revelatory information assembled and gifted in exhibition.

inheritors, as what Rothberg calls ‘implicated subjects’, those whose actions and inactions, however indirect or belated, “help produce and reproduce the positions of victims and perpetrators, [and who] help propagate the legacies of historical violence and prop up the structures of inequality that mar the present” (1).⁸⁰

Rothberg’s use of implicatedness aligns in some respects with Simon’s use of inheritance. While we, collectively, are heirs to a history in which we are implicated through inheritance in ways that benefit some and disempower others, as Simon attests, our role in the perpetuation of regimes of power as its progenitors marks us as implicated subjects in Rothberg’s sense. Both call us to fulfill our “vicarious responsibility for things we have not done” (Arendt 2003, 157 qtd. in Rothberg 2019, 1). It is my opinion that those who most benefit from historical flows of power, bear the greatest responsibility to prevent their continued domination over the historically and contemporaneously disempowered. We may all of us be vicariously responsible, but not all of us are vicariously guilty, or at least not guilty in the same way or to the same degree. Hannah Arendt (1987) posits that in post-War Germany... the cry "We are all guilty" that at first hearing sounded so very noble and tempting has actually only served to exculpate to a considerable degree those who actually were guilty, [that] where all are guilty, nobody is” (43). While we are equally responsible for the future we convey to our descendants, we must be conscientized to see the smoking gun in our hand, and indeed at whom it is aimed, whether ourselves or someone else.

6.3 What Museums Can Do. What Can Be Done at Shingwauk

⁸⁰ I titled this chapter “The Smoking Gun in My Hand” as a means of revealing my own implicated location and of referring back to earlier assertions of the recursivity of terrible gifts through example. The gun’s appearing is such a gift.

Museums themselves cannot create the ubiquity of representations required to turn the tides of public perception. In introducing difficult subjects, museums can initiate a conscientization process that can both give visitors pause to reflect on their own inheritances and motivate their efforts to better inform themselves. Indeed, as Ruth Phillips (2003) confirms, “Museum exhibits do not do their work in a moment,” rather their legacies are revealed only years later through the accumulation of knowledge and experiences they initiated by offering glimpses of new perspectives, whetting visitor curiosity, and even sparking small epiphanies (167). Recognizing their entanglement within a larger meaning-making apparatus that includes overtly and covertly pedagogical elements, like schools and cinemas, museums can promote conscientization through the accumulation of exposures. For example, rather than competing for visitors, museums, galleries, and historic sites could cross-promote, each offering a unique experience for their own visitors, while also supplementing their offerings with books, films, websites, education programmes, and curriculum resources, whether of proprietary or third-party origin. Categorically different from each other, one institution cannot replace the other. One cannot tour a residential school or meet a Survivor at the Canadian Museum of History (CMH). Conversely, the CMH may be better suited to the telling of national narratives on the history and legacy of Indian residential schooling in Canada than a regional centre. What I am proposing is that these institutions embrace an ethic of complementarity.

Moreover, museums such as the CMH, could mentor budding community museums at the museum sites and in and amongst source and supporting communities. Community museums in turn, could keep national museums connected to Survivors and

source communities. What I am proposing is complementary to but distinct from the (formerly Aboriginal) Indigenous Internship Program that resulted from the 1994 Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. Internships at national museums necessitate that participants postpone their community priorities and projects in favour of learning the ways of the national museum in the hope that some of their newly acquired learnings and skills will be transferable to the community context. I am not suggesting such internships are not important or necessary. Neither am I suggesting that Indigenous interns are passive recipients as opposed to active agents in the production of knowledge. Rather, I am urging respectful engagement of national museums with, in, and among communities actively participating in community and regional musealization projects, such that those projects are prioritized and supported on community terms and for community ends. Echoing Jeff Thomas' query, "Why do the Indians always have to move?" (Lauzon 2011, 84), I wonder why the big museums cannot be the ones to go to the communities. Of course, this is already done,⁸¹ but I would suggest that it is not done enough.

There is, of course, the matter of the memorial museum typology and the associated architectural grammar and narrative forms upon which a post-rupture museology might draw, and of which Yad Vashem is the archetypal example. Indeed, as Kavita Singh (2015) illustrates, the "narrative techniques that switch between honoring individual victims and conveying the mass scale of destruction," together with "a sombre, monochromatic design language, and with emotive architectural forms that use hard materials, sharp edges, and acute angles to evoke a sense of discomfort and

⁸¹ The edited volume, Peers, Laura, and Alison K. Brown, eds. *Museums and Source Communities*. Routledge, 2003., describes multiple community engagements by external museums and outlines both the promise and the challenges and complexities of museum/community collaboration.

disorientation, the holocaust⁸² museum has become crystallized as a museum genre” (30). While, as Singh argues, musealizing difficult pasts “is usually justified as a way of addressing a society’s need to bear witness, to mourn, to bring about reconciliation, and thus to repair old wounds,” (Ibid) the instrumentalization of the holocaust genre (here taken to refer to genocides and massacres of diverse communities) must be considered with some trepidation. Critiquing the designs of two Canadian monuments, the National Holocaust Monument and Monument to the Victims of Communism, Rebecca Dolgoy and Jerzy Elżanowski argue their “contrarian’ forms,” developed within formal, conceptual, and socio-historical lineages to which Canada did not contribute, introduce a disconnected and alien form to the landscape (Fig. 46). As Dolgoy and Elżanowski reveal, in commemorating millions of victims elsewhere the monuments promote a nationalist vision of Canada as a place of refuge, pluralism, and tolerance even as they undermine the potential for Canada to work-through its difficult pasts and present, including its continued occupation of unceded Algonquin territory on which the monuments are situated (2018, 435). Although it must be conceded that there is something to gain by studying Holocaust and other memorial museum models, their unmodified importation, appropriation, and use in contexts at a far remove from those from whence they arose, cannot be considered. Kavita Singh’s examination of the attempt by two museums, one in Anandpur Sahib, and the other in Dharamsala, to create their own Yad Vashem on Indian soil, shows us that “a template cannot be mechanically applied to simply reproduce the original in a new place” (2015, 56). Rather, local culture,

⁸² As explained in footnote 1, Kavita Singh uses “‘Holocaust museum’ to signify institutions that memorialize Jewish genocide under the Nazi regime, and ‘holocaust museum’ to signify similar museums that narrate genocides and massacres of diverse communities” (2015, 57).

histories, and politics changes how remembering is performed, often resulting in memorial expressions in which the template is not detectable. Architecture, as claimed by Eyal Weizman, “can be used as a mnemonic device for enhancing memories obscured, hidden, or distorted by the experience of extreme violence and trauma” (2017, 82), referring to the architectural fabric of sites experienced as traumatic, not to reconstructions giving form to traumatic experience. Reversing the falls, as argued earlier, requires ubiquity of representations and performances of history and memory. Michael Rothberg identifies memory as multidirectional when it is “subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing,” and when it is “productive and not privative,” which he contrasts to competitive memory, “a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources” (2009, 3). Correspondingly, sites of trauma and museums entering a post-rupture landscape have more to gain by embracing multi-directional rather than competitive memory.

6.4 Claiming the Terrible Gift

As stated in 2019 by international relations scholar David MacDonald:

Currently, the federal government and selected provincial and territorial governments recognize the Armenian genocide, the Ukrainian famine genocide (Holodomor), the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, the Srebrenica massacres, the mass killing of the Yazidi people, and the mass murder of the Muslim Rohingya in Myanmar. There are no bills related to the crimes of Western settler states; as a result, the genocides of Native Americans and of Australian Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are not recognized, nor are the British-made famines in Ireland and India. The deaths of ten million people in the Belgian Congo are not recognized, nor are the mass atrocities

committed by the United States in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. None of the recognized genocides acknowledge settler colonialism, nor do they tie colonialism more broadly to genocide and the expansionary goals of European imperial systems (165).

MacDonald suggests Canada's select recognition of genocide reinforces positive narratives of Canada as a welcoming haven for those affected by genocides, providing an example in the substance of Ontario's Holocaust Memorial Day Act of 1988, which aligns victims' struggles with the larger nation-building goals of the state (166). This state of affairs shows us far from achieving the 'restorying' demanded by Regan, and the 'responsible memorial kinship' by Simon. That said, assertions of genocide in the exhibitory of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* may be unpalatable to the reconciliation-focused CSAA. What, in this condition of ethical following, can be done beyond the images and words that presently gesture toward Shingwauk's difficult past in the exhibition? What are our means?

It is not surprising that film has become such a compelling and studied documentary and artistic medium for reckoning with traumatic pasts. The capacity of film to stage what Fogelson calls 'epitomizing events', powerfully affective performances that inscribe themselves on viewers in the form of functional prosthetic/vicarious memory in the absence of Survivors, sites, and materiality, renders it somewhat of a gift-gift and gift-poison, a pharmakon. Its gifts are like sand tossed to the wind. We feel it whipping our faces as we try to capture the fast-dispersing granules, squeezing our eyes to keep it both out and in. We feel/are affected but have nothing to reciprocate, no one to whom to issue our solemn promise. Trudging from the cinema or powering off our monitors, we return to our as-yet unchanged lives to decide how they,

and we, will change. Yet no role is demanded of us, no one has witnessed our witnessing, holding us to account for what we have received. Moreover, it does not emplace us despite how ‘transported’ to another time and place we feel in the moment of watching. We neither tread the path of the victimized, nor meet the gaze of a Survivor, seeing his lips move as he utters the words and points to the place where it happened. We cannot dwell in that place with fellow inheritors. Paradoxically intimate and alienating, a technology of seeing but less of being, film in and of itself makes only infrequent incursions into the inner sanctum of our singular lives. Still, the infinitesimal abrasions of sand over time changes our landscape, which we may, through the compounding of experiences, come to recognize has ruptured. I suggest that some museums function in a manner similar to films, and are similarly gift-gift and gift-poison. They are distantiated from the places and people of history, operate autonomously, safeguarding artifacts long since alienated from their communities of origin only to stage them in contexts that attempt to epitomize emptied places while competing with them for visitors.

Asked why I would foray so far beyond the conventional boundaries of museology (which do not typically entail architectural excavation, forensic archaeology, or the virtual recreation of artifacts on a monumental scale), I can only answer that images and words form an incomplete assemblage, one that will not accomplish the intended transitive operation of Simon’s curatorial pedagogies. In light of this, it seems absurd, and worse, unethical, not to acknowledge the physical landscape and built fabric as an integral and at least partially interpretable component of the evidentiary landscape, and thus to exempt it from the museal landscape. Critical events, wherever they have occurred, have required responsive museologies that lead to new museum typologies,

recognition as Sites of Conscience, the production of difficult knowledge and corresponding conscientization strategies. A cursory glance at Simon's work might lead readers to mistake his pedagogies for ethical or even critical historiographic prescriptions, which, in part, they may be. Yet he was keenly cognizant and respectful of the indeterminate nature of visitor response and a proponent of curatorial parataxis (2006b, 201-2), which is as non-prescriptive as curatorial practice can be. His writings on curatorial pedagogies suggest he was oriented to creating the conditions for active witnessing, difficult knowledge, the bequest of *The Terrible Gift*, the relationships and reciprocities formed through such experiences, and the emergent less-violent futures he hoped such pedagogies could influence. Parataxic assemblies, while a hedge against prescription and overdetermination, function only insofar as their testaments are articulated and even translated. Yet articulation is also construction, suggesting the appropriateness of Shelton's 'praxiological museology' understood as a critical decentering and as a deconstructive, and thus subversive practice. Such a museology investigates transdisciplinary alignments and knowledge, and stimulates practices of critical self-reflexive exhibition development to expose and simultaneously deconstruct exhibited knowledge.

From his writings, I suggest that Simon believed testament to offer the most affective and compelling evidence of difficult pasts, yet testament always appeared in conjunction with testimony. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Survivors and members of the CSAA, who are also the participants and drivers of *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall*, are reluctant to bring the full traumatic force of their experiences forward. Nor should they be expected to. The site, the land itself, bore witness and testifies, as do buildings extant

and demolished, as do objects found and lost. The evidentiary landscape of the Shingwauk schools can help to shoulder the burden of articulating what Survivors should not shoulder on their own, and can also provide insight into the experiences of previous generations of ‘Children of Shingwauk’—provided that the means of articulation and translation are subject to critique. The landscape lends itself to practices of praxiological museology that can instantiate the Terrible Gift should the Survivors and other stakeholders wish it. Working through how these practices and procedures can map onto each other, and indeed onto the conditions of possibility for the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition is a form of performative research in its initial planning and design stage. How my proposed interventions correspond to the various elements of The Terrible Gift that together form a procedure based in the ritual of gift exchange enacted in exhibition, and how these in turn fulfill the criteria of praxiological museology, appears below.

6.5 Activating the Pedagogy of the Terrible Gift at Shingwauk

As discussed in Chapter 1, the procedure extrapolated from Simon’s various writings on The Terrible Gift progresses through the sequential (and cyclical) stages of giving and receiving: (i) presentation, (ii) articulation, (iii) translation, (iv) reception, and (v) response, which are described below.

(i) Expository Space – the Space of Presentation:

A core unit of design, the story space is the housing or site of what is put into assemblage or *mise-en-scène*. A product of scenarization, it sets the stage for the scenario of exhibition. Its inauthenticity as a constructed environment, set, or scenario, must be made explicit. It is intended to be part of and to house a parataxic assembly, which in

creating an incomplete, unbounded and untidy narrative, invites both user inhabitation and meaning making.

Corresponding Proposal:

1. My proposal with respect to archaeological investigation at the site is to determine the geographical coordinates of former Shingwauk industrial school buildings (Shingwauk Home and complex), create architectural models of those buildings and of the wider campus, geo-rectify those models, and project them on 1:1 scale on their foundations corresponding with their cybercartographic counterparts. Together, these components will create expository space, the core unit of design for the assemblage of objects, people, narratives, and performances that animate the space of the projection and the land upon which it sits.

2. With respect to archaeology in the community, my proposal to unearth hidden objects and stories is intended to animate and further make use of the former Shingwauk Indian Residential School building (Shingwauk Hall) as expository space.

3. My proposal with respect to the potential for archaeological investigation in relation to the cemetery allows it to similarly become expository space and space of story-telling, commemoration and memorialization.

(ii) Articulation:

Articulation, in the context of *The Terrible Gift*, is the means by which the testamentary address of objects is communicated to audiences. For articulation to be successful, it must consider the “temporal window of reckoning,” manifested in public time, and must resist reconciling and totalizing narratives by preserving the singular quality of historical experiences. Supplementing Simon, I suggest that articulation could

also interpret the expression of objects that do not speak for themselves in terms legible to visiting publics, augmenting their testamentary address, and, following the logic of Pyne and Thomas (2019), introduce a pedagogy to increase critical visual literacy among visitors that can improve their capacity to read objects for themselves.

Corresponding Proposal:

1. My proposal to work with Survivors and other stakeholders to develop a Survivor-led AR tour of the interior and exterior of existing buildings and the grounds, and to interpret objects uncovered through the aforementioned archaeological investigation supports community-led processes of representation and interpretation, and imbues objects with layers of meaning and association, augmenting their testamentary address. Offering the multiple perspectives and sharing authority that are cornerstones of the New Museology, also allows for the multi-valent interpretation of objects that do not speak for themselves. It also puts subject specialists and ‘technical’ knowledge (such as archaeological assessments or the findings of investigations of forensic architecture) into dialogue with traditional and experiential knowledge. Typically productive of cognitive dissonance, such epistemological and ontological layering can be equally complementary and conducive to broader and more nuanced ways of interpreting objects, increasing public literacies in visual and material culture analysis.

2. My proposal to work with Survivors, other stakeholders, and architecture students to create virtual architectural models for Shingwauk Home, the main Shingwauk Industrial School building, and other buildings that comprised the industrial complex/campus provides an immersive VR storyworld impregnated with testamentary

objects and similarly augments the lives and experiences of historical children to which the industrial buildings and era testify.

(iii) Translation:

Difficult knowledge produces cognitive dissonance between that which we believe(d) to be true and the truths of others, and is produced when difficult historical experience has been rendered intelligible to us in terms of our historical and cultural present. Translation seeks to temporarily displace our own experiences and beliefs, so that we can inhabit others' experiences and remember differently. It stimulates affect and empathy, and prepares us to become witness to a gift-in-exchange.

Corresponding Proposal:

1. My proposal to stage a place of encounter, a third space and contact zone made possible by the projection of the industrial school and campus, where visitors become part of the *mise-en-scène* together with stories, Survivors, and objects. It allows visitors to inhabit and dwell in anachronistic space, to begin to form relationships, to take on a role in the performance of history, and to recognize their responsibility to and for its legacy.

2. While I do not deign to prescribe the performances initiated in this space, which may take the form of dramatization, historical reenactment-based performative research, storytelling, collective making, etc., the creation of a virtual environment in which one can inhabit the experiences of others, and thus to remember differently, is key to the temporary displacement of visitors' own experiences. Unlike screening a film, visitor experience in such contexts is haptic and phenomenological. The expository space I propose becomes the scene of prosthesis, a place where vicarious memory becomes

inscribed in the language of affect, and the provocation for recognizing and taking on vicarious responsibility. It is the moment of recognition of the gift's immanence.

(iv) Witnessing (Enacting a Pedagogy of Witness):

While the Terrible Gift cannot determine visitor response, acts of witness can be encouraged. To do so, one must provide opportunities for intimate encounters with testament and testimony, demonstrate historical trajectories and linkages from the past to the present, create opportunities for visitor reflection, dialogue, participation, performance, and artistic production/heritage practice, and include visitor response in the substance of the exhibition.

Corresponding Proposal:

1. In addition to the opportunities mentioned in the previous proposal, my proposal to reinterpret the extant Shingwauk Hall and campus through AR invites visitors to inhabit the historical experiences of others, to imagine themselves as children sleeping in this dormitory, attending classes in this classroom, repeating verses in this chapel, mourning friends in this cemetery, crying on this rock. Such intimate encounters offer an invitation to reflect on one's own historical experience as a child and the experiences of one's siblings, children or grandchildren in the present. While this proposal directly corresponds to the wishes of Survivors described in Chapter 3, to *simultaneously* reclaim, occupy and overwrite places where they experienced trauma as children, and manifest the evidence of difficult pasts, it poses the risk of trivializing or demeaning their experiences. As such, care must be taken to avoid reducing Survivor experiences through the attempt of recreating them.

2. Participation in active memorialization is the practice of witnessing. My proposal to manifest the former Shingwauk Home and industrial complex as a monument invites visitors to take an active role in memorialization, to perform their *devoir de mémoire*, and even, if desired by Survivors, to participate in commemorative socially-engaged art practices and events similar or dissimilar to the examples of *Walking with Our Sisters* and *Trace* discussed in the previous chapters. Such opportunities, which I intend to propose and explore with the CSAA and other stakeholders would allow visitors to contribute their responses to the substance of the exhibition.

(v) Response and Reciprocity:

Eliciting response involves inspiring a practice of remembering differently, the formation of a moral community, and reciprocal action. Specifically, we must make space for singularity, difference and dissonance by including testamentary objects and responses that cannot be reconciled, create avenues for interrogation and questioning, by recognizing museums and thus exhibitions as institutions “...in which social relationships are oriented in terms of a collection of objects which are made meaningful by those relationships” (Handler 1993, 33), and by empowering visitors to consider their legacy, the bequest they would want to leave for others.

Corresponding Proposal/Discussion:

1. The most difficult challenge of enacting a pedagogy of The Terrible Gift in the context of the *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall* exhibition is to create a safe space for dialogue that is also a space of cultural safety for the Survivors, the CSAA, and the SKG. While cultural safety, a concept discussed in Chapter 2, is a prerequisite for decolonizing practice, including museum practice, the intended unsettling of “...what it means to be

invested in and guided by the normative frames that govern our existence” (Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2000, 5), which the Terrible Gift effects, necessarily undermines culture, in this case Canadian settler-culture. In this, there is no cultural safety for the majority of Canadians, only a gaping rupture between who we believe ourselves to be, who we have been and who we choose to become. Also, in the Shingwauk context, a candid look at the historical evidence of Chief Shingwauk may prove destabilizing for those who would rehabilitate his image to reflect an ideal of Indigenous ideological ‘purity’. The threats to cultural safety abound.

The work of inheritance is messy and if any exhibition is to initiate this work in earnest, it must embrace its complexities, and sometimes offer and humour contradictory accounts and dissonant truths. If, like the art projects that use the notion of play espoused by van Alphen (2001) and discussed in Chapter 3, we rotate through a range of subject-positions to try to understand the traumatic historical experience of others such that we can prevent their future occurrence, we will need the space and latitude to do so. Such exhibitions and the work of inheritance they initiate, open us up to the demands of, “...a relation that risks our becoming wounded in the attendance of the wounds of another” a “hopeful trauma” (Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2000, 5). Remembering those from whom we inherit our history, visitors must be asked how they wish to be themselves remembered, what legacy they wish to leave for their descendants. How to program for such dialogue in an exhibition is challenging, and how to measure its effectiveness in the long term, nearly impossible.

Returning to the question of Simon and hope without consolation, Simon states:

“...hope requires a public history that refuses to disavow despair, resisting the allure of inscribing events with consoling transcendent meanings that erase a complex and contradictory finitude, one that can neither be escaped nor overcome...hope inheres in the preservation of the historically particular through practices that both accept and resist the actualities of classification and enumeration” (2006b, 202). For Simon, “...such practices remain repositories of hope because they carry the promise of ‘an absolute immediacy, a particular understood without recourse to conceptual abstraction....’” (Cohen 2003, 53 qtd. in Simon 2006b, 202). Simon believed the formation of a moral community on the basis of a shared inheritance and the desire to end the perpetuation of the cycles of violence upon which our and all societies are founded, to be an ethically obligatory pursuit, whether or not possible. His pedagogy of the Terrible Gift was intended to perform an operation that both establishes a transitive relation in which witnessing becomes inheritance and a recognition of implicatedness, and is recursive, perpetuating itself through a chain of recognition. The preventative museologies that have come down to us in post-rupture and post-memorial contexts have thus far not prevented the recurrence of genocide. We have not fully acknowledged or received the Terrible Gift that is ours to claim. I would suggest that we are still in a place where critical museology grasps at methods, and curatorial dreams have not come to fruition. We have not recognized rupture in Canada and perhaps we never will. Still, I feel compelled to propose the small experiments in praxiological museology I have outlined above, if not to inspire the conscientized change I dream about, to give the gift to the Shingwauk Survivors that is uniquely mine to give, my efforts and abilities toward an exhibition with greater affective force than one of mere images and words.

6.6 Authenticity in the Scene of Prosthesis

In Chapter 5, I briefly discussed both the slippery quality of traumatic memory and the effectiveness of vicarious memory relative to autobiographical memory. Together with the phenomenon of recovered memory and the generation of post or prosthetic memory, I suggested that assumptions pertaining to the categorical differences between ‘authentic’ and ‘prosthetic’ memory warrant scrutiny and even reconsideration. What I call the ‘scene of prosthesis’ is the story space of exhibition, however authentic as a site of trauma and difficult history. Recognizing that representations of the past are necessarily studied reconstructions, which can never stand in for the authentic experiences of historical Others, and even those Others still living can never capture the fleeting and ephemeral traces of their prior experiences, museal producers are dealers in inauthenticity. We are purveyors of vicarious memories and, in cases, vicarious (hopeful) traumas. Indeed, much memorial museum architecture is a study in manipulation. We cannot empathize if we cannot feel and we cannot attend to the wounds of others if we cannot imagine and even feel the wound in our own bodies. I am not proposing an ethics of falsity in the pursuit of an exhibition of moral suasion. Rather, I repeat the two foundational beliefs that motivate this research and my work at the Shingwauk site, Simon’s (2006) statement, “there is no futurity (no break from the endless repetition of a violent past) without memories that are not your own but nevertheless claim you to a responsible memorial kinship and the corresponding thought such a problematic inheritance evokes” (203), and Paulette Regan’s exhortation that “colonial violence against Indigenous peoples is woven into the fabric of Canadian history in an unbroken thread from the past to the present” and that “...we must work as non-Indigenous allies to

‘restory’ the dominant culture version of history” (6). While the concepts of critical events and rupture are mere constructs of historicization, they are enabling ones that provide for our reinvention as a moral community through the shared inheritance of trauma. In the same vein, Kavita Singh suggests, “the suffering that the people have endured becomes another kind of heritage: a shared experience that binds members of the populace to each other, even as it augurs their transition into a new phase that will be more just, and safer than the one that has gone before” (2015, 56). I began with a quote by Georges Erasmus and will end with the same quote: “where common memory is lacking, where people do not share in the same past, there can be no real community” (2008, xiii). Rather than fearing trauma and prosthesis, our museology must embrace these aspects of curating difficult knowledge confident that, at best, we will create epitomizing events that will, through collective vicarious memory, awaken us to our difficult inheritances. At worst, in giving life to the curatorial dream of *The Terrible Gift*, we will curate difficult knowledge that will haunt the dreams of others, just as the unrealized dreams of others haunt us now.

Epilogue: On Ventures and Errors

My dissertation-writing has necessitated that I describe things felt and experienced that I would never have otherwise committed to paper. The issue of moral licensing (past and present) has been a prominent preoccupation. I try, in the moments when I have caught myself self-licensing, to reconnect with the CSAA and to the motivations and objectives of the Survivors (which are often in conflict).

I feel that I can safely say that everyone on the Shingwauk project, however perceived and defined, is working toward some form of redemption, some (myself included) from the perspective that it can never be attained. As I have written, describing the efforts of certain project stakeholders to redeem Chief Shingwauk through historical revision has been one of the most painful and difficult sections to write, because in doing so, I hold Indigenous interpretation to Western research ethics and standards of historical 'proof'. I would not do so without cause. There exist deep divisions between different Indigenous groups that all have some claim to Shingwauk, and I cannot support the interpretation and thus the claim of one without concomitantly denying that of the other. It is not my role to play peacemaker, although I do actively seek opportunities for dialogue across stakeholder groups. The peacemaking needed requires reconciliation work that must be initiated and done among the Indigenous groups themselves. Contributing to decolonizing or reconciliatory work as a settler (now itself a contested term) requires a level of self-abnegation that is not possible for anyone, consequently, I and others doing this work oscillate between redemption and self-abnegation while trying to hold on to and simultaneously create provisional ethics.

At the Algoma University Reconciliation Forum last month, I heard a succession of Indigenous speakers call for reconciliation, a concept that still has validity for them despite having been jettisoned by academics and many others. I cannot overstate the power the concept of 'reconciliation' still has for people at a community level. My work at Shingwauk is situated in the reconciliatory project initiated and defined as such by the Survivors. I think the best I can aspire to in articulating and navigating my role in the project is honest and forthright description and periodic self-critical evaluation, although so doing exposes my thinking and work to public censure, including those who would see my moments of critical self-evaluation as self-indulgent. There is no way to be a settler, however allied and embedded, that will not draw criticism. This is my inheritance and I must reckon with it because doing nothing is morally unpalatable. Yet even as I write this it feels like a 'move to innocence' and it may be perceived that way. For me, however, it is a 'move to action'. One requires license to set anything in motion, and without action one can benefit no one. The problem is that license begets license and action can overwhelm caution. I intend this dissertation to be an act of caution, of theorizing what could be done rather than doing it, but hopefully also as a precursor to doing it. Even so, this territory is so treacherous that it is impossible not to misstep. I choose to take this as a gift (can I do otherwise?) and am trying to both receive and bequeath it with honesty and grace in all of its and my own messiness.

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Figures

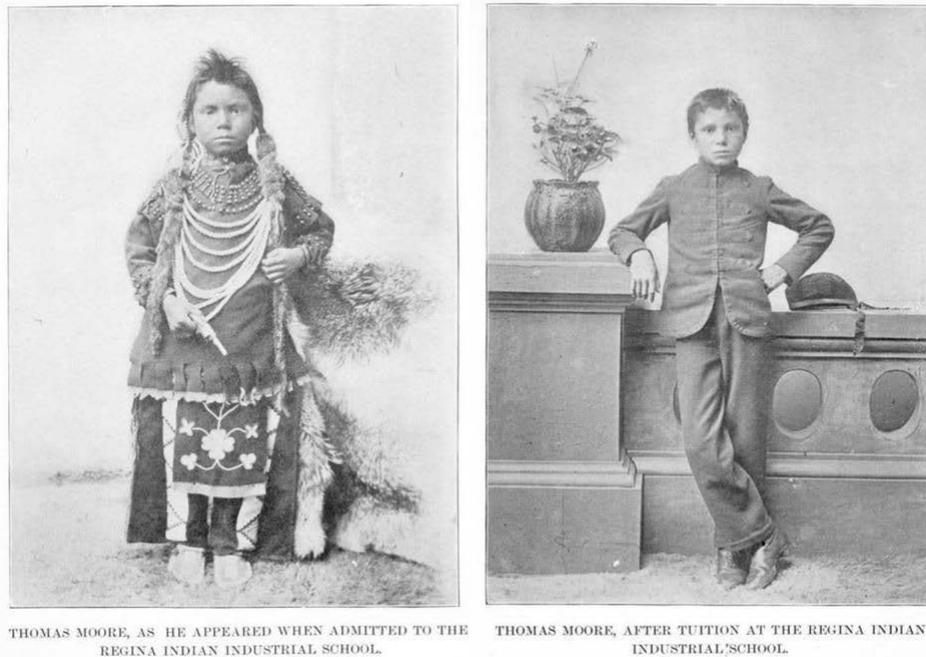


Figure 1. *Thomas Moore as he appeared when admitted to the Regina Industrial School and after tuition. 1896.* Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1896. Library and Archives Canada, NL-022474. No restrictions on non-commercial reproduction.



Figure 2. Ccarlstead. *Separate Entrances* (to the Apartheid Museum), 2008. Flickr, www.flickr.com/photos/27087959@N00/2621979508. Licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.



Figure 3. Corso, Stefano. *The Tower* (The Holocaust Tower of Jewish Museum Berlin), 2006. Flickr, www.flickr.com/photos/63894760@N00/272908468. Licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.



Figure 4. Decter, Leah and Jaimie Isaac. (Official Denial: Trade Value in Progress) *Sewing Action: Emily Carr University Aboriginal Gathering Place, Vancouver BC, 2014*. Image courtesy of Leah Decter.



Figure 5. Archkris. “Walking with our Sisters” Exhibition in the Shingwauk Auditorium at Algoma University in 2014. Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walking_With_Our_Sisters#/media/File:Walking_With_Our_Sisters_Shingwauk_Auditorium_2014. Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0.



Figure 6. *Shingwauk Hall and Home, 1935*. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 7. *Algoma University* (Promotional Image), Date unknown. Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.

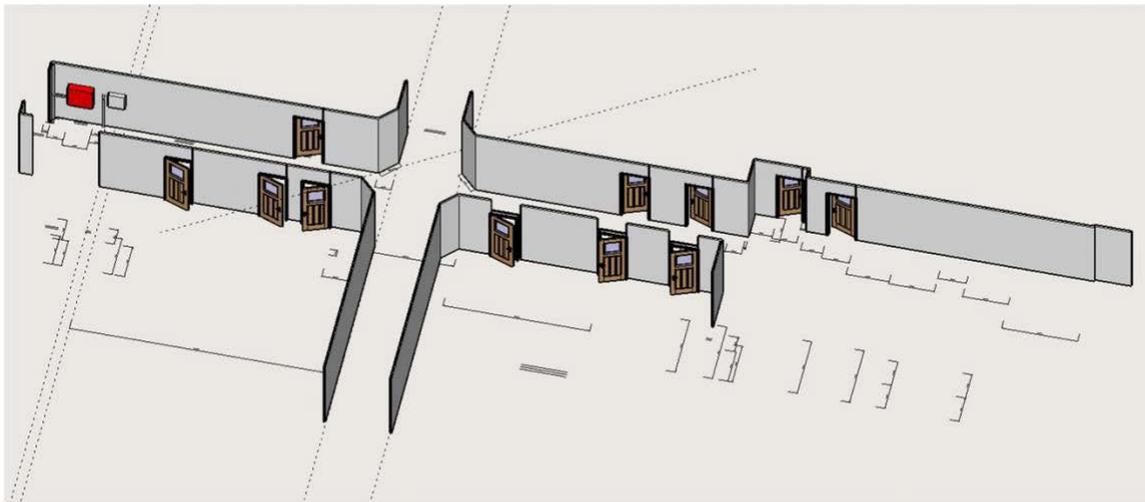


Figure 8. Lemelin, David. *Phase I Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall Exhibition Area*. 2015. Image courtesy of David Lemelin.



Figure 9. *“From Teaching Wigwam to Indian Residential School” Gallery. 2019.* Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 10. *“Shingwauk Schools” Gallery. 2019.* Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 11. “We are all Children of Shingwauk” Gallery. 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 12. “Life at Shingwauk Hall” Gallery. 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 13. Pickering, *Victoria*, Krzysztof Wodiczko (A Projection at the Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C. by Krzysztof Wodiczko), 2018. Flickr, www.flickr.com/photos/16688857@N03/25839957387. Licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.



Figure 14. Detail of “Life at Shingwauk Hall” Gallery. 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 15. *E.F. Wilson and Bukhwujjenene Shingwauk*. Date unknown. Wilson, Edward F. *From Barnsbury England to Barnsbury Canada (1868-1908)*, E.F. Wilson. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 16. Hopkin, James. *Detail of "From Teaching Wigwam to Indian Residential School" Gallery*. 2018. SooToday.com, www.sootoday.com/local-news/reclaiming-shingwauk-hall-exhibition-opens-today-1006075.



Figure 17. Lemelin, David and Trina Cooper-Bolam. “Shingwauk Schools” Gallery 1860s Classroom Vignette, 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.

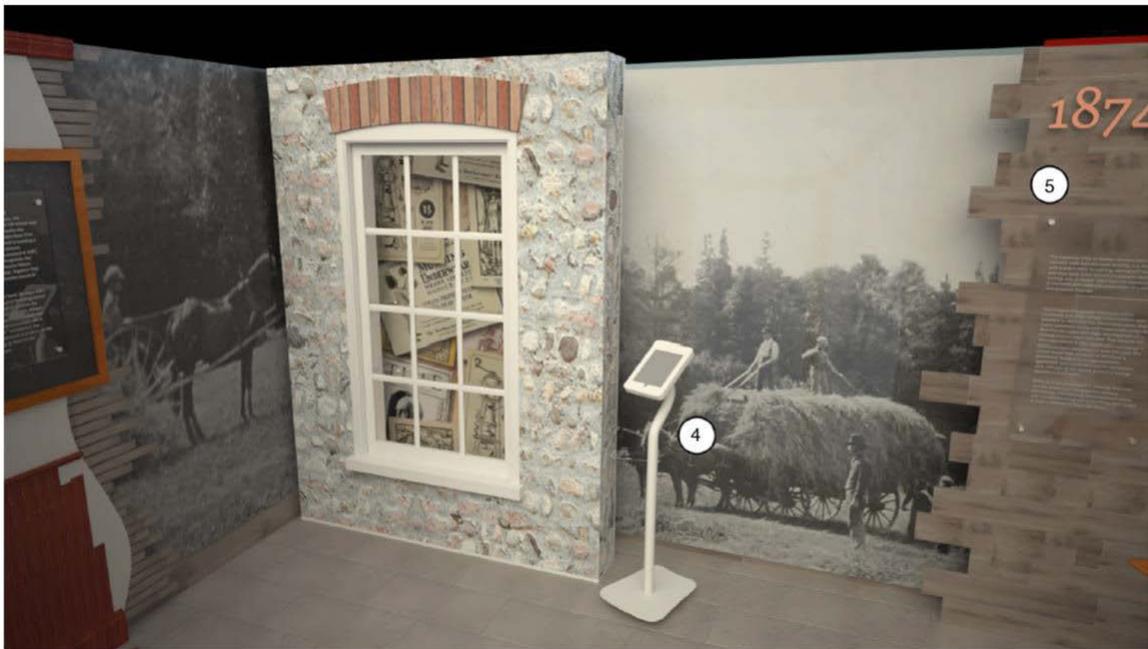


Figure 18. Lemelin, David and Trina Cooper-Bolam. “Shingwauk Schools” Gallery Print Shop Vignette, 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.

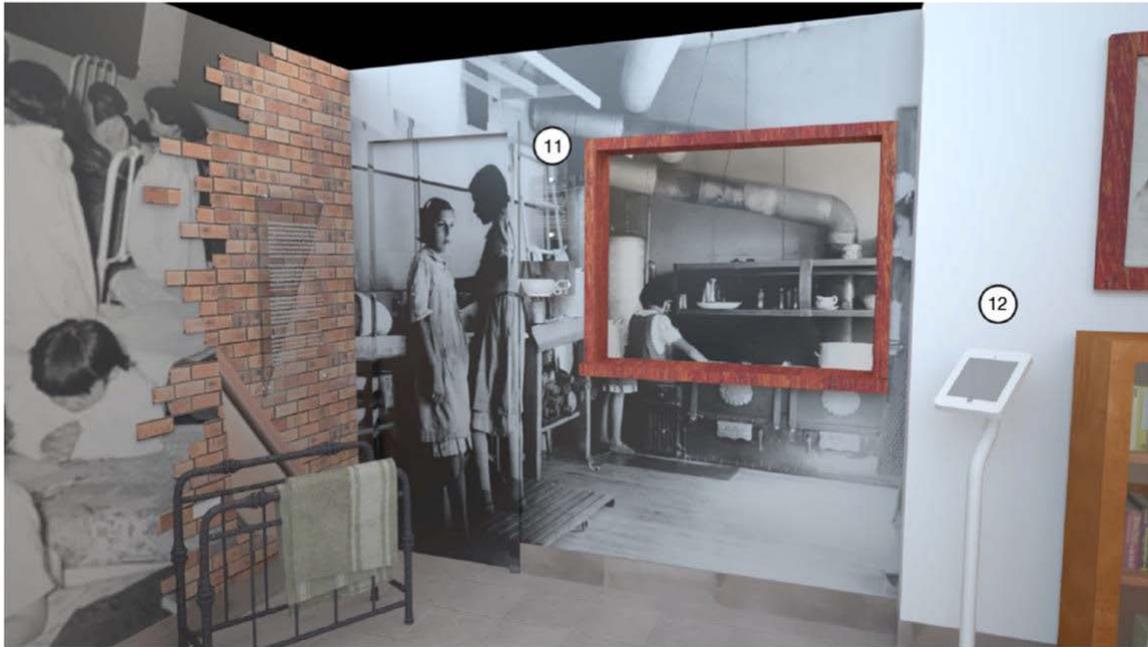


Figure 19. Lemelin, David and Trina Cooper-Bolam. “Shingwauk Schools” Gallery Dormitory to Kitchen Vignette. 2019. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 20. Cooper-Bolam, Trina. Shingwauk Industrial School Student Portrait Moodboard, 2016. Image courtesy of Trina Cooper-Bolam.

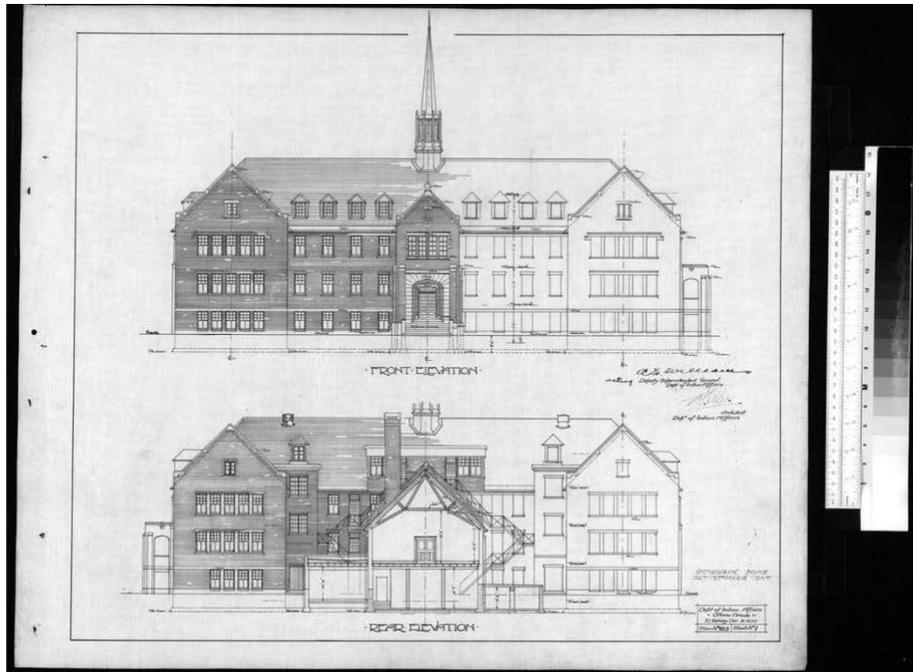


Figure 21. Orr, Roland Guerney. Shingwauk Home, Sault Ste. Marie., Plan No 663 Sheet No. 1, *Front Elevation and Rear Elevation*, 1934. Library and Archives Canada/Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds/RG22M 912016, item 1256-1268. © Government of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of Library and Archives Canada (2019).



Figure 22. Lemelin, David and Trina Cooper-Bolam. *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall Exhibition Zone Map*. 2015. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 23. Lemelin, David. *Design for SKG section of “Shingwauk Schools” Gallery*. 2019. Image courtesy of David Lemelin.



Figure 24. Lemelin, David and Trina Cooper-Bolam. *Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall Exhibition Zone 1 Perspective Drawing*. 2015. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 25. *Synagogues in Germany Exhibition Project Design Model for a Nuremberg Synagogue. 2017.* Image courtesy of the Mennonite Church of Canada.
<https://news.umanitoba.ca/synagogues-in-germany-a-virtual-reconstruction/>.



Figure 26. Hunsberger, Fred. *Interior perspective of The Evidence Room with models of Auschwitz gas column and gas-tight hatch, plaster casts and model of gas-tight door. 2018.* Image courtesy of Fred Hunsberger, University of Waterloo School of Architecture.
<https://www.rom.on.ca/en/evidence>.



Figure 27. *Girls in Kitchen. 1940-1949.* Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives Residential School Photograph Collection, Algoma University. 2010-007/001(056). Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.

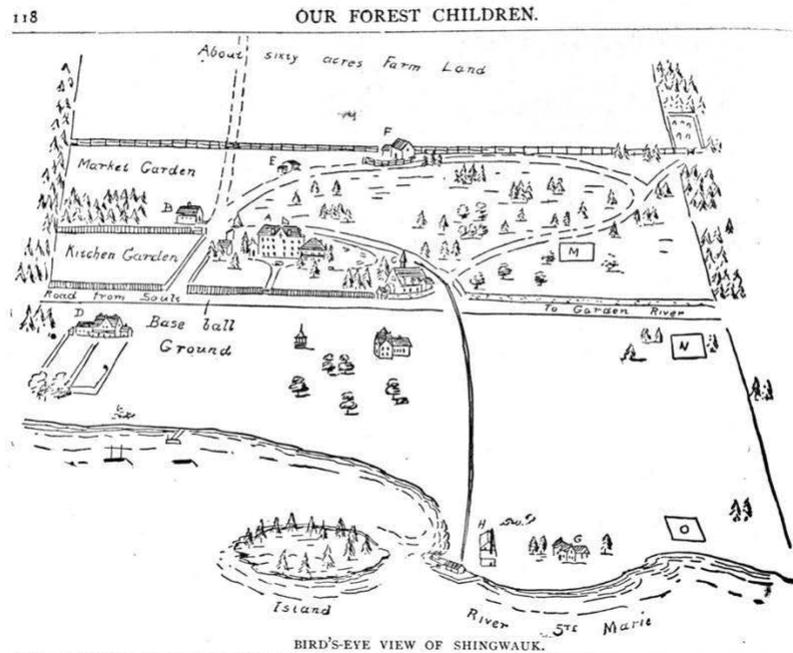


Figure 28. Wilson, Edward Francis. "Drawing of Shingwauk Campus by E.F. Wilson." *Missionary Work Among the Ojebway [sic] Indians.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York (1886): 244. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 29. Higginbotham, Peter. *The Portumna Workhouse Before Conservation and Redevelopment*. 2002. Image courtesy of Peter Higginbotham.
www.workhouses.org.uk/Portumna/



Figure 30. Iddon, Graham. *A Dormitory in the Portumna Workhouse*. 2018. Image courtesy of Graham Iddon.



Figure 31. Iddon, Graham. *An Empty Cradle in the Portumna Workhouse*. 2018.
Image courtesy of Graham Iddon.



Figure 32. Iddon, Graham. *The (Southwell) Workhouse*. 2018.
Image courtesy of Graham Iddon.



Figure 33. Iddon, Graham. *The Deadroom of the (Southwell) Workhouse*. 2018. Image courtesy of Graham Iddon.



Figure 34. *Model of the Fort Alexander Indian Residential School*. 2018. Embodying Empathy Project, SSHRC Partnership Development Grant 2017-2018. Image courtesy of Adam Muller.

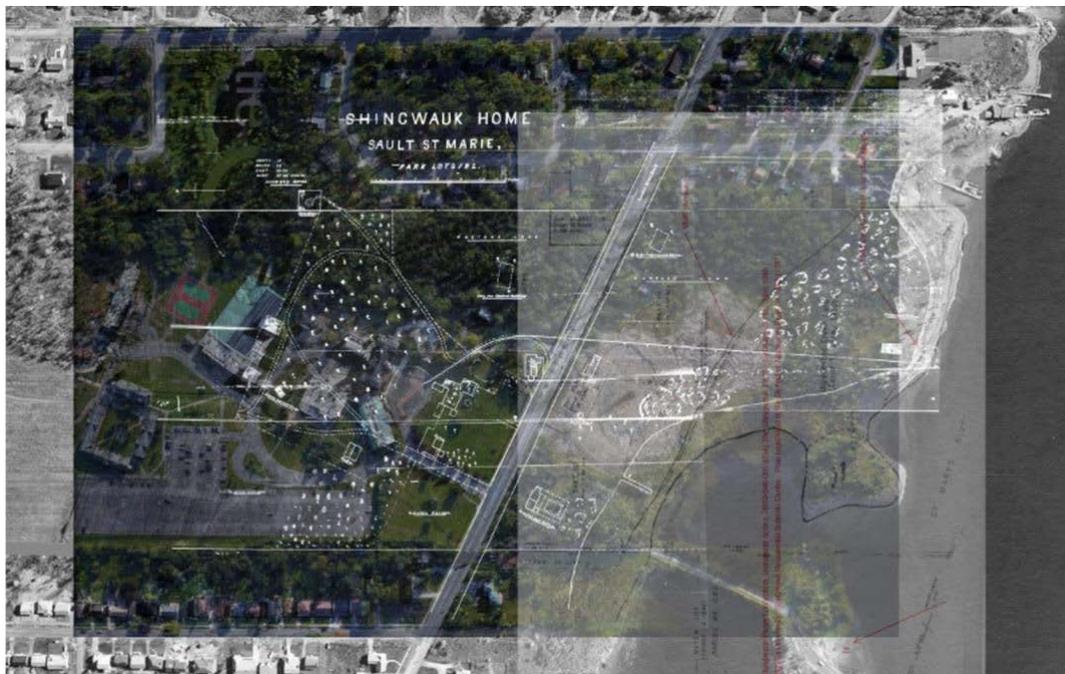


Figure 35. Cooper-Bolam, Trina. *Composite Map of Shingwauk Campus*. 2019.
Image courtesy of Trina Cooper-Bolam.



Figure 36. Kruger, Edith. *Drawing by Edith Kruger of the Inkameep Day School*. Date unknown.
Osoyoos Museum Society, Inkameep Day School Collection, Oliver, BC.
[image withheld PENDING COPYRIGHT CLEARANCE]



Figure 37. Sigurdson, Jessica. *The Witness Blanket*. 2015. Canadian Museum for Human Rights. Image courtesy of Carey Newman. www.witnessblanket.ca/.

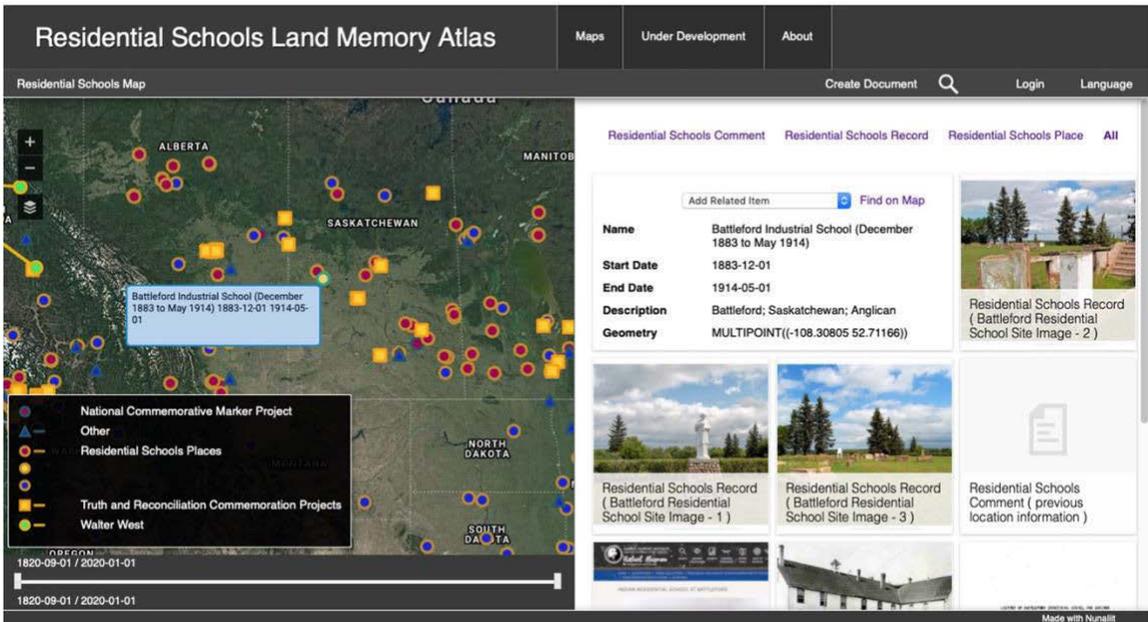


Figure 38. Screen-capture of the *Residential Schools Land Memory Atlas*. 2020. Residential Schools Land Memory Mapping Project, SSHRC Insight Grant 2015-2020. 2020. Image courtesy of Stephanie Pyne, (Lead Researcher), Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre, Carleton University, 2020.

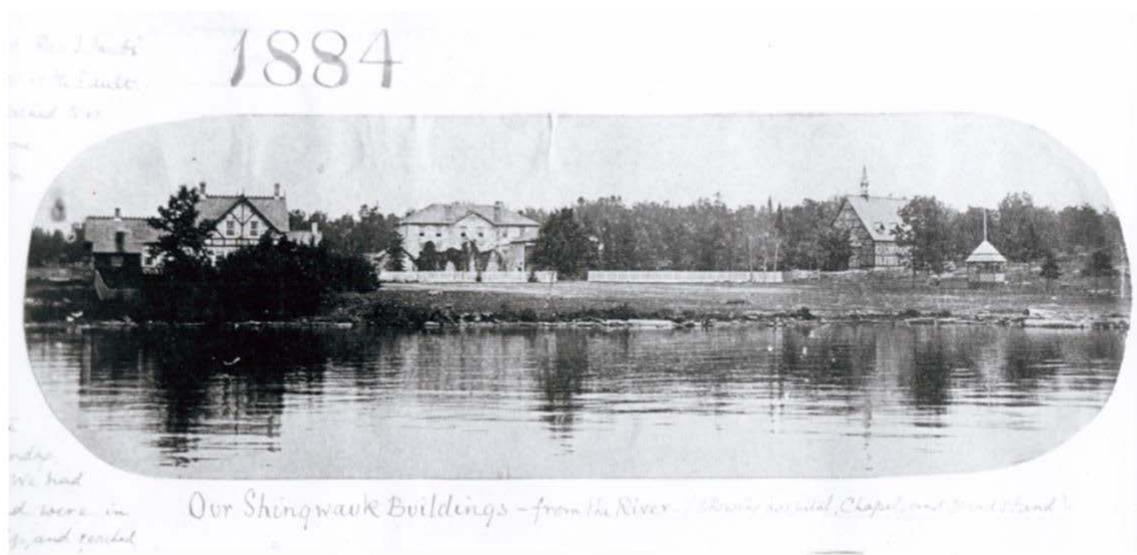


Figure 39. *Our Shingwauk Buildings from the River, 1884*. Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Chief Shingwauk Collection, Algoma University. 2011-17-001-021-002. 2018. Image courtesy of the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre.



Figure 40. Wei, Jay. 162 (*The Vietnam Veterans Memorial*), 2009. Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/42778622@N02/3967843393>. Licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.



Figure 41. Pomeroy, Ashley. *Memorial to the Children Victims of the War in the Memorial and Reverent Area, Lidice*. 2020. Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memorial_to_the_Children_Victims_of_the_War,_Lidice#/media/File:Children's_Memorial,_Lidice_0100.jpg.

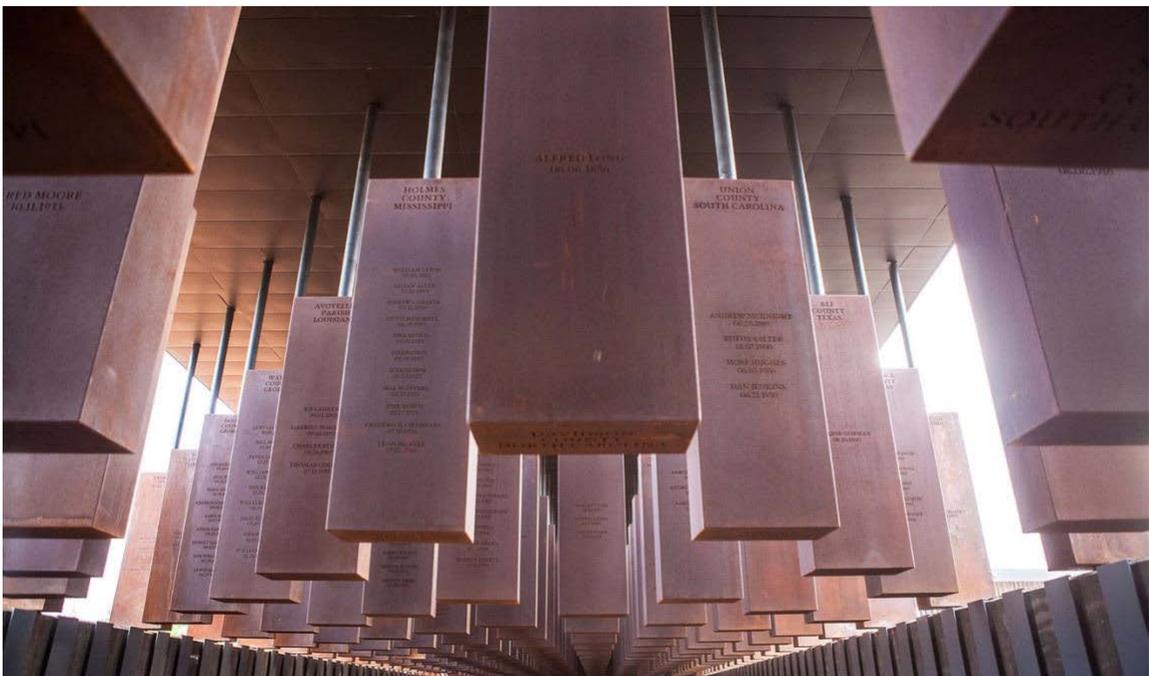


Figure 42. Soniakapadia. *Memorial Corridor at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice*. 2018. Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_National_Memorial_for_Peace_and_Justice#/media/File:Memorial_Corridor_at_The_National_Memorial_for_Peace_and_Justice.jpg.



Figure 43. L- Law, Derek. *The Start (Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red)*. 2014. Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/37023841@N00/15683693315>. Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

R- Reid, Lindsay. *Rebecca Belmore's Trace at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights*. 2014. Image courtesy of Lindsay Reid. Wolfram Engineering, Ltd., <http://www.wolfromeng.com/projects/Learn/CMHR-Trace.html>

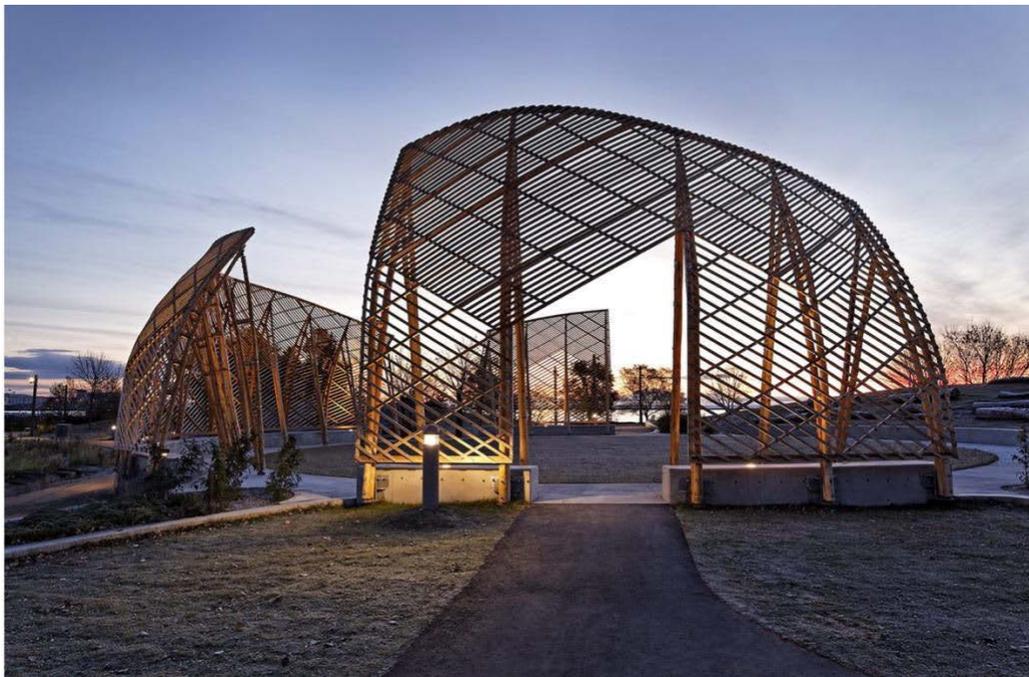


Figure 44. Whittaker, David. *Spirit Garden at Prince Arthur's Landing on Thunder Bay's Downtown Waterfront*. 2012. Image Courtesy of David Whittaker. Aasarchitecture, aasarchitecture.com/2012/11/gathering-circle-at-the-spirit-garden-by-brook-mcilroy-and-ryan-gorrie.html/.



Figure 45. Budgell, Tania. *AFN/AHF National Commemorative Markers in Production*, 2014. Image courtesy of Tania Budgell.

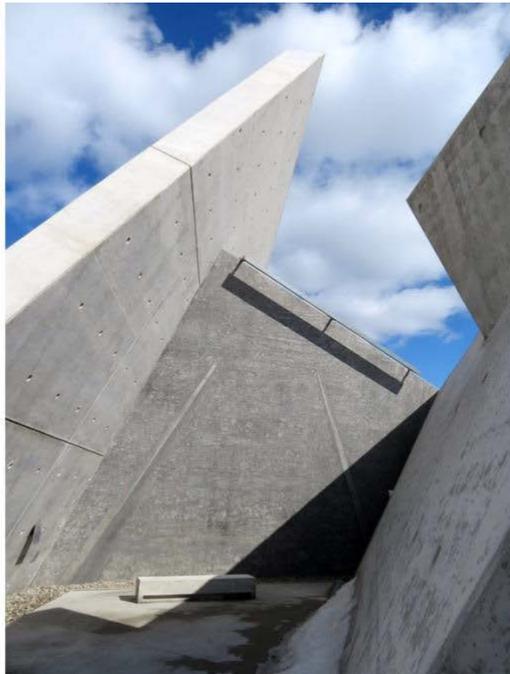


Figure 46. Marshall, Sean. *National Holocaust Memorial, Ottawa*. 2018. Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/7119320@N05/40583375911>. Licensed under CC BY-NC 2.0.

Appendix A



Trina.bolam@carleton.ca

February 27, 2020

Dear Trina,

Thank you for your letter of February 24, 2020 which outlined your doctoral dissertation work.

We greatly appreciated you continuing to keep us informed of your progress and your dedication to working with the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre and the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Association.

Please accept this letter as our support for your dissertation work and your ongoing efforts to contribute to the practice of reconciliatory museology in Canada.

Best wishes,



Krista McCracken
Researcher/Curator
Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre

