

Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Re-membering Canadian Art History

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A monument is a deposit of the historical possession of power. Although it exhibits the traces of the particular historical will to memory that caused its creation, the monument cannot maintain that memory in a stable form. On the one hand, the physical monument is always subject to processes of destruction, erosion, and accretion. On the other hand, the cultural construction of a painting or other object as monument is altered by evolving narratives of history and art history. The processes of monument making and unmaking and the orchestration of memory and forgetting are most visible in the aftermath of major shifts in regimes of power. During the past century global processes of decolonization have produced many such shifts. In their wake the monuments left behind by four centuries of European mercantile expansion and colonialism have often become focal points for activist intervention.

In this essay I will address the kinds of negotiations that surround monuments belonging to settler societies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.¹ More specifically I will focus on the particular issues that face internally colonized indigenous peoples within settler societies by examining several artistic projects undertaken during the 1990s by two First Nations artists working in Canada,²

the Saulteaux-Ojibwa painter Robert Houle, and the Onondaga-Iroquois photographer Jeffrey Thomas. At the center of the discussion will be Houle's *Kanata* (1992) (fig. 12.1), a repainting of Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) in the National Gallery of Canada (fig. 12.2), and a series of photographic works in which Thomas interrogates the monument to Samuel de Champlain (1915–23) sculpted by Hamilton MacCarthy for a site adjacent to Ottawa's Parliament Hill (fig. 12.3). I will argue that both projects are pivotal postcolonial works within the artists' oeuvre of the 1990s because they intervene in settler constructions of monument and memory on two levels. They seek to revise a historical discourse that has silenced indigenous memory, while countering an art historical discourse that has constructed the indigenous artist as a primitive, and therefore as outside modernism. To understand the force of these interventions I will need to contextualize them within Houle's and Thomas's other, closely related artistic and curatorial projects.

Settler and Native Vectors of Decolonization

Before discussing Houle's and Thomas's revisionist work in more detail it will be useful to review briefly the particular politics that characterize decolonization in settler societies. Anticolonial movements generated by the desires of externally colonized settler populations for independence from imperial governments tend to trigger parallel movements among internally colonized indigenous peoples. In some external colonies, such as Canada and South Africa, decolonization is made even more complex by the desires for greater autonomy of historically subordinated European populations such as the Quebecois or the Afrikaners. These multiple vectors of decolonization are projected in characteristic ways onto and through expressive culture and the creation of national cultural institutions. [The establishment of national museums, archives, and other institutions has been an integral part of the settler nation's self-construction. These institutions function both as architectural monuments in themselves and as agencies that make the nation's history visible to itself by producing certain visual and material objects as icons and landmarks that transmit the nation's origin story.³ As Carol Duncan has put it, "like the traditional ceremonial monuments that museum buildings frequently emulate . . . the museum is a complex experience involving architecture, programmed displays of art objects, and highly rationalized installation practices."⁴ By its acts of positioning, the museum endows certain images and objects with the seminal or summary significance associated with symbolic forms, allowing them to become shared reference points in the collective consciousness of the nation.⁵



Fig. 12.1. Robert Houle, *Kanata*, 1992, acrylic and conte crayon on canvas, 228.7 × 732 cm overall, the National Gallery of Canada, 37479.1-4. Copyright Robert Houle. Reproduced by permission of Robert Houle and the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Fig. 12.2. Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770, oil on canvas, 152.6 × 214.5 cm, The National Gallery of Canada, 8007. Copyright National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Fig. 12.3. Hamilton MacCarthy, *Monument to Samuel de Champlain*, 1915–23, Nepean Point, Ottawa. Courtesy National Capital Commission.

In order for the settler society to reinvent itself it must also create and display a cultural and artistic identity distinct from that of the imperial power. A characteristic syndrome, termed “borrowed identity” by Nelson Graburn, characterizes the processes of identity construction that accompany decolonization in settler societies and involves the appropriation of images of the indigenous population to the national self-image.⁶ The first phase of Canadian nationalist cultural activism occurred during the early twentieth century and was informed by the progressivist period ideology that positioned the emergence of nation-states as a culminating achievement of modernity. It expressed itself, first, through evolutionist narratives of art and culture that denied the viability of indigenous peoples and their cultures in the modern world, and subsequently through the recasting of indigenous visual traditions as “primitive art.” During the 1920s, for example, the Canadian national museums worked to foreground the expressionist landscape painting of the Group of Seven as a national school and to situate it within international modernism. Curators in these institutions directly promoted the paradigm of lost authenticity associated with the construct of primitive art and influenced artists to incorporate images of abandoned Native villages and totem poles that inscribed the trope of the Vanishing Indian.⁷ During these years, too, the national museums and archives assembled a second tier “imperial archive” through government-funded collecting and documentation projects.⁸

In contrast to former external colonies, for internally colonized peoples there have been no definitive acts of political liberation, and no formal closure to the colonial era. In Canada, for example, indigenous people still live under the Indian Act, federal legislation first passed during the second half of the nineteenth century in order to engineer their assimilation into Euro-Canadian society through the appropriation of lands and the erasure of indigenous languages, cultural traditions, and memory.⁹ The need to recover and restore indigenous accounts of the past to the national history is therefore at the heart of postcolonial politics in Canada, as it is in other settler nations. I would argue that the lack of formal closure on a political level has given special prominence to activist projects within the sphere of the visual arts.¹⁰ The prestige and power of the national museums have led Native cultural activists to pressure the national institutions to be more inclusive by displaying contemporary Native art and working with indigenous curators.

Contesting the Allegorical Indian

The critical nexus of political activism, the national capital as monumental site, and art making can be illustrated anecdotally in relation to the artists con-

sidered here. Robert Houle first saw *The Death of General Wolfe* in 1969 when, as a rising member of a highly politicized generation of Native artists, he went to Ottawa to join a landmark protest against the government's plan to repeal the Indian Act (which, despite its oppressive legal features, continues to guarantee essential funding and government services). Jeffrey Thomas first saw the Champlain monument when he went to Ottawa to see the National Gallery's first exhibition of contemporary Native North American art, *Land/Spirit/Power: First Nations at the National Gallery*, which was co-curated by Robert Houle.¹¹

That these encounters proved to be defining moments in the artistic biographies of both Houle and Thomas is a function of the prior historical processes through which the West painting and the Champlain statue had been constructed as monuments. Both works celebrate major heroic figures of European settler history, and both were installed in the course of the key early-twentieth-century phase of Canadian settler nationalism and self-fashioning. The Champlain monument was created as a permanent marker of the Champlain Tercentenary, launched at Quebec City in 1908 with the most elaborate pageantry that had ever been organized by the Canadian government. As H. V. Nelles has recently shown, the celebrations repositioned a French colonial hero as a contributor to a triumphal history of British imperialism.¹² Over the years, however, the monument has also become a site for contestations of both Anglo-Canadian and settler empowerment. It has served as a rallying point for the patriotic St. Jean Baptiste Society at its annual celebration of the patron saint of Quebec, Ottawa's major public display of French Canadian nationalist and separatist sentiment. In the 1990s the monument became the target of demonstrations organized by the Assembly of First Nations, Canada's largest aboriginal political organization, to protest the subservient portrayal of the Indian scout, positioned on a plinth beneath Champlain's feet and rendered in reduced hieratic scale. In 1999 the National Capital Commission bowed to this pressure and removed the figure of the Indian scout from the monument to a park across the road.

The Champlain monument and its vicissitudes have been a central reference point of Jeffrey Thomas's photographic practice during the 1990s. He has photographed it from many angles, interrogating the monument in relation to the late-twentieth-century social realities of urban Indians like himself. In many of the images he draws out its contemporary resonances through the carefully calculated incorporation of reworked popular culture icons of Indians. In a 1997 photograph, for example, Thomas's teenaged son Bear sits in front of the bronze Indian, his head tilted back toward the scout at an interrogative angle (fig. 12.4). He is clothed in the fashions typical of contempo-

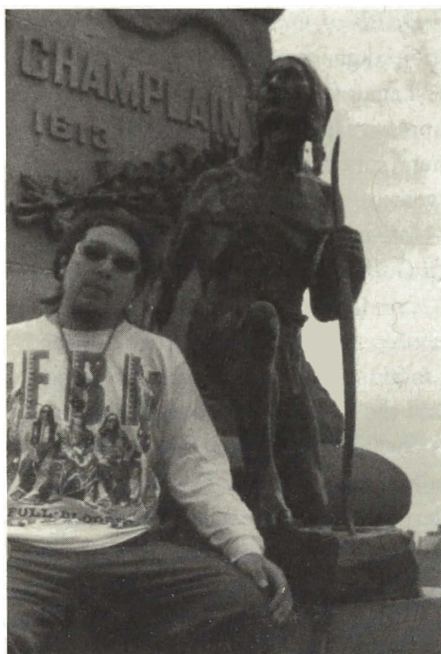


Fig. 12.4. (left) Jeffrey Thomas, "Bear Thomas Posed at the Samuel de Champlain Monument," 1997, gelatin silver print, 18 × 14 in. Artist's collection.

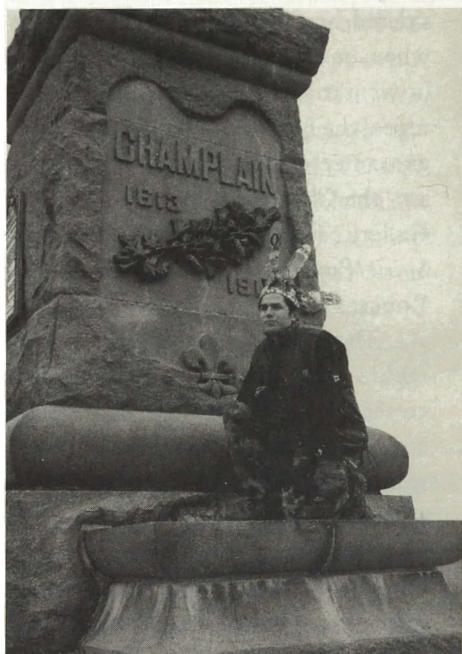


Fig. 12.5. (right) Jeffrey Thomas, "Greg Hill Posed at the Samuel de Champlain Monument," 2000, C-print, 30 × 20 in. Artist's collection.

rary Western youth culture, a baseball cap placed backward on his head, sunglasses, and a sweatshirt printed with an image of a nineteenth-century Plains Indian. The image has been doctored by the clothing designer; the Indian warrior also wears shades and is framed by the initials "F.B.I." and the words "Full Blooded Indian." In another image, made after the removal of the scout, Thomas photographed Greg Hill, a fellow Iroquois artist and curator, squatting in the scout's pose on top of the vacated plinth (fig. 12.5). Hill wears the camouflage pants and garments of any twenty-something Canadian man together with a traditional Iroquois *gustoweh* headdress made of cardboard cereal boxes. In both images the artifacts of fashion display the punning, ironic, pop sensibility of late-twentieth-century visual culture. They convey Thomas's commentary on the cumulative impact of a still-current tradition of romanticized imagery recycled through postindustrial mechanical reproduction into consumer culture. Both portraits speak to the ways that non-Natives are conditioned to see Natives and the crisis of identity many young Native people experience as a result. Both resonate with tricksterish resistance to this com-

modification and employ ironic juxtaposition as a strategy for interrogating stereotypes.¹³

Thomas has also used an image of the Champlain monument as the focal point of one of his most overtly political works, a five-part photographic installation entitled *Cold City Frieze* (1999–2001) (fig. 12.6). In this piece the monument is aligned with four other Indian figures from architectural sculpture and monuments. Each is constructed as an icon of a city that now occupies former Iroquois lands. Each is also made to stand as a “wampum icon” representing one of the five original nations in the Iroquois Confederacy, and the five images are placed in the same narrative order as are the symbols that represent the five nations in the historic Hiawatha wampum belt, a key sym-

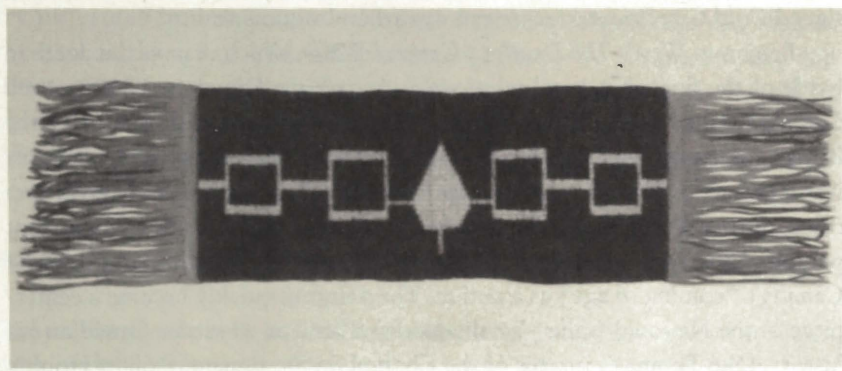


Fig. 12.6. Jeffrey Thomas, *Cold City Frieze*, 1999–2001, six C-prints. Artist's collection. (Temporary installation, Royal Ontario Museum, 2002.)

bolic expression of the Iroquois Confederacy.¹⁴ On a third, autobiographical level each of the Indian figures is invested with meaning as a “personal icon,” through associations made in the exhibit labels to people important to Thomas’s own life. *Cold City Frieze* pulls Champlain’s scout back into the indigenous structure of political power that preceded contact and colonialism and into a remembered history of twentieth-century Native life. Thomas announces this strategy in the artist’s statement that accompanies the installation. “While living in the city of Toronto I came across an architectural frieze depicting a time-line of Canadian technological history. The first part of the frieze showed Indians riding on horseback and standing by tipis, images hardly relevant to the Iroquois experience. The rest of the frieze simply ignored the continued presence of the First Nations people in Canadian History. I designed *Cold City Frieze* to represent my urban Iroquois reality.”¹⁵

Benjamin West’s *The Death of General Wolfe*, which depicts the death in battle of the English general whose victory over the French in 1759 secured Canada for the British Empire, was one of five works given to the nation by the British government in 1921 as part of the Canadian War Memorials.¹⁶ The gift was a gesture of Britain’s gratitude for Canada’s disproportionately great sacrifices during World War I. The transfer from England to Canada of important paintings related to its settler history can be read as an official recognition of Canada’s “coming of age” as a nation. The painting quickly became a centerpiece of the National Gallery’s collection and an icon of settler Canadian art history. Like Thomas’s images of the Champlain monument, Robert Houle’s repainting of West’s masterwork also focuses on the marginalized figure of an Indian, the warrior who sits on the ground in the lower left-hand corner. Like the Indians in official state and provincial seals, or like the picturesque figures in the foreground of eighteenth-century topographical paintings, West’s warrior frames the main scene of settler action and locates it in North America. On another level, as Vivien Fryd has argued, the figure—which she suggests is based on Dürer’s *Melancholia*—is an initial and highly influential example of the topos of the Vanishing American in the iconography of Western painting.¹⁷

From his first encounter with the West painting, the warrior became for Houle the focus of crucial questions about identity and the position of aboriginal people in Canada—“Who are we? We’re marginal, we’re largely invisible, and ninety-nine percent of the time we’re fictional.”¹⁸ In *Kanata* he renders the West painting as a cartoon in conte crayon on raw canvas, interpolating other Native figures into the background. Most importantly, Houle paints in only the Indian. By this gesture he shifts the focus of the painting away from the pathos of the dying English general in the compositional center to the impending tragedy of Native disenfranchisement and dislocation. “I created

Kanata because of a desire to invoke another history,” he has written, “one based on underlining the historical marginalization of native people by heightening the allegorical reading of the Romantic ‘noble savage’ in the West painting. Nonetheless, it is a history based on an experience in the New World before there was a margin, the notion that ‘our’ lifeline here goes as far back as creation according to cultural memory.”¹⁹

The settler origin story of Canada has defined the country’s central historical drama as the struggle between the French and the English, the “two founding nations.” Against this notion Canada’s indigenous peoples have termed themselves the “First Nations.” The strategies of Houle and Thomas are analogous. They complicate Canada’s preoccupation with French and English historical perspectives, moving the European settler history of the country off center by manipulating the angles from which viewers can look at the canonical works of Euro-Canadian art history. By placing Houle’s and Thomas’s projects within the broader development of their work, we will be able to see how memory, history, and monument have been working on each other to inscribe new, postcolonial topographies in the commemorative landscapes of settler nations.

Robert Houle: Recovering Memory, Recuperating Newman

Robert Houle was born in 1947, grew up on the Sandy Bay reserve in Manitoba, and spent ten years of his childhood in a Catholic residential school. He has only recently, in his fifties, revealed the abuse that he, like so many other Native children, suffered there.²⁰ The highlight of his summers at home with his traditionalist family was attendance at the annual Sun Dance, but such duality carried a cost. Houle has recalled that he would attend a Sun Dance one day and have to confess his “paganism” in church on the next, and that it took years to rid himself of the imposed sense of guilt.²¹ He went on to earn degrees from the University of Manitoba and McGill, falling under the sway of Mondrian, of his teacher, the Quebec hard-edge abstractionist Guido Mollinari, and, especially, of Barnett Newman and the New York School of abstract expressionism.²² He accepted the rigorous discipline of field painting, recognizing both its spiritual content and its utility to the exploration of his own dual heritage of Christian and Saulteaux-Ojibwa spirituality. At crucial moments of his career he has used specific Newman works as points of departure for major projects of his own. His 1983 series *Parfleches for the Last Supper* was inspired by Newman’s “Stations of the Cross” of 1958–66, and *Kanata* contains a direct quotation from a late Newman painting, the 1967 *Voice of Fire*.²³

Kanata was painted in 1992, the year of the Columbus quincentennial,

when many Native American artists were using their engagement with artistic modernism to confront the history of aboriginal people since contact, and it was purchased by the National Gallery of Canada in the same year.²⁴ By leaching the life and color out of the European figures and vivifying the Indian, Houle reverses the power relations of Canadian history, a revisionist gesture that cannot, of course, change the past, but only the future. In a 1992 interview Houle spoke of his hope that viewers would be drawn to his work, in the first instance “because of its beauty, because of its physicality and materiality,” and that he could then, “somehow . . . teach them something, too.”²⁵ This something has to do with how one sees the land and its history from a Native point of view. Quoting the remembered words of his grandfather he went on:

And he would say *mii-aansh*. And that’s just a narrative style of saying . . . “it has happened” or “used to happen” or “this is the way it was”—like fairytales from a long time ago. And then he’d say *ko aagikidad*, “if something is going to happen,” *anishnabec*, “native people will be there” and he would say *anishnabec*, “remember when this country was named, native people were present and native people signed treaties.” And the reason for that he’d say is because we believe this is an integral part of our lifetime. We were given this land. We’ve always been here. So we firmly believe that we have this invisible contract with North America. That’s my sense of history. And that’s how I see myself even though I’m very open to the Canadian culture.²⁶

Houle thrusts his image of a reempowered Native presence in between two large color fields of red and blue. In *Kanata* the red and the blue panels become emblematic of Canada’s deadlocked French and English dualities. As noted, a key demand of aboriginal political leaders over the past two decades has been that the First Nations be recognized alongside the French and English as “founding nations” of Canada and that they be admitted to constitutional negotiations. *Kanata* thus plays on the multiple ironies of late-twentieth-century Canadian cultural politics. The fact that the Newman painting was first shown in the American pavilion at the Montreal World’s Fair, Expo ’67, held to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of Canadian confederation, was one such resonance. Canadian viewers would also have understood the reference made by its blue and red fields to Newman’s *Voice of Fire*, whose purchase by the National Gallery in 1990 had raised an unprecedented nationwide storm of controversy.²⁷ (It replaced *The Death of General Wolfe* as the Gallery’s most visited work.) Of more serious and more recent import was the implicit reference to the Oka crisis which had taken place in the summer of 1990 when members of two Mohawk reserves in Quebec stood off the Que-

bec police and the Canadian army in a confrontation sparked by an unresolved claim to a sacred burial ground. The painterly qualities of the framing panels, whether read as expressionist symbolism or as pure visuality, became secondary. In *Kanata*, then, Houle moves from homage to manipulation, appropriating Newman's color fields in order to serve overtly political ends.

Yet the discipline of abstract expressionism also continues to lend to this painting and to a series of related prints a formal rigor and elegance that serve Houle's goal of attraction and persuasion. In this context Houle's use of abstract expressionist elements can be read as reinforcing his assertion of the survival of indigenous spirituality within the modern world. The quotation from Newman, I would argue, points to Houle's concurrence with the abstract expressionists' engagement with the mythic, the spiritual, and the mystical in general, and, more specifically, with Native American art as part of their own nationalist agenda. Newman, Rothko, Pollock, Gottlieb, and their colleagues were among the first artists to engage with Native American, as opposed to African or Oceanic, arts within the category of primitive art, and they made their debt clear in numerous statements and writings. As Jackson Rushing has pointed out, "these artists did not perceive themselves in a colonial situation vis a vis the use of Indian art, which, after all, was considered national cultural property. Moreover, modernism's self-defined universality seemed to justify its appetite for the cultural forms of Native American and other Others."²⁸ By these doubled references—to an alleged primordial system of meanings and to colonialist assumptions about Native people—modernist primitivism preempted the possibility of an unmediated use of their own formal traditions by the contemporary Native artists themselves. Houle's self-imposed task was, then, to recover the spiritual content of modernism silenced by formalist criticism during the 1960s and 1970s while at the same time countering its appropriative politics.²⁹ His reappropriation of abstract expressionism into a work of postcolonial critique is, then, an act of recuperation, informed by his desire to reverse the history of the exclusion of Native artists from the spaces of modernist art practice.

In 1993 Houle created an installation around his painting entitled *Kanata: Robert Houle's Histories* for the Carleton University Art Gallery in Ottawa within which he was able to play out the full range of his concerns. One of the most important was the complementary task of "rehabilitating" historic Native objects from anthropology museums, a commitment he had made to himself during a brief stint as curator of contemporary Indian art at the National Museum of Man in the late 1970s.³⁰ In the version of *The Death of General Wolfe* owned by the National Gallery West had omitted the Indian warrior's moccasins. By a striking coincidence, as Houle was planning his installation

the National Gallery put on view a small loan exhibition from the British Museum of recently discovered historical Native objects that West had used as props—displayed, needless to say, in glass cases.³¹ In his installation Houle parodies this treatment by “lending” his own moccasins—placed in an adjacent plexiglass box—to the painted warrior. At the same time he “freed” the ethnographic artifact by placing an offering of tobacco next to his *parfleche* (a painted rawhide container traditionally used to store sacred medicines, food, and other items) inside a circle inscribed on the floor. The circle demarcated a sacred space, open to the air, in which the *parfleche* could “breathe” and live.

A further element of the exhibition, *Contact/Context/Content*, introduced Houle’s taped voice speaking his own history in Ojibwa and English, juxtaposed with photographs of the National Gallery’s exhibit of West’s Indian props.³² The transcription of his spoken text, overprinted on reproductions of the contact sheets of the National Gallery’s installations of West’s artifact collection, activated the meanings of the diverse elements in the installation. It read:

The historical relationship between the First Nations and Canada since CONTACT spans an empire and a post-colonial era. Today, the politics of multiplicity and the ideological grounding in listening to *other* voices has given me the opportunity to challenge authority—the CONTEXT upon which my work can have maximum empowerment for the viewer. Tomorrow, the politics of representation and the spiritual integrity of the past will govern the CONTENT to be found in my art.

On some of these prints Houle lettered the names of extinct North American indigenous peoples, written in reverse, over reproductions of *The Death of General Wolfe*. This textual/conceptual element connects *Contact/Context/Content* to several other major projects Houle worked on during these years that addressed issues of memory, commemoration, and monument even more specifically.³³ The series of works responded, in particular to Lothar Baumgarten’s site-specific work *Monument for the Native People of Ontario*, commissioned as part of a 1985 temporary exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario. The work, which was subsequently acquired by the AGO, consists of an elegiac inscription of the names of “extinct” Native “people” painted in trompe l’oeil Roman typeface over the arches of the neoclassical Walker Court, one of the earliest parts of the AGO’s building and now enfolded within several layers of more recent construction.³⁴

Like the 1969 encounter with West’s *Death of General Wolfe*, Houle’s encounter with Baumgarten’s installation was a pivotal moment. He was struck



Fig. 12.7. Robert Houle, *Anishnabe Walker Court*, 1993, site-specific installation. Lothar Baumgarten's *Monument for the Native People of Ontario*, visible through the arches, has been installed in the Walker Court continuously since it was commissioned by the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1985. Typeface Perpetua [Eric Gill], tempera on painted concrete. Copyright Robert Houle. Reproduced by permission of Robert Houle and the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

and disturbed by the white, German artist's appropriation of the right to mourn; by his confusion of the names of indigenous nations with those of language groups and regions; and by the fact that a number of the "Native People" named, such as his own group, the Ojibwa, are not extinct. In *Anishnabe Walker Court* (1993) Houle reappropriated the names by placing them in quotation marks and reinscribing them in lowercase on an outer wall that surrounds the Walker Court (fig. 12.7). He also included a photographic documentation of the changes to the Walker Court over the years that is itself a comment on the histories of change, memory, and forgetting that surround the museum-as-monument. The commissioning of Houle's intervention by the Art Gallery of Ontario, like the National Gallery of Canada's purchase of his *Kanata* in 1992 and its periodic hanging of the work adjacent to West's *Death of General Wolfe*, typifies the postmodern, reflexive culture of settler institutions during the 1990s. The handout accompanying Houle's piece states, for example, that the AGO acted, "being willing as an institution to exacerbate the contradictions Baumgarten's work asserts." The text stresses, furthermore, that Houle's work is situated within the discursive parameters of contemporary art: "Houle, incidentally, admires the installation as an 'eloquent European work which addresses our people.' . . . In the process, Houle has also taken as a subject the responsibility of an institution to site-specific works." The link between *Anishnabe Walker Court* and *Contact/Context/Content* is, then, that both retrieve from the limbo of the past images and icons of Natives

who have been symbolically killed by premature acts of memorialization. Like *Kanata, Anishnabe Walker Court* works to alter the viewer's perspective on an existing work that has become monumentalized within a museum by the operation of art discourses, and by that change of perspective to insist on the vitality and agency of its subjects.

Jeffrey Thomas: The Quest for Identity and the Legacy of Curtis

Jeffrey Thomas also uses his camera as a tool for the discovery of lost histories. He regards the re-membering of the pasts of aboriginal people—pasts that have been overlaid with romantic and popular culture stereotypes—as an essential defense against the threats to indigenous identity. As I argued earlier, 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 generality and romanticization of historic monuments. While the sculpted Indian scout gazes into the distance, Thomas's son Bear returns the gaze to the viewer and his friend Greg Hill looks beyond her, their expressions at once confident, quizzical, and cheerful. Ultimately, however, in these and other images, the focal point of the image is the portrait of the face of a contemporary First Nations person in all his or her individuality.

The portrait is one of two key photographic genres (or rhetorical modes, to use Barthes's taxonomy), to which Thomas has been drawn in his quest for historicized understandings of Native identity. The other is what he calls the "environment," the real, unromanticized, often gritty world that Indians have inhabited since contact, and particularly since the wave of economically motivated early-twentieth-century dislocations in which his own family was caught up—the world, that is, of urban modernity. The use of the camera as an investigative tool connects to the circumstances of Thomas's life. Jeffrey Thomas is a self-taught photographer born in Buffalo in 1956 to a family from the Six Nations Iroquois reserve in southern Ontario. Although he visited his relatives on the reserve regularly throughout his childhood, the fundamental condition of his life has been displacement. As an adult he has lived in cities—Toronto, Winnipeg, Ottawa—built on land that had been occupied for millennia by Native people. In the largest sense he set for himself the task of finding and documenting with his camera the traces of this occupation, historical and contemporary. He began taking photographs in the early 1980s as a founding member of NIPA, the Native Indian Photographers Association, an organization committed to countering the stereotypical representation of Indians through a new project of self-representation through photography.

Thomas's earliest photographs constituted a search for the traces of his

family's history in the inner city neighborhoods of Buffalo in which he had grown up. He wanted, above all, to be able to visualize the world of his grandparents and great-grandparents, those who had first experienced out-migration from the reserves and who had first faced the need to reformulate and defend their identities. He found no answers to his most basic questions—how it had been for the first Indians who moved to the cities, what their world had looked like, how they had felt about becoming the objects of the non-Native gaze. What his quest revealed were paradoxical conditions of *invisibility* and *hypervisibility*. As he walked the city streets his camera caught the fugitive traces of lives of alienation and displacement that lay outside of official histories. He found, on the one hand, a host of garish, highly visible, stereotyped images of Indians in advertising, on tee shirts, and on the covers of pulp novels, and, on the other hand, the more decorous but equally stereotypical images of the public monuments.

Both the absence and the excess produce the condition of nonrecognizability. Thomas has recalled the problems his initial inquiry posed. "I was curious . . . about the way Native people were depicted in pop culture. I found it very frustrating to see these depictions—on the Saturday afternoon westerns, for example. I wanted to investigate the history behind the stereotypes." He began to look for answers through historical research, and specifically in the visual archive of historical photography. Since the 1970s a large number of the images of Indians that circulate in popular culture have been derived from the early-twentieth-century photographs of Edward Curtis, who had set out to document the last traces of the vanishing American Indian. In an essay accompanying an exhibition of historical photographs he curated for the National Archives of Canada Thomas quoted Curtis's own description of his monumental, twenty-volume photographic project: "Above all, none of these pictures would admit anything which betokened civilization, whether in an article of dress or landscapes or objects on the ground. These pictures were to be transcriptions for future generations that they might behold the Indian as nearly lifelike as possible as he moved about before he ever saw a paleface or knew there was anything human or in nature other than what he himself had."³⁵

As he viewed these early photographic images, however, Thomas was troubled by a sense of his own voyeurism. "There was a very limited amount of information that I could get from these photographs, and I felt guilty about staring at them. . . . I felt that I was on a field trip, staring at Indians."³⁶ He located his discomfort in the early photographers' erasure from the background of their *subjects'* actual historical existences. "The *structure* of the photographs produced this response in me," Thomas has said; "these people were living in poverty—they had no control over what was going on, over how the images

were constructed. The results were very stylized images, tourist snapshots. On the other hand, there was a lack of environment revealed in the photographs, and this created a claustrophobic feeling for me because I was searching for information about that environment and these people.”³⁷ Curtis’s photographs belong to the primitivist current within modernism and to the intellectual movement of antimodernity, in T. J. Jackson Lears’s sense.³⁸ Within this economy of signs, Curtis and others produced images of the almost vanished world of American Indians to be consumed by non-Natives yearning for an authenticity thought to have been lost through industrialization and urbanization. Antimodernist nostalgia (the sentiment that informs Baumgarten’s *Monument for the Native People of Ontario*) denied to the depicted or referenced subjects a place in modernity. For Thomas, as for Houle, the retrieval of that denied modernity is a fundamental strategy for self-legitimation.

Thomas was blocked in his search for historical environments by the very conditions that had produced Curtis’s photographs. He worked the problem out, as always, through photography itself, and specifically in his pow wow photographs, one of his major series of the early and mid 1990s. These images document contemporary pow wow dancers, the modern-day descendants of the romantic warriors Curtis had sought to record. For Thomas the pow wow photographs provide both a corrective to the artificial excisions of Curtis’s work and an alternative body of imagery to his depictions of urban Indians. In pow wow dancers he found “a practice of that history [that] gives you that sense, that bearing in the world, that pride, that attitude”³⁹ that he had not been able to find in the city. It satisfied his need to explore the excess and messiness of actual environments and the ways that individuals negotiate divided subjectivities and complex modern identities. He photographed each dancer dressed both in everyday clothing and in dance regalia, their competition numbers clearly visible on their chests. He characteristically framed and displayed them in diptychs and triptychs to convey the complexity of modern Indian identities. In his 1996 exhibition *Portraits from the Dancing Grounds*, Thomas borrowed original Curtis photographs from the National Archives of Canada and incorporated them into his photographic groupings of modern pow wow dancers, finally returning these images back to Curtis.

As with Houle’s use of color fields, the point of this inclusion was, however, more recuperative than deconstructive. In his continuing search for the traces of the past Thomas had come to regard Curtis’s portraits as possessing an indispensable indexical relationship to the ancestral lives he himself sought to know. Curtis had written that his pictures “should be made according to the best of modern methods and of a size that the face might be studied as the In-

dian's own flesh."⁴⁰ Like Curtis himself, Thomas was drawn inexorably to the faces. He has said:

The historic photographs, by Curtis and others like him, seemed to be an extension of that stripping away because they didn't provide a sense of place, time or history. If you are trying to take away someone's identity and impose a new one, of course you take the history away, the sense of place. . . . I also remember thinking, what if we had no record at all from the past? Although the images were lacking in many ways, they were nevertheless a record: the faces couldn't be changed. It occurred to me that there is no way that I can add a history to those early photographs. I can't make more than there already is, so, what can you do? For me, you become a photographer, and you become responsible for the time in which you are living.⁴¹

To find the faces of his own ancestors, then, Thomas has had to recuperate Curtis—at least in part—from the general poststructuralist condemnation of the modernist ethnographic and aesthetic movements that shaped his work. As Roland Barthes has written, "photography transformed subject into object, and even, one might say, into a museum object."⁴² But, as he also writes, that same transformation is grounded in the photograph's fundamental "contingency," because of which "it immediately yields up those 'details' which constitute the very raw material of ethnological knowledge."⁴³ Curtis's portraits were intended to be commemorations of and monuments to the disappearing American Indian.⁴⁴ Thomas reaches back through this initial historical framing, through the reromanticized images of the calendars and the postcards, and through the reworked, ironic, postcolonial images, to reassert their essential evidentiary status. Ultimately, for Thomas this value is absolute and undeniable. For him, as for Barthes, "every photograph is a certificate of presence."⁴⁵

Thomas regards his archival research as a form of archaeology, a "digging through the archives for the images of the past."⁴⁶ He has also pursued his quest as a curator of exhibits of historical photographs by working with an eclectic body of photographs taken by amateur, commercial, and ethnographic photographers. The resulting exhibitions are, increasingly, framed as the visual history he originally set out to find in city streets. His 2000 exhibit *Emergence from the Shadows* for the Canadian Museum of Civilization investigated what is perhaps the ultimate modernist project, ethnographic photographs deposited by early anthropologists, in this case those working for the National Museum of Canada. He found in the museum's ethnographic archives documentary evidence that showed that many of the sitters had carefully controlled

their own self-presentations. This research has, finally, begun to answer the questions with which Thomas began, linking back, for instance, to some of his most treasured memories of childhood visits to his great-aunt Emily General. "When I was a child," he has said, "I stayed on the family farm at the Six Nations reserve in southern Ontario. At night or when people were visiting, I would sit in the kitchen and listen to the stories being told about people in the community. . . . There were no photographs of those I heard about, and none were needed because the stories created such a strong visual impression in my mind. During my research at the National Archives, I came across several photographs of people from my reserve. These photographs brought back memories of the vivid images I had as a child."⁴⁷ Thomas's photographic practice is intimately bound up with his archival project. Both are necessary to his goal of recovering identity through the restoration of memory to history. "I don't look at the historical photograph in a negative sense, but I think there's a place where my work as a photographer and the historical photograph come together . . . and they begin to expand upon the historical limitation and the pop cultural limitations, and you begin to find this ground that's very unique to who you are today."⁴⁸

Bringing into History and Breaking History's Shackles

Thomas's and Houle's artistic projects are linked not by formal or generic qualities but by common critical and political purposes—purposes that are typical of their generation of indigenous North American artists. Both introduce into official spaces of display what Raphael Samuel has called "unofficial knowledge."⁴⁹ Both draw on a combination of individual, familial, and communal memory and of forgotten textual and visual documentation to alter the viewer's angle of vision on official settler monuments. Pierre Nora's central argument that history's absorption of memory is transformative has useful explanatory force in suggesting that these negotiations will construct new and equally rigid orthodoxies through the selective incorporation of orally preserved histories. Such incorporations both arrest organic, indigenous processes of reiteration and can bring into the public domain articulations regarded as proprietary and private in the originating societies. However, close readings of Houle's and Thomas's work also complicate Nora's formulation. By its very title, for example, Nora's essay "Between Memory and History" denominates a binary, which like other similar binaries—tradition and modernity or the sacred and the secular—colonizes discourse, limiting the terms in which the pasts of many non-Western peoples can be discussed.⁵⁰

In his essay “History’s Forgotten Doubles,” Ashis Nandy has brought forward specific issues that arise around postcolonial history and memory. He argues that history marks all other modes of representing the past with a negative valence: “The historians’ history of the ahistorical—when grounded in a ‘proper’ historical consciousness, as defined by the European Enlightenment—is usually a history of the prehistorical, the primitive, and the pre-scientific. By way of transformative politics or cultural intervention, that history basically keeps open only one option—that of bringing the ahistoricals into history.”⁵¹ He argues further that historical consciousness, once achieved, is totalizing; “for both the moderns and those aspiring to their exalted status; once you own history, it also begins to own you.” He leaves open, however, a second possibility, presented as unstable and fugitive but nevertheless potent, for rupturing the hegemonic power of historical consciousness:

You can, if you are an artist or a mystic, occasionally break the shackles of history in your creative or meditative moments (though even then you might be all too aware of the history of your own art, if you happen to be that kind of an artist, or the history of mysticism, if you happen to be that kind of a practitioner of mysticism). The best you can hope to do, by way of exercising your autonomy, is to live outside history for short spans of time.⁵²

This possibility art offers for “breaking the shackles of history” is, I suggest, the second reason why the arena of visual art has been so important a sphere for postcolonial negotiation in settler societies (the first, as I mentioned earlier, being the lack of a formal political closure to colonialism). Both Robert Houle’s and Jeffrey Thomas’s interventionist works “bring into history,” in Nandy’s terms. But both also “break the shackles of history” to recover, experientially, alternate modalities that have existed historically and that survive today in fragmentary forms within the modern world. The work of recovery addresses itself not just to factual accounts forgotten in the archives or preserved in memory but never written down. It is, equally, a project whose goal is to recover that which has been lost through imaginative acts of projection and recreation. Such acts collapse time. Houle and Thomas engage Benjamin West, Barnett Newman, Hamilton MacCarthy, and Edward Curtis in dialogues that are impossible in historical time but that are enabled through the transtemporal physicality of the monument and the limitless potential for recontextualization present in the spaces that these works create around themselves.

Ironically, modernity’s own archival and nostalgic impulses—its construction of an imperial archive and its creation of a romantic antimodernist

movement—have guaranteed the presence of collections of ethnographic artifacts and “primitive art,” the documentary photographs, the literature of anthropology, and the ethnographic archive that continue to enable the production of these alternative views. Art, however, is not politics. In his analysis of parallel examples of artistic intervention in New Zealand, Nicholas Thomas has rightly asked, “Can indigenous art as a whole be seen to be placed in an enabling situation,” or do such interventions more often “[exhibit] an incompatibility between cultures and institution, and [attest] to the awkwardness of combination rather than the prospects of partnership?”⁵³ Interventions similar to those discussed in this essay have steadily increased in major Canadian institutions of art and culture for almost two decades, but they have not yet destabilized the fundamental narratives in which settler monuments are embedded. Houle and Thomas, like their contemporaries, do not resolve the problem of postcolonial memory but, rather, place quotation marks around the monuments of settler historical memory. Their works leave behind impressions of their own ambivalence—the “awkwardness” of which Nicholas Thomas speaks. Yet these multiplying moments of interrogation and opening out are important, and for those who experience them the monuments they call into question will never be the same. Perhaps Robert Houle’s and Jeffrey Thomas’s ultimate, tricksterish, perspectival shift, however, is that their acts of self-positioning within the history of artistic and anthropological modernism reopen possibilities within the modernist tradition not only for Native but also for non-Native subjects.

NOTES

1. Nicholas Thomas’s *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (Thames and Hudson, 1999), which focuses on New Zealand and Australia, provides essential context for the particular problem of monuments in settler societies, particularly Canada. See also Annie Coombes, “Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post-Apartheid South Africa,” in *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, ed. Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes (New York: Routledge, 2000); and Paul Tapsell, Te Arawa, “*Taonga, Marae, Whenua*—Negotiating Custodianship: A Maori Tribal Response to the Museum of New Zealand,” in *National Museums, Negotiating Histories: Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001), 112–21.

2. The term “First Nations” is preferred in Canada to the term “Native American.” It is used interchangeably with “native,” “aboriginal,” “indigenous,” and—by many members of these communities—“Indian.”

3. The National Museum of Canada was founded by a 1907 Act of Parliament that provided for the construction of the Victoria Memorial Museum, which opened in 1911. Its neo-Gothic architecture closely resembles that of the Parliament buildings. Along with the physical construction of buildings went an energetic project of assembling national collections. See

Victoria Dickenson, "A History of the National Museums from Their Founding to the Present Day," *Muse* 10, nos. 2 and 3 (1992): 56–63; and Edward Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada," *Science*, December 8, 1911, 789–93.

4. Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 90.

5. I understand the monument as a symbolic form in Victor Turner's sense, as a multivalent form to which a relatively broad range of meanings can be attributed. See *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).

6. Nelson Graburn, "Introduction," in *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, ed. Nelson Graburn (Berkeley: University of California Press), 19, 36–37.

7. On the involvement of the National Gallery and National Museum of Canada with the Group of Seven, see Charles Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1995); Lynda Jessup, "Bushwackers in the Gallery: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Leslie Dawn, "How Canada Stole the Idea of Native Art: The Group of Seven and Images of the Indian in the 1920s," Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 2001; and Sandra Dyck, "These Things Are Our Totems: Marius Barbeau and the Indigenization of Canadian Art and Culture in the 1920s," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1995. On the constructs of authenticity and primitive art, see Shelley Errington, *The Death of Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

8. See Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993).

9. The Indian Act has been amended many times. One of its most oppressive features, the proscription of indigenous spiritual and ceremonial practices such as the Northwest Coast potlatch and the Plains Sun Dance, was not dropped from the act until 1951. The franchise was granted to status Indians in Canada in 1960.

10. The highly active late-twentieth-century phase of postcolonial indigenous political activism has, as I have argued elsewhere, been symbolically enacted by a series of contestations of important world's fairs and exhibitions. See Ruth B. Phillips, "Show Times: Decelebrating the Canadian Nation, Decolonising the Canadian Museum, 1967–92," in McIntyre and Wehner, *National Museums, Negotiating Histories*, 85–103. It is also represented by the successes of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANNA) during the 1980s in lobbying major Canadian museums and galleries to acquire and commission contemporary Native art.

11. The other curators were Diana Nemiroff and Charlotte Townshend-Gault. See *Land/Spirit/Power: First Nations at the National Gallery* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Art, 1992).

12. Over a two-week period thousands of citizens wearing period costumes enacted scenes representing not only Champlain's initial landing, but also other major events leading up to the British conquest of the French on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. H. V. Nelles writes: "There seemed to be some confusion as to who was being commemorated; was it Champlain, or Montcalm and Wolfe? Was it 1608 or 1759? Or was 1908 itself the object of celebration? Somehow a civic festival had taken on martial and imperial overtones. By a curious logic, the founding of a city in the seventeenth century had become connected in some way to its conquest in the eighteenth century and further linked to a celebration of imperial nationalism in the early twentieth century. Judging from these jumbled images and inscriptions, the festival seemed to be 'about' many things." *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 12.

13. For discussions of irony, humor, and trickster strategies in contemporary Native American art, see Lucy Lippard's chapter on "Turning," in her *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* (New York: Pantheon, 1990); and Alan Ryan, *The Trickster Shift* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000). Hill wore the headdress to impersonate the Revolutionary War-era Mohawk leader Joseph Brant in his performance piece *Poco-haunt(s)us*, created with his partner Sue Ellen Gerritsen, which has had several incarnations since 1997. He addressed the Champlain monument in a video installation piece, "Joe Scouting/for Store Lasagne," as part of "In Control, Luminous Gravity," Ottawa, June 2001 (see also <http://homepage.mac.com/gahill/>).

14. For a discussion of wampum from an Iroquois perspective, see *Council Fire: A Resource Guide* (Brantford, Ont.: Woodlands Indian Cultural Centre, 1989).

15. The work was commissioned for the traveling exhibition *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Art*. I quote from the revised artist's statement displayed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization venue, Ottawa, summer 2001.

16. West painted three copies of the painting. The National Gallery of Canada version is the original. The other paintings transferred as part of the War Memorials were portraits of Mohawk chief and British ally Joseph Brant, explorers Sir John Franklin and Alexander Mackenzie, and British general Sir Geoffrey Amherst, by Romney, Phillips, Lawrence, and Reynolds.

17. Vivien Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe*," *American Art* 9 (spring 1995): 81. The figure has also been described as a "repoussoir" figure which replaces the temporally distanced trope of nobility identified with ancient Greek and Roman figures with an exotic, spatially distanced noble savage. See Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938-39): 116-27; Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 7 (1944): 20-33; and Alan McNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1997).

18. Talk by the artist, Carleton University Art Gallery, Ottawa, during the showing of *Contact/Content/Context*, April 1, 1993.

19. Artist's statement in *Notion of Conflict: A Selection of Contemporary Canadian Art* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1995), 24.

20. Sarah Hampson, "Looking for Robert Houle," *Globe and Mail*, July 27, 2000, R3.

21. Talk by the artist, Carleton University Art Gallery, April 1, 1993.

22. Houle made a trip to Europe in 1980 in order to study Mondrian, but was already at that time also interested in Newman. Talk, National Gallery of Canada, October 5, 1995.

23. There is no attempt to bury the debt. Houle speaks of his own works as "homages" to Newman's art. Talk by the artist, National Gallery of Canada, October 5, 1995.

24. Two major exhibitions were held in Canada which dealt in different ways with this subject, *Indigena* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and *Land/Spirit/Power* at the National Gallery of Canada (see n. 11). Among the U.S. exhibitions were *First Encounters*, organized by the Florida Museum of Natural History, and *Submoloc Wohs*, organized by Atlatl, a Native-run artists' organization. See W. Jackson Rushing III, "Contrary Iconography: The Submoloc Show," *New Art Examiner* 21 (summer 1994): 33-34.

25. Michael Bell, *Kanata: Robert Houle's Histories* (Ottawa: Carleton University Art Gallery, 1993), 18.

26. *Ibid.*, 19.

27. The controversy arose around two issues, first, an uninformed but noisy questioning of the merits of abstract expressionism, and, second, the expenditure of sizable public

funds on a painting by an American artist. See Bruce Parker, Serge Guilbaut, and John O'Brian, *Voices of Fire: Art, Rage, Power and the State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

28. W. Jackson Rushing III, *Native American Art and the New York Avant Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 168.

29. See Michael Auping, *Abstract Expressionism: The Critical Developments* (Buffalo: Albright Knox Gallery, 1987); and Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant Garde*.

30. See Robert Houle with Clara Hargittay, "The Struggle against Cultural Apartheid," *Muse* 6, no. 3 (1988): 58–63.

31. On the West artifacts, see J. C. H. King, "Woodlands Artifacts from the Studio of Benjamin West," *American Indian Art Magazine* 7 (1991): 34–47.

32. It also incorporated the voice of Simon Schama being interviewed by the Canadian Broadcasting Company about his book *The Death of General Wolfe, Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations* (New York: Knopf, 1991).

33. For example, his series *Everything You Wanted to Know about Indians from A to Z*, and *The Only Good Indians I Ever Saw Were Dead*. See Robert Houle: *Indians from A to Z* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1990).

34. See the exhibit catalogue, Germano Celant, *The European Iceberg: Creativity in Germany and Italy Today* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985.)

35. Quoted in Jeff Thomas, "From the Collections, The Portfolio: Luminance—Aboriginal Photographic Portraits," *The Archivist, Magazine of the National Archives of Canada* 112 (1996): 9.

36. Quoted in Carol Podedworny, "New World Landscape: Urban First Nations Photography, Interview with Jeffrey Thomas," *Fuse* 19, no. 2 (1996): 35.

37. Ibid.

38. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

39. Interview with Greg Hill, December 13, 1995, Ottawa. MS, 2, Artists file for "Jeffrey Thomas," Library, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

40. Quoted in Jeff Thomas, "From the Collections," 9.

41. Podedworny, "New World Landscape," 39. The beginning of the quote reads: "I thought that in looking at historical photographs I could understand how the people pictured there had lived, what their experiences were—like when they went to the cities, how they felt about being stared at by non-Native people, the hardships they endured when they moved into an urban environment. In viewing these photographs I might understand my own world. There isn't any information like that around—dealing with issues of identity and survival—it has been stripped away."

42. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 13.

43. Ibid., 28.

44. Curtis's monumental compendium of photographs and information on language, oral history, art, and ethnographic information, *The North American Indian*, was published between 1907 and 1930. See Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).

45. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 87.

46. Podedworny, "New World Landscape," 38.

47. Jeff Thomas, "From the Collections," 7.

48. Transcript of an interview with Greg Hill, December 13, 1995, Ottawa.
49. Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, vol. 1, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).
50. Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). Nora's introductory essay was published as "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," in *Representations* 26 (spring 1989): 7–24.
51. Ashis Nandy, "History's Forgotten Doubles," *History and Theory: World Historians and Their Critics* 34 (1995): 44.
52. *Ibid.*, 45–46.
53. Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions*, 247.