Public Memory and Archives in Kenora: Settler Histories and Commemoration

By

Katherine Lynch

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Abstract

Public memory is how a collective uses physical space to commemorate a shared history. Public memory is communicated through the creation of public memorials, commemorations, the naming of streets, or public art. Public memory can also be the embodied practice of commemorating the anniversary of an important event through holidays and celebrations or political protest through public gatherings or graffiti. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada addresses public memory in their Calls to Action. These call upon heritage organizations and all levels of government to work collaboratively with Indigenous communities and artists to create highly visible and accessible forms of public commemoration dedicated to the legacy of residential schools in Canada.[1]

Changing public memory is complex because it is often a struggle for power over historical narratives. Archives are similar in being contested spaces where memory is forged and sometimes forgotten. This similarity is how the theory and practices of archives can be used as a space to guide public memory in achieving the Calls to Action surrounding commemoration. This thesis explores how settlers in Canada have used public memory to legitimize their claims to land and falsify history to create a narrative of peace in colonial history. A case study of the public memory found in Kenora, Ontario, reveals how settlers communicate public memory. This thesis then explores how public memory can be decolonized through archives and how archives can support public memory. Using *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, The *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles*, and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights* as a guide, this thesis highlights how public memory intersects with archives, and how it should be changed, created, and negotiated.

[1] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), 8-9.

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Introduction: Public Memory and Archives

Public memory profoundly impacts our lives, and we interact with it every day whether we consciously recognize it or not. Public memory transcends time by tying together the past and present and marks a significant moment, person, or event to ensure that it will be preserved and remembered into the future.[1] Public memory can take many forms, in the creation of monuments, art, namesakes, speeches, or gatherings. It forges a sense of identity by reinforcing a shared experience amongst groups, transmits history into our present moment, connects us to the past, and helps us identify ourselves in history and our future. Public memory often becomes a site of contestation over who is represented and takes part in its creation. Like public memory, archives can be sites of contestation because they preserve past and present histories, help forge identity, and transmit history into our present moment. Public memory and the archive are different in how we interact daily with public memory. Although archives serve the public, only those who seek to use the information it contains benefit from it. The archive most often serves historians, researchers, genealogists, and others who seek to find answers within the records. Public memory is accessible to all and allows history to find its way into our consciousness which then helps us understand who we are. Due to its accessibility, the archivist may use public memory to make the histories preserved in archives available to all public members.

Public memory does not always reflect an accurate, nuanced, or inclusive version of history because it is always subject to how society changes over time. In Canada, settler society has used public memory to foster collective memory, build identity, and establish dominance across the nation. This retelling of history transforms the violent colonial history of Canada into an unauthentic one, focussed on peace and unification, which does not encapsulate the historical

[1] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 17.

truth.[2] Systems of colonial oppression have not only been forgotten in public memory but have sought to dismantle Indigenous public memory by breaking systems of Indigenous memory through assimilation and favouring the memory systems of settlers. Decolonizing public memory is essential to reconciliation, as highlighted by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The commission states in the Final Report that,

> Public memory is dynamic – it changes over time as new understandings, dialogues, artistic expressions, and commemorations emerge. Public memory, much like national history, is often contentious. Although public memory can simply reinforce the colonial story of how Canada began with European settlement and became a nation, the process of remembering the past together also invites people to question this limited version of history.[3]

The Final Report further highlights the importance of having the truth about Canada's Residential School system in public memory for reconciliation. The Final Report states that "In the context of national reconciliation, ongoing public commemoration has the potential to contribute to human rights education in the broadest sense."[4] Additionally, the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions Calls to Action numbers seventy-nine to eighty-three address public memory. These calls require the government and arts and heritage councils to collaborate with Indigenous Peoples and organizations to change public memory.[5] Working from these concepts, this thesis addresses how archives can support this process of remembering and decolonizing contentious public memory. This is achieved by archivists supporting public memory projects, helping question limited versions of history, and holding stakeholders of public memory accountable. Although there are many different forms of creating memory, the truth held in

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[2] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 73.
[3] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, (Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication, 2015), 268.
[4] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Summary of the Final Report*, 288.
[5] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), 9.

archival institutions must be reflected in the public memory we interact with daily. Using archives helps us confront these contentious ways of remembering by ensuring that history is informed, accurate, and inclusive. Archives can support all Canadians, including settlers, to ensure that the public memory that informs us is accurate. As Leanne Betasamosake Simpson explains, "We need Canadians to help themselves, to learn to struggle and to understand that their great country of Canada has been and is a death dance for Indigenous peoples."[6]

Before exploring public memory, it is essential to understand its definition. Memory can be experienced in many ways, in any given place. Edward S. Casey defines four types of memory which are experienced individually, socially, collectively, and publicly.[7] These terms of remembering are often used interchangeably in literature surrounding memory but are different in experience and communication. Individual memory is how a person is reminded of something and how it happened. Individual memory requires language to describe worlds, feelings, and environments to reminisce with others and invites the opportunity for the individual to participate in social and collective memory.[8] Social memory is how shared memories are communicated between individuals who are connected by family, friends, or proximity in location.[9] Collective memory is how individuals remember the same event. Collective memory does not require shared experience, family ties, or shared geographic locations, but is how individuals remember the shared experience of a historical event.[10] Public memory, the type of memory addressed in this thesis, is the ways in which history is remembered in public. Public memory is how memory is experienced outside of one's private sphere, in open space where it is

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[6] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017) 101.
[7] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 20.
[8] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 21.
[9] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 21-22.
[10] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 23.

subject to discussion, discovery, and revision. This is because public memory is often formed to exchange ideas, opinions, and beliefs in one specific place. Public memory is always subject to change and reassessment because it can remain the same over time, available to others in the future whose beliefs and understandings change.[11] It is important for people to create public memory to legitimize their emotions and experiences. Others may experience public memory without even knowing it because they are not directly connected to the memory, such as when participating in national holidays or other commemorative events.[12] Public memory is a term used to encapsulate a vast array of things, places, and experiences that are done in public as part of our way of preserving and creating memory. Although it is often conflated with collective memory, public memory is specifically addressed in this thesis with this definition.

To understand the significance of archives in the study of memory, it is essential to examine how archives came to be closely associated with memory during a moment in western academia in which memory studies saw an increase in scholarship in the late twentieth century. The theory of memory, experienced as individuals and groups, and how it is created was explored by Maurice Halbwachs in his book *On Collective Memory.* Halbwachs first coined the term "collective memory" to explain that to remember means to be tied to the larger collective memory of a social group which allows for memories to be organized, located, and perpetuated. Halbwachs argued that memory is specific to individuals who are a part of a larger network of many different social groups. Everyone, he argues "has the capacity for memory [*mémoire*] that is unlike that of anyone else, given the variety of temperaments and life circumstances."[13] Halbwachs saw that individual memory is shaped by the external groups, communities, or other

[11] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 25-26.
[12] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 33-37.
[13] Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective Memory*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 53.

collectives to which one may belong.[14] Collective memory is used to reconstruct the past and give individuals the ability to recall specific reference points of memory, meaning that to remember means to understand one's relationship to others as a shared collective. Noble families, for example, took great care in preserving their traditions and culture to formulate a sense of collective memory and thus legitimizing their claims to power.[15] Similarly, lawyers have long kept historical traditions of their practice based on Roman law and fostered a sense of collective memory, thus legitimizing their role in society.[16] The collective memory of these groups is often physically translated into public memory through the establishment and naming of buildings after nobles or through ceremonial practices by lawyers.

With the study of memory and remembering comes the question of what it means to forget. Historian David Lowenthal states that forgetting is a natural aspect of memory, and all memory will be subject to being forgotten. Lowenthal describes memories as "continually [being] discarded and conflated; only forgetting enables us to classify and bring chaos into order."[17] Memory is, as Lowenthal describes, subject to revision and will always be under continual change as our recalling of historical events are reinterpreted in our present context.[18] Lowenthal does not address the systems of oppression that privilege specific groups and communities over others and that memory is also subject to an intentional forgetting that attempts to eliminate the histories of others systematically.

Paul Connerton seeks to address the gaps in Lowenthal's work. Connerton states that historical reconstruction in performance and ceremony can significantly shape social groups, but

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[14] Halbwachs, *The collective Memory*, 38.
[15] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 18.
[16] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 18.
[17] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 205.
[18] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 206.

the state can interfere systematically to organizationally forget so that they can silence citizens who were witnesses to atrocities of the state. Working mainly from the ideas of Halbwachs and Lowenthal, Connerton further stated that performance and ceremony are what make up collective memory.[19]

Halbwachs, Lowenthal, and Connerton were part of an influx of memory studies that came in the late twentieth century and resulted in memory becoming an interdisciplinary field across sociology, psychology, and history. Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins reconstruct the history of memory studies across many different fields in one comprehensive and influential article. Olick and Robbins examine the rise in multiculturalism when scholars looked to locate the history of cultural domination and dominant historical narratives over repressed groups in memory.[20] Postmodernist scholars looked to studies of memory to explore ideas of truth, identity, and our relational links to history and power.[21] Olick and Robbins explored how hegemonic theorists utilized memory studies to research the politics of memory and instrumentalization of the past.[22] Halbwachs, Lowenthal, Connerton, Olick, and Robbins explore how we remember in the western tradition but need to address the tradition of archives in preserving memories.

Archives are a vital memory function and foster the physical manifestations of public memory. Understanding the memory of a community is crucial for an archivist to consider the effects of their role on the memory process, as well as the effect that records have on the collective memory of the surrounding communities. Archives and memory studies most notably

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[19] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 14-15.
[20] Olick, and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,"108.
[21] Olick, and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," 108.
[22] Olick, and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," 108.

converged when Jacques Derrida examined the archive's role and questioned how the public remembers in his book *Archive Fever.* Derrida addresses the archive as an aspect of memory studies. Derrida looked to the theories of Sigmond Freud to grapple with how technologies such as email or news media change how memory is created, communicated, and memorialized.[23] Derrida had important and influential ideas surrounding archives and knowledge production, but his argument needed a more complete understanding of the archival process. Derrida sought to connect new media technologies and how they communicate and commemorate memory to how archives create and communicate memories. Derrida's argument remains influential in recognizing archives as places of memory. In doing this, Derrida states that the archive creates the desire to understand memory and origin. Still, Derrida recognizes that it is impossible to do this as there will always be records that are not kept because humans can be "careful concealers" of specific information.[24] Derrida describes this as "archive fever," which is the concept of searching for a "commencement" or where history took place, where we come from, and formulate our memories. For Derrida, a commencement can never be found, but the desire remains. In searching for this, one may suffer from a sickness or fever. This sickness is "to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement."[25]

Archivists were inspired by theories like Derrida's and increasingly questioned their role in the archival process. Archivists also sought to fill the gaps in Derrida's theory, to which he did not wholly encapsulate the archival process. Archivists and the public's perception of the archive

[23] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago [Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 17.
[24] Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, 100-101.
[25] Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, 91.

was traditionally rooted in the theories of the early twentieth century English archivist, Hilary Jenkinson. Jenkinson asserted that records were natural and impartial evidence from a record creator and carved out a space for archives to be seen not only as a space to store records but as a place where knowledge is made, and thus the memory of society is formed.[26] The role of the archivist and the importance of the archival process on records was seen as invisible and impartial. As Brien Brothman highlights, archivists later moved away from these theories. They looked to these ideas to recognize the archive as an institution where the archival process affects how we understand the past and formulate memory. Archivists sought to address "archive fever" by addressing the archive's power. The archive's power lies in creating order within the "age of information" and the abundance of records that the world produces every day. Brothman argued that the archival principles of original order, provenance, and authorship should be revaluated to incorporate the principal actors, concepts, and systems of knowledge.[27] Brothman used postmodernist ideas of the ever-evolving human condition to be included in the archival profession and for the active role of the archivist to be included.[28]

During the late twentieth century, archival theory shifted into what Terry Cook argues was societal analysis and macro appraisal. These theories sought to have all peoples and knowledge systems represented in the archives.[29] Many archives shifted into a society-based approach, that sought to serve society by accurately reflecting their histories and legitimizing their public memory. In a hugely influential article, Hans Booms suggested a change in archival

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[26] Tom Nesmith, "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 27, https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.65.1.rr48450509r0712u.
[27] Brien Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 32, (January 1991): 92.
[28] Richard Cox, The Concept of Public Memory and Its Impact on Archival Public Programming, *Archivaria,* vol. 36, (January 1993): 131.
[29] Terry Cook, "What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (February, 1997), 30.

appraisal so that archivists can fulfill their role of documenting and reflecting society for future generations.[30] Helen Samuels built on this idea and emphasized the importance of a documentation strategy to ensure that all aspects of a group or community are accurately represented in an archive. Samuels advocated for the archivist's active participation and historical investigation into what is documented in the archival institution and what should be obtained to fill gaps in the record.[31] Archivists were encouraged, to actively seek out records from groups they felt are not accurately represented.[32]

Working from these ideas about the archivists' role, Richard Cox analyses how historians, mainly American historians, started to explore the concept of public memory and the making of national identity in the 1990s. Michael Kammen examined the role of public memory in the creation of tradition and the role that historical amnesia has when reconstructing the past in the public sphere.[33] Cox analyzes Kammen and other American historians of public memory for their use and understanding of archives. Cox argues that archivists should be "committed to outreach, [and] need to be students of their society in order to understand the impact that public programming might have on their institutions and their mission."[34] Thus archivists should be aware of public memory around them and the uptake in theoretical and historical writing about it to better understand the records they hold. While Cox sees some benefit in this, he warns that public memory will constantly change and that archivists should "not allow themselves to be caught in the changing winds of society's interests in the past."[35] Cox supports the idea of

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[30] Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," *Archivaria* 240 (1987): 69.
[31] Helen Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities* (Chicago, Ill: Society of American Archivists, 1992), 5.
[32] Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities,* 16.
[33] Michael Kammen, *In the Past Lane Historical Perspectives on American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), xii.
[34] Richard Cox, *The Concept of Public Memory and Its Impact on Archival Public Programming,* 131.
[35] Cox, *The Concept of Public Memory and Its Impact on Archival Public Programming,* 133.

looking to public memory to indicate what aspects of the archival record will interest the public but does not acknowledge that public memory does not always accurately reflect all members of the public.

Jeanette Bastian explores the silences that Richard Cox did not by examining the effects of losing colonial records in the Virgin Islands and how the community could create collective memory without historical evidence.[36] Records created by colonial institutions are considered property of the administrative creator, therefore belonging to the colonial administration, despite often being the historical records about local populations. Bastian explores the archival principle of custody and how this determines colonial records belong to the colonial administration and limits access to historical evidence by the people in the Virgin Islands. Providing access to archival records helps communities find evidentiary value in the formation of their collective memory but also holds settlers accountable and liable for their colonial past. Bastian explains that providing access to records helps in both the creation and understanding of collective memory. Bastian writes, "Because the construction of collective memory, and thereby collective identity, by nations, communities, or groups of people depends on their ability to confront and understand their history, access is integral to the custody of historical records."[37]

Bastian argues that archival records and their shared collective memory should be viewed in a continuum that expands our conception of provenance and that considers the records of an event or person and the records of a commemoration to that event as sharing the same context.[38] Archivists should look to a historical event and how a community expresses collective memory

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[36] Jeannette Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History* (Westport, Conn: Libraries Unlimited, 2003), 14.
[37] Jeannette Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*, 14.
[38] Jeannette Bastian, "Flowers for Homestead: A Case Study in Archives and Collective Memory," *The American Archivist* 72, no. 1 (2009): 129.

about that event as a part of the record. Bastian further advocates that description standards such as the Rules for Archival Description (RAD) should be expanded so that multiple creators or administrative groups may be listed for and for multiple provenances to be included.[39] Bastian's work is an essential contribution to archival literature about the transmission of memory from archives and the transmission of collective memory into the archive. However, a gap remains in the study of collective memory because it needs to address how the public communicates memories and fosters a sense of identity. Public memory better addresses how communities transmit their memories and create specific narratives surrounding historical events, revealing how public memory can be used as a tool of colonial oppression.

Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo Punzalan, and Margaret L. Hedstrom provide a systematic examination of collective memory and archives. This examination divides the concept of collective memory into four major threads. The first thread is archives as heritage institutions. The second critiques the role of records, archives, and archivists in the creation of memory. The third is the relationships between archives, memory, and social power. The fourth is the ways that records can be rethought as evidence of the past with the notion of archival memory.[40] Doing a citation analysis, Jacobsen, Punzlan, and Hedstrom find that the works of archivists on memory are not cited by other fields of study that research memory such as psychology and sociology. It is also found that archivists have not cited work on collective memory outside of the archival studies field.[41] Jacobsen, Punzlan, and Hedstrom argue that archivists should put greater attention into forming interdisciplinary relationships so that the contributions to memory

[39] Bastian, "Flowers for Homestead: A Case Study in Archives and Collective Memory," 129-130.
[40] Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret L. Hedstrom, "Invoking 'collective Memory': Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2-3 (2013): 220
[41] Jacobsen, Punzalan, Hedstrom, "Invoking 'collective Memory,'" 238.

studies by archivists can be recognized.[42] This thesis seeks to address this by advocating for archivists to look beyond the archive at and into communities where public memory is created.

While much valuable research has been done in history and archival studies regarding memory, a gap emerges as to what the effects of public memory are on the archive and the transmission of memory within Canada. This thesis addresses this gap by using the small northern Ontario town of Kenora as a case study to examine how public memory is transmitted and how the archive can support public memory to ensure it is a truthful retelling of history. This case study demonstrates that public memory is used by settlers and relevant stakeholders to remember and forget specific histories that support the obfuscation of historical and ongoing colonial violence. It is revealed that settlers have privileged their histories in public memory while excluding painful or shameful moments in history, such as the impactful implementation and management of the Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools, which operated in Kenora until the late twentieth century. Considering the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions calls surrounding public memory, how should a community archivist in Kenora support public memory? How should the archivist ensure the histories of all community members are accurately represented in the public sphere? How should archives be informed by public memory as sites of contestation? Within the archival studies field, archivists have a specific role in questioning Canada's public memory through the archival process and use of records. Most importantly, archives can ensure that settlers are held accountable for creating public memory that has prioritized colonial history and continues disregarding Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, archives can support public memory outside of the archive, decipher who makes public memory, who the stakeholders are, and how it has impacted society.

[42] Jacobsen, Punzalan, Hedstrom, "Invoking 'collective Memory,'" 243.

Chapter one: A Case Study of Public Memory in Kenora

Introduction

This chapter examines public memory and how it becomes sites of contestation when it is created and shaped by different communities. Looking at the public memory of Kenora reveals how settlers have used public memory to transmit a narrative of peace and innocence in the history of colonialism that has defined the area. In contrast, examining the colonial history that has shaped Kenora reveals how public memory must fully encapsulate a truthful historical narrative. As of 2021, Kenora had a twenty-four percent Indigenous population and although Kenora's public memory is limited in representing this population, the Anishinaabe community has carved out spaces, mostly prominently art spaces, into the downtown area.[1] This chapter reveals how public memory becomes a contested space as different groups and communities use it.

This chapter will first look at Kenora and its colonial history. This includes resource-extracting industries that have poisoned the lakes and rivers in Treaty Three and the Residential School system, including the establishment of the Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools. This chapter will next examine public commemorations, including the memorials, murals, and plaques that make up the public memory of Kenora.[2] Next, the chapter describes embodied forms of public memory and how they are used to determine who is allowed to physically take up space and create public memory in those spaces. Looking at these forms of

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[1] Statistics Canada, "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population for the city of Kenora," last modified November 29, 2022, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?topic=8&lang=E&dguid=2021A00053560010.

[2] The research conducted during this thesis was done during the COVID-19 Pandemic. My research abilities were limited by COVID-19 lockdown procedures implemented by the Manitoba and Ontario provincial governments. These included boarder closures between provinces, non-essential travel restrictions, and quarantine. Although I would have liked to interact with the community and build meaningful relationships in Kenora, I was heavily restricted. Although public memory is made in many ways and it is constantly being negotiated, I could only use what physically exists now, and in the past for this research.

public memory reveals how public memory is used to reinforce colonial history, and does not, as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission calls for, "[invite] people to question this [limited] version of history."[3]

History of Kenora

Kenora is a small town on the northern shores of Lake of the Woods in Treaty Three territory on the Manitoba and Ontario border in Northern Ontario. The Anishinaabeg have lived in the Lake of the Woods area for thousands of years, with archeological evidence of Anishinaabe settlements beginning at least 8,000 years ago.[4] The Anishinaabeg tell us that the first people came from the Anishinaabeg and were created by Kitchi-Manitou, or the Creator. Kitchi-Manitou created the sun, stars, land, water, and all the creatures and beings on earth. During a flood, Kitchu-Manitou's creation was destroyed and only the creatures of the water survived.[5] When the flood occurred, a woman from the heavens named Geezhigo-quae became pregnant. Geezhigo-quae was invited to earth from the water creatures who offered her the back of a giant turtle as refuge from the water. Geezhigo-quae came down and asked the muskrat to get her soil from the depths of the water and with it she created an island over the turtle's back. Afterward, Geezhigo-quae gave birth to twins who became the first of the Anishinaabeg.[6] The Anishinaabeg were therefore the first people of the area, and lived from the rich resources that provided the Anishinaabeg with sturgeon for fishing and *manomin,* or wild rice for cultivation.

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[3] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* vol. 6 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 268.
[4] Brittany Luby, *Dammed: The Politics of Loss and Survival in Anishinaabe Territory* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2020), 4.
[5] Basil Johnston, "Is that all there is?: Tribal Literature," *Canadian Literature* 128 (1991): 58.
[6] Johnston, "Is that all there is? " *Canadian Literature*, 58.

The forests provided berries, animals for hunting, and hosted planted gardens.[7] The lakes and rivers of the area of Kenora, known as the Lake of the Woods region were historically important water transportation routes, and after colonial settlement, connected the Dominion of Canada to the Hudson Bay Company territory.[8]

The Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company set up trading posts in the nineteenth century with the help of the Anishinaabeg to guide them through the water routes. As settlers moved into the area, the Anishinaabeg retained control of their territory and the resources within it, making them strong negotiators with the Crown in the making of Treaty Three. In 1873, after three years of negotiation, Treaty Three was signed between the Canadian government and the Anishinaabeg.[9]

Anishinaabe tradition affirms that they did not surrender resources or land but agreed to share, while Treaty Three states that the Anishinaabeg would "cede, release, surrender and yield" their land to the Crown as published by the government.[10] Brittany Luby cites James Youngblood Henderson, who highlights that words of consideration or purchase price are not present in the document. The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples further confirms that the terms of termination are not present in any federal documentation or autobiographical record, which confirms the Anishinaabeg agreement to share the land and resources.[11]

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[7] Jean Manore, "Treaty #3 and the Interactions of Landscape and Memory in the Rainy River and Lake of the Woods Area," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2016): 103.
[8] Scott Rutherford, *Canada's Other Red Scare: Indigenous Protest and Colonial Encounters During the Global Sixties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 6.
[9] Keith Garret, "Treaty Three: Spirit and Intent," Accessed September 3, 2022, *https://storynations.utoronto.ca/index.php/treaty-3/*.
[10] "Treaty No 3," Treaty Three between Her Majesty the Queen and the Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians at the Northwest Angle on the Lake of the Woods with Adhesions, June 1974, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100028675/1581294028469.
[11] Brittany Luby, "'The Department Is Going Back on These Promises': An Examination of Anishinaabe and Crown Understandings of Treaty," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 30, no. 2 (2010): 207.

Despite oral and written sources that the Anishinaabeg did not agree to cede their land, as settlers moved into the area, they encroached on Indigenous-reserved land as outlined in the federal government's Treaty Three document. In the 1880s, the Canadian Pacific Railway's expansion into Lake of the Woods opened the area for lumber exports.[12] Hydroelectric dams were built to supply much of northern Ontario with electricity and the running of paper mills.[13] Lumber was extracted for the railway, and the mineral-rich Canadian shield was mined for gold, palladium, and granite.[14] Milling of lumber and paper, and the development of mining lead to a population influx of settlers looking for employment and companies seeking to capitalize on the land and resources.[15] As Kenora grew, it became a well-known tourist destination, conveniently located a short train ride or drive from Winnipeg. Many tourists purchased land for summer homes, and the staff of hotels, resorts, and fishing lodges populated the town. Industrialization in the twentieth century greatly affected the twenty-eight communities in Treaty Three territory. For example, from the 1880s through the early twentieth century, conflict arose between the Federal Government and Ontario provincial government over who profited from the region's resources as Kenora became well-known globally for available resources and scenic landscapes.[16] Ontario was in conflict with Manitoba when both provinces laid claim to the northern basin of Lake of the Woods. The Federal Government, which controlled Manitoban crown land, supported a Manitoba-Ontario proposed boundary line to be drawn through the district at Thunder Bay, while Ontario wanted it drawn it at the Northwest Angle. The issue was

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[12] "Canadian Pacific Railway Station," *Canada's Historic Places,* https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=4545.
[13] "A Hub of Mining Services Businesses in Kenora," *Kenora Mining Services Sector Profile*, updated 2014, 35, https://www.kenora.ca/en/build-invest/resources/Documents/2014-Mining-Services-Sector-Profile.pdf.
[14] "A Hub of Mining Services Businesses in Kenora," *Kenora Mining Services Sector Profile*, updated 2014, 5, https://www.kenora.ca/en/build-invest/resources/Documents/2014-Mining-Services-Sector-Profile.pdf.
[15] Duane R. Lund, *Lake of the Woods, Yesterday and Today*, (Nordel Graphic communications, 1976), 51-53.
[16] Luby, *Dammed: The Politics of Loss and Survival in Anishinaabe Territory*, 8.

brought to court in 1884, and the boundary between the provinces was drawn where it is seen today through the Northwest Angle.[17]

In 1915 reserve borders outlined in Treaty Three were redrawn by the province to reduce access and control over waterways and resources by the Anishinaabeg, but the Anishinaabeg were not consulted nor had any role in the decision-making process. In response, the Anishinaabeg protested and sought legal remedy. In 1888 St. Catherine's Milling Company was taken to the Supreme Court after St. Catherine's Milling was granted use of Anishinaabe land by the province. The Anishinaabeg argued that they had never ceded their lands, but the court determined that only reserved land belonged to the Anishinaabeg, and the rest of Treaty Three land belonged to the Province of Ontario.[18]

Indigenous communities near Kenora continued to fight for legal rights to their land. Shoal Lake 40 First Nation was left without clean drinking water for twenty-four years and was cut-off from the mainland for a century due to the expropriation of land for the City of Winnipeg drinking water infrastructure. When the Shoal Lake Aqueduct was built for the City of Winnipeg in 1919, the water was diverted through the First Nation which cut them off from mainland connections. Due to its remoteness, a water treatment facility was difficult to construct, and Shoal Lake 40 was under a drinking water advisory for nearly two decades despite having the same water source as the City of Winnipeg.[19] Another nearby community, Grassy Narrows First Nation, was affected by paper mills depositing large amounts of mercury into the local waters causing many people to be poisoned.[20] Mercury in the water devastated many who lived off of

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[17] Luby, *Dammed: The Politics of Loss and Survival in Anishinaabe Territory,* 8-9.
[18] Luby "'The Department Is Going Back on These Promises," 209.
[19] Sarah Petz, "After 24 years of water advisories, Shoal Lake 40 First Nation can drink from the tap," *CBC News,* September 15, 2021, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/shoal-lake-40-first-nation-drinking-water-advisory-1.6176167. See also, Adele Perry, *Aqueduct*. Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2016.
[20] Natalia Ilyniak, "Mercury Poisoning in Grassy Narrows: Environmental Injustice, Colonialism, and Capitalist Expansion in Canada," *McGill Sociological Review* 4, (February 2014): 45.

fish as a main food source and livelihood. In 1975 the community mobilized against corporations who were responsible and the Ontario and federal Governments for environmental justice.[21] The Anishinaabe of Grassy Narrows continue to battle against environmental destruction. About fifty percent of the rich forests of Grassy Narrows, used for cultural practices and as a food source, have been clear-cut without the consent of the community.[22]

It was during the industrialization of the late nineteenth century that the government, along with religious entities, created a "policy of civilization" that sought to have all reserved Indigenous lands be provided with training in industrial agriculture, commercial fishing, and lumber milling to achieve self-sufficiency within the modern settler economy.[23] Assimilationist policies had to be implemented within the constitutional framework and thus were blocked by the policies of the Proclamation of 1763, which respected Indigenous nations as self-governing nations within the British Empire.[24] The Bagot Commission of 1842, created by Governor-General Charles Bagot reaffirmed the obligation the government had to Indigenous Peoples of retaining Indigenous lands. It proposed that the government's Office of Indian Affairs be centralized. The commission's report claimed that Indigenous communities were only half-civilized and recommended that Indigenous communities would only be brought into civilization through industry and knowledge.[25] Under these policies, with supervision and funding from the Department of Indian Affairs and the labour of religious missionaries, the Indian Residential School system was created to focus the assimilationist policies on Indigenous children. It was through these schools that children would be removed from their own culture, traditions,

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[21] Natalia Ilyniak, "Mercury Poisoning in Grassy Narrows," 53.
[22] "History," Free Grassy Narrows, accessed September 9, 2021, https://freegrassy.net/learn-more/grassy-narrows/history/.
[23] John Sheridan Milloy, "*A National Crime": the Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 11.
[24] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 12.
[25] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 12.

knowledge, language, and families and would be taught the skills of agriculture and industry with basic reading and writing.[26] The superintendent of education for Upper Canada, Reverend Egerton Ryerson, is quoted saying: "I suggest that they be called industrial schools; they are not then schools of manual labour; they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these."[27] By the late 1890s, the residential school system was officially established as a colonial institution that targeted the young and placed them in the care of religious institutions that were intolerant toward Indigenous culture, language, and traditions. The schools sought to "civilize" the children through labour and Christianity for the sake of the nation-state.[28]

Within the Kenora area, there were two residential schools in operation during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cecilia Jefferey Residential School was first built on the west side of Shoal Lake in 1901 through the Presbyterian Women's Foreign Missionary Society. Cecilia Jefferey Residential School could only be reached by boat from Keewatin, Ontario, approximately fifty-five kilometers away. Due to its isolated location, the school was later moved to a property three miles outside of the town of Kenora on Round Lake in 1928, where it remained in operation until it was closed in 1976. Cecilia Jefferey school was operated by the Presbyterian church and took children from the communities of "Shoal Lake No. 33 and No. 37, the Northwest Angle, Whitefish Bay, Islington, Fort Alexander, Rat Portage, Lac Seul, Osnaburgh, Pic Mobert, Assabaska, Fort Hope, Fisher River, Long Plain, Seine River, and Martin Falls."[29] St. Mary's Residential School operated in the Kenora area from 1867 until 1972.

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[26] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 15.
[27] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 16.
[28] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 9.
[29] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, 2000-2015, NR-NCTR-074, Document Collection, National Center for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada (hereafter cited as, Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative). https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074.

St. Mary's Residential School was operated by the Roman Catholic Church and located two miles south of Kenora on the shore of Lake of the Woods.[30]

While some parents voluntarily sent their children to residential schools, many who attended were coerced to attend by law and forcibly taken from communities by Indian agents, church officials, or police. At the residential schools, children were forced to speak English, have their traditional hairstyles cut, and punished for traditional and cultural practices. A Survivor of Cecilia Jefferey Residential School, Lorna Morgan, retold the story of "these nice little beaded moccasins that my grandma had made me [to] wear for school, and I was very proud of them."[31] Her moccasins were taken and thrown in the garbage upon her arrival at the school.

The children faced deplorable conditions at both the Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools as they were chronically underfunded by the federal government. Cecilia Jefferey school operated on a system in which the children would be educated half of the day and spent the other half doing manual labour to supplement the lack of resources provided by the government. This was also to further assimilate the children into Canadian settler society. Boys would farm and garden on the school grounds and the girls would do sewing, cooking, and cleaning for the maintenance of the institution.[32] It was thought that the children would learn industrial skills to contribute to the capitalist economy of Canada.

Both Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools had very poor conditions, were underfunded, and the children were often sick and malnourished. The children at St. Mary's school suffered from an epidemic of dysentery from the drinking water in 1939. In 1940 it was

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[30] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074.
[31] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak* (Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication, 2015), 44.
[32] Victoria McAuley, "Cecilia Jeffrey School," *Presbyterian Archives*, last modified August 17, 2018, https://presbyterianarchives.ca/2018/08/17/cecilia-jeffrey-school/.

discovered that the drinking water in the boy's area of the school was not safe to drink. In 1953 it was reported that an employee in the school pumped the school's septic tank onto the ice of Lake of the Woods, which supplied water to the children.[33] Again in 1956, the drinking water at St. Mary's school was tested and deemed to be unfit for consumption, and the water treatment "haphazard."[34] The children were also subject to medical experiments at the Cecilia Jefferey institution. Experiments were conducted that put children on starvation diets and either given or deprived of vitamins, minerals, dental work, or specific foods.[35] In the 1950s, children were used in experiments to measure the effects of drugs for the treatment of ears, and some children became deaf.[36] A Survivor of Cecilia Jefferey Residential School, Alfred Oshie, states in an interview that "each and every morning, some boys, if not most boys, including myself, we had to go to what they called the dispensary to see the nurse, and you kind of wonder why there is so many boys, you know, lining up to go to the dispensary."[37] Cecilia Jefferey Survivor Valerie Wood recalled, "You know you almost want to just throw up every time you tried to eat [the food], so we starved a lot here, and the government fed the staff better than the kids."[38]

Many children also experienced physical and sexual abuse. At both the Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools the communities and parents of children reported that physical abuse was occurring at the schools. Inquiries conducted by the government found no

[33] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074.
[34] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074.
[35] Ian Mosby, "Administering colonial science: Nutrition research and human biomedical experimentation in Aboriginal communities and residential schools, 1942–1952," *Histoire sociale/Social history* 46, no. 1 (2013): 155.
[36] "Church apologizes to Kenora residential school survivors," *CBC News*, August 14, 2013, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/church-apologizes-to-kenora-residential-school-survivors-1.1318382.
[37] "Residential school survivors talk about experiment," *APTN News*, August 16, 2013, video, 00:37, https://www.aptnnews.ca/featured/residential-school-survivors-talk-about-experiments/.
[38] "Residential school survivors talk about experiment," *APTN News*, August 16, 2013, video, 1:30, https://www.aptnnews.ca/featured/residential-school-survivors-talk-about-experiments/.

evidence but suggested that corporal punishment be avoided whenever possible.[39] Many children regularly experienced physical punishment for trivial reasons, including St. Mary's Residential School Survivor Archie Hyacinthe, who recalls that he was hit across his knuckles if he wrote with his left hand and was told, "Don't write with your left hand… only the devil writes with his left hand."[40]

Residential School escapes reflect the system of abuse and harsh circumstances which the children sought to get away from. In 1954 three boys ran away from St. Mary's School and were soon located by RCMP. Again, in 1970 two more boys ran away and died of exposure.[41] Similarly, many children ran away from the Cecilia Jefferey residential school, most notably Chanie Wenjack, a thirteen-year-old boy who ran away from the school in 1966. Wenjack escaped the school in an attempt to reach his home on Marten Falls First Nation reserve when he died of hunger. He was found on the railway tracks that would lead him home with only a thin cotton jacket and a mason jar of matches. Wenjack's story was published in *Maclean's Magazine* in 1967, garnering national attention.[42] In 1970 two more boys ran from Cecilia Jefferey Residential School and died from exposure to the cold.[43] Escapees not only faced the dangers of being ill-equipped for the elements but also faced harsh punishment if caught and sent back to the school. Josie Angeconeb recalls running away on many occasions to see her family, "It is a long year, only time we came home was summertime. We never went home for Christmas or we never went home for Easter." She recalls the punishments she faced when caught running away

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[39] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074, and St. Mary's Residential School Narrative, 2000-2015, NR-NCTR-088, Document Collection, National Center for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada (hereafter cited as Typescript, St. Mary's Residential School Narrative), https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-088.
[40] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak*,129.
[41] St. Mary's Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-088.
[42] Ian Adams, "The lonely death of Chanie Wenjack," *Maclean's Magazine,* February 1, 1967, https://www.macleans.ca/society/the-lonely-death-of-chanie-wenjack/.
[43] John Sheridan Milloy, *"A National Crime,"* 286.

"I remember getting straps on the hand. I remember my sister getting a strap too when she ran away with me."[44] Government correspondence from Cecilia Jefferey Residential School in 1956 reported that again four boys were physically punished by a staff member of the school after being returned after running away.[45] Escapes became a regular event at both residential schools, and following *Maclean's* article about Chanie Wenjack, the Department of Indian Affairs defended Cecilia Jefferey institution in 1968. The department stated that Chanie Wenjack ran away due to loneliness, which "was not exceptional, for other children, regardless of their origin, have the same feelings and reactions when separated from family and familiar surroundings."[46] With media attention on the frequency with which children were running away, an inquiry into the deaths of runaways was conducted. The inquiry report did not focus on the conditions causing children to run away, but rather it was recommended that the schools provide survival courses for children who were far away from home.[47] It also recommended that the schools cooperate with the community and field staff for better search capabilities in the event that a child was missing and to be vigilant during severe weather.[48]

Chanie Wenjack's story again reached national attention in 2016 with the project *Secret Path*, ten poems written by Gord Downie about Chanie Wenjack. The poems were then turned into songs with an accompanying comic illustrated by Jeff Lemire. The songs and comics were then turned into an animated film and broadcast by CBC.[49] Wenjack's story was turned into a Heritage Minute, a sixty-second short film that premiered in 2016 as part of the eighty-fourth

[44] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak*, 135.
[45] Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School Narrative, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-074.
[46] Milloy, *"A National Crime,"* 288.
[47] John Sheridan Milloy, *"A National Crime,"* 287.
[48] John Sheridan Milloy, *"A National Crime,"* 287.
[49]"Statement by Gord Downie," *The Secret Path*, September 9, 2016, https://www.secretpath.ca/.

Heritage Minute in Historica Canada's collection.[50] In 2016, Trent University announced that the Indigenous Studies department would be named the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies.[51] While Wenjack's story has been commemorated nationally, it is yet to be commemorated locally in Kenora. This calls into question what collective memories and histories are being preserved publicly in Kenora. Upon further examination of Kenora's public memory, the effects of industrialization, national projects of colonialism, and the residential school experience are absent from public memory.

Public Commemorations

Figure 1: Husky the Muskie with sign and slogan. Photo by Katherine Lynch © 2023.

One of the most iconic public commemorations in Kenora is Husky the Muskie. Husky the Muskie is a twelve-metre, two-and-a-half tonne muskellunge fish mascot that can be found on the Trans-Canada Highway in Kenora's McLeod Park. Husky the Muskie was built for Canada's centennial in 1967 and the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway in 1959. Husky the Muskie reflects the style of commemoration of giant axes, geese, nickels, and turtles that can be found in communities across Canada. The muskellunge is found in the waters of Lake of the Woods and was a logical choice in celebrating the area, but Husky the Muskie had no additional

[50] "Heritage Minutes: Chanie Wenjack," *Historia Canada, last updated 2016,* https://www.historicacanada.ca/content/heritage-minutes/chanie-wenjack.
[51] "Trent University launches the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies," *Kawarthanow.com*, published June 21, 2017, https://kawarthanow.com/2017/06/21/trent-university-launches-the-chanie-wenjack-school-for-indigenous-studies/.

cause or educational purposes behind its creation and intended to serve only as a local mascot. Husky the Muskie was named about a month after its unveiling on July 1, 1967, as part of a local competition and the statue was given an additional purpose when the slogan "Husky the Muskie says Prevent Water Pollution in Lake of the Woods" was added (see figure 1).[52] In 2022 the statue was repaired to fix scratches, cracks, and graffiti at the cost of fifty-thousand dollars, with fifteen thousand covered by grants. The remaining costs were funded by the city.[53]

Another public commemoration dedicated to a similar cause can be seen in the bay behind Husky the Muskie. The Kenora Rotary Goodwill Geyser can be seen shooting water seventy-five meters into the air every hour for fifteen minutes between eight AM and eleven PM daily during the summer. The geyser was built in 1991 by the local Rotary Club and was created as a symbol of respect for the lake. The geyser's plaque on the shore reads,

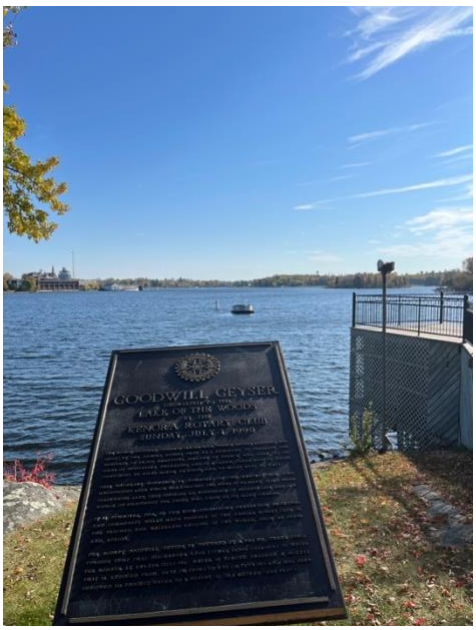

Figure 2: Goodwill Geyser is seen in the bay behind the plaque. Photo by Katherine Lynch © 2023.

> This waterfront fountain is symbolic of our respect for this magnificent Lake which has enriched the lives of so many. It is a warm freshwater lake that sustains an abundance of aquatic life and is a source of enjoyment for those who know of its many charms.

The plaque goes on to state that the geyser is "symbolic too, of the life sustaining irrigation facilities and community wells made possible by the Kenora Rotary Club in the parched and waterless regions of the world, such as

[52] Braden Murray, "Husky the Muskie," *Lake of the Woods Museum Newsletter,* https://themusekenora.ca/husky-the-muskie/.
[53] Jeff Walters, "Husky the Huskie slated to undergo repairs this summer," *CBC News,* January 13, 2021, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/husky-the-muskie-repairs-1.5870528.

India and Africa." In June 2016, the geyser was refurbished with a new anchor and chains at the cost of eighteen thousand five hundred dollars (see figure 2).[54]

Both Husky the Muskie and the Goodwill Geyser promote keeping water sources clean and accessible to not only those in Lake of the Woods but globally. These commemorations make no mention of the many First Nations within Lake of the Woods and in Treaty Three territory that have limited access to clean drinking water. Many local First Nations at various times between 1997 and the present have had drinking water advisories. These advisories have at times been placed on the water from public systems for all residents of the reserves for periods of more than twelve months including Asubpeeschoseewagong (Grassy Narrows) First Nation, Lac La Croix First Nation, Lac Seul (Obishikokaang) First Nation, Mitaanjigamiing First Nation, Naongashiing (Big Island) First Nation, Nigigoonsiminikaaning (Red Gut) First Nation, Northwest Angle 33 First Nation, Ojibway Nation of Saugeen, Shoal Lake 40 First Nation, Waabigonii Zaaga'igan (Wabigoon Lake) Ojibway Nation, Wabaseemoong (Whitedog) Independent Nations, Wabauskang First Nation, Washagamis Bay First Nation, and Wauzhushk Onigum (Rat Portage) First Nation.[55] Commemorations celebrating clean waters are seemingly ignorant or misguided when considering the First Nations of Treaty Three that have been struggling with access to clean water.

In Kenora, murals are essential to public memory and are found in the downtown core. The murals of Kenora were all funded by the Kenora Rotary Club in the 1990s and early 2000s. The murals of Kenora reflect rapid change and development in rural communities across Canada in the late twentieth century. During this time, rural communities experienced a shift in the

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[54] "Kenora Rotary Story," *Kenora Rotary*, last updated April 7, 2020, 15, http://www.retson.ca/kenorarotarystory.pdf.

[55] "Map of long-term drinking water advisories on public systems on reserves," *Government of Canada*, last updated September 16, 2022, https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1620925418298/1620925434679#wetTableMain.

economy when employment and population increased in large metropolises and decreased in rural areas. This has drastically changed small towns and rural communities' access to employment, infrastructure, and social services. In response, many rural communities across Canada have developed new strategies for coping with this change.[56] These communities have started Community and Economic Development (CED) projects that use local governance for the development of the communities' resources to support economic and social development.[57] Many murals were created in the 1980s through the 1990s in Canada through CED projects. The murals were made for a variety of reasons, including promotion of the arts, youth development, anti-graffiti projects, beautification, or for tourism.[58] Many of the murals were created for tourism because tourism supports the revitalization of communities through the refurbishing of old building and the representation of history through community art that might attract people, and generate revenue as a tourist attraction.[59] Tourism murals are often within the theme of heritage and are created based on what one group believes is their history and what they think tourists would want to see. This can make tourist murals contested sites if the deciding group does not fairly represent all people, histories, and identities.[60] Scholar Rhonda Koster conducted a study of towns, including Kenora, that have used CED to create and promote murals as tourist attractions across Canada. This study sought to understand why and how murals were adopted as a tourist attraction in rural communities, how murals connect to CED, and the potential and success of tourism within CED.[61] In the study, Kenora murals are found to have been made by

[56] Rhonda Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism as a Strategy for Rural Community Economic Development," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, volume 2, (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2008), 162.
[57] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 154-155.
[58] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 180.
[59] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 162, 178.
[60] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 181.
[61] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 153-154.

professional artists, are historical in the subject, and made for tourism. The murals were also organized formally by the Rotary Club of Kenora, and they were inspired by the creation of murals in Boissevain, Manitoba.[62] The study found that many communities that created murals through CED programs did increase business, but this increase could also be due to an increase of importance given to entrepreneurialism in the 1990s. The study found that generally, it was uncertain whether tourism murals reached the intended goals of CED projects.[63]

The murals in Kenora ostensibly commemorate and communicate the shared history, identity, and values of the community, as decided by the Rotary Club. The "Sharing the Dream" mural is located on the west side of Matheson Street and honours the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the town, thus connecting it to the rest of the nation (see figure 3). The mural was created in 1995 and celebrates the unification of the nation through transportation infrastructure.[64] The plaque beneath reads:

Figure 3: "Sharing the Dream" mural painted by Mike Svob. Photo by Katherine Lynch ©2023.

> The Canadian Pacific Railroad, which was called 'The National Dream,' enabled all Canadians to travel from coast to coast and instill each region with the sense of belonging to this vast land. This vital transportation link was the source of the development of the Lake of the Woods area.[65]

[62] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 186.
[63] Koster, "Mural-Based Tourism," In *Advances in Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 200.
[64] "Sharing the Dream" mural located on the West side of Matheson St., Kenora, Ontario.
[65] "Sharing the Dream" mural located on the West side of Matheson St., Kenora, Ontario.

While the railway was a national project that drastically transformed Canada, it was also used for the transportation of children to residential schools, another national project. Residential schools lasted over a century, spanning every province and territory as a result of the extensive work of national policymakers in cooperation with religious institutions.[66] The development of the railway in the Lake of the Woods has had long-lasting impacts on the Anishinaabe, who have had their land stolen, water sources poisoned, and forests clear-cut as a result. The railway, therefore, did not instill “a sense of belonging to this vast land" to all peoples as it also facilitated the assimilation of Indigenous Peoples.

Another mural, located on Second Street at Main Street, is dedicated to the economic development of the Lake of the Woods region. This mural was created in 1996 and is dedicated to natural resource extraction. It depicts men in a wooded area surveying the land for gold mines and logging. One of the men is intended to be John Lapine, a settler of the late nineteenth century. The plaque beneath reads, "The prominent figure is John Lapine, prospector and frontiersman who paved the way in 1856 for other settlers and miners to follow.”[67] A similar mural dedicated to resource extraction was created in 1998 to celebrate Kenora being named Canadas's forestry capital (see figure 4).

Figure 4: "A Forest of Men" mural designed by Bill Dixon and painted by Bill Dixon and Ken Faulks. Photo by Katherine Lynch ©2023.

[66] John Michael McGrath, “Residential schools are not a footnote in Canada’s history. They are its past and present,” *tco Today*, June 1, 2021, https://www.tvo.org/article/residential-schools-are-not-a-footnote-in-canadas-history-they-are-its-past-and-present.

[67] “Lake of the Woods Gold Rush,” mural located SW corner of 2nd St. and Main St., Kenora, Ontario.

This mural depicts the modernization of the forestry industry "from horse-drawn sleighs to modern water bombing."[68]

The theme amongst these murals is the challenges that the settlers in the Lake of the Woods region faced and how they were resolved through labour, technology, and enterprise. This reveals a powerful system of what Paulette Regan describes as the "peacemaker myth." The peacemaker myth moved into western Canada along with settlers in the late nineteenth century. As treaties were made, a myth emerged about settlers peacefully negotiating treaties with Indigenous Peoples who passively ceded their lands, rights, and resources. For settlers, this reinforced property rights, resource extraction, nation building, and colonial violence.[69] In the nineteenth century, many English-Canadian politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen who saw the wealth potential for individuals and the nation-state in the agrarian and industrial transformation of western Canada. They sought to expand the nation westward but faced heavy opposition from Indigenous Peoples through lengthy treaty negotiations that often resulted in expansionists to use violence and deceit. Opposition occasionally included insurrection, such as the Red River Resistance. Nevertheless the peacemaker myth became fixed in the public mind and as Regan argues, continues to be seen within contemporary "hegemonic structures and practices within bureaucratic systems, and the unequal power relations that define colonial violence, [and] remain for the most part invisible to non-Native people."[70] The everyday actions of settlers may therefore impact murals that reinforce the idea and form the identity of settlers who have been shown to be largely ignorant of the history of colonial violence and unquestioning of the imperialist policies of the nation.

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[68] "A Forest of Men," mural located on NE corner Matheson St. and 1st Ave., Kenora, Ontario.
[69] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 86.
[70] Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools*, 87.

In stark contrast to the other public commemorations found in Kenora that solely celebrate settler history and culture, two murals stand out not celebrating industry, settlers, or modernity. One of these murals is titled "Hudson's Bay Company," and illustrates the "heritage, importance and impact of Hudson's Bay Company in the development of the Lake of the Woods Area" (see figure 5).[71] This mural depicts Hudson's Bay fur traders on the right with Voyagers on the left, and a single Indigenous person in the middle. There are two tipis in the background and a man working on one of three birchbark canoes in the foreground. These vignettes are set within a local landscape and a cartouche with the words,

Figure 5: "Hudson's Bay Company" mural. Photo by Katherine Lynch © 2023.

> Rat Portage: This was early frontier Kenora Keewatin and was named by the Ojibway people for the many muskrats inhabiting these waters. Venturing into this area were a number of fur traders employed by the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. They along with the First Nations people and the Voyagers became the rock on which was built this nation we know today as Canada.[72]

The other mural located on Third at Matheson Street was created by Anishinaabe artist Louis Ogemah (see figure 6). The mural depicts Anishinaabe Peoples hunting, fishing, gathering, and feasting with spiritual forces surrounding them in a *medewin* lodge.[73] Louis Ogemah is an Anishinaabe artist from Obashkaandagaang First Nation in Kenora, Ontario, whose work has significantly affected public memory. After graduating from the Fine Arts program at the

[71] "Hudson's Bay Company" mural located on NE corner 1st St. and Main St., Kenora, Ontario.
[72] "Hudson's Bay Company" mural located on NE corner 1st St. and Main St., Kenora, Ontario.
[73] "Anishinaabe Aki" mural located on the NE corner of 3rd St. and Matheson St., Kenora, Ontario.

University of Manitoba, Ogemah recognized that no gallery existed for contemporary Indigenous artists. Ogemah saw that Indigenous artists felt ostracized from art galleries such as the Winnipeg Art Gallery, and he wanted to create a gallery space for Indigenous artists to express their politics and worldviews.[74] Inspired by artist Norval Morrisseau and his idea of the artist-as-shaman, Ogemah saw the potential for art to be a healing tool for Indigenous Peoples.[75] Using these ideas, Ogemah opened the Urban Shaman Gallery in 1996, in the Winnipeg Exchange District. The Urban Shaman Gallery was created for Indigenous artists that were "not so much interested in educating white society as in disseminating a liberating art form to their own people."[76] Upon opening, the Urban Shaman Gallery's mandate was to "present contemporary art that is influenced by aboriginal Canadian traditions but is politically and socially charged."[77]

Figure 6: "Anishinaabe Aki" mural painted by Louis Ogemah. Photo by Katherine Lynch © 2023.

This mandate has remained with the Urban Shaman Gallery as it has become a permanent fixture in Winnipeg's downtown twenty-seven years after its opening. The gallery has expanded during its many years of operation and now offers programming, workshops, residencies, and

[74] Julie Nagam, "The Mission of Urban Shaman Gallery," *Canadian Dimension* 41, no. 1 (2007): 30.
[75] Julie Nagam, "The Mission of Urban Shaman Gallery," *Canadian Dimension* 41, no. 1 (2007): 30.
[76] Garth Buchhoiz, "Setting Spirits Free," *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 25, 1996.
[77] Garth Buchhoiz, "Setting Spirits Free," *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 25, 1996.

curatorial initiatives. The gallery has continued to be committed to supporting artists, education, critical discourse, and contemporary art as an empowering tool.[78]

The Urban Shaman Gallery has changed the public memory of Winnipeg by creating an Indigenous lead space, facilitating public education, and creating public discourse. The mural "Anishinaabe Aki" was painted by Ogemah in Kenora during the early 1990s when his work with Urban Shaman was rising to prominence. Ogemah's mural contrasts with the other murals in Kenora as it is the only one to depict Indigenous Peoples; this reflects how Ogemah has used public art to insert Indigenous history, perspectives, and identity in the public memory of urban centers that settlers have primarily dominated.

"Anishinaabe Aki" serves as only one of two murals that depict Indigenous Peoples, and because of this, they are limited in representation. The two murals in Kenora that depict Anishinaabe Peoples are also the only murals that depict pre-industrial or undeveloped natural scenery. While these murals represent essential aspects of Anishinaabe culture, traditions, and history, it is limited by only representing men in spiritual practice and their contributions to settler industry. In contrast to the other murals of Kenora, which celebrate women, children, sports, recreational activities, and industry, these murals are limited in representation.

Although the murals are limited, other Indigenous public art spaces can be found in Kenora's downtown that provide a full representation of Indigenous Peoples. In 2021, the Indigenous-owned business *Lavand Art & Framing* opened in downtown Kenora. *Lavand Art & Framing* is owned by Ojibway artist John Paul Lavand from Rat Portage First Nation. Lavand started drawing portraits and wildlife as a child while grieving the loss of his brother. Today he works in pen and ink and traditional Indigenous work in acrylic, and has had his work exhibited

[78] "About Urban Shaman," *Urban Shaman Contemporary Aboriginal Art*, accessed July 8, 2023, https://urbanshaman.org/about-urban-shaman/.

at the Wah-Sa Gallery in Winnipeg.[79] *Lavand Art & Framing* sells not only the work of Lavand but a variety of arts and crafts from local Indigenous artists.[80] In 2023, an Arts Festival organized by Grand Council Treaty Three was held just outside of the Kenora downtown, with a variety of musicians and artists showcasing their work in celebration of the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of Treaty Three.[81] The work of other Indigenous artists can be found in the downtown where they are frequently featured at the Douglas Family Art Centre. The Centre partnered with Grand Council Treaty Three, the Ne-Chee Friendship Centre, and the Ontario Native Women's Association, among others. Some of these artists include Nadya Kawandibens from Animakee Wa Zhing (Northwest Angle) #37 First Nation. Kawandibens featured an exhibit titled "The Red Chair Sessions," which was a series of portraits of Indigenous subjects with a red chair in places such as Parliament Hill, forests, and city centers which represents ancestral bloodline and ties to the land.[82] Another exhibit titled "GAA-NIGAANII ONIDAAWIZIWAD / LEADING ARTISTS" showcased the work of Indigenous artists of the region who formed the Professional Indian Artists Incorporation (PNIAI) and the Triple K Co-operative Incorporated Printing Company. The PNIAI, sometimes referred to as the Indian Group of Seven, was formed in 1973 as an alliance between Indigenous artists Daphne Odjig, Jackson Beardy, Norval Morriseau, Eddy Cobiness, Joseph Sanchez, Alex Janvier, and Carl Ray. This group sought to shift Indigenous art into the fine art world by helping other artists,

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[79] John Paul Lavand, *The Darlington Gallery*, accessed July 8, 2023, https://darlinggal.ca/2018/07/20/john-paul-lavand/.
[80] Lavand Art & Framing, "Lavand Art Framing & Gifts," Facebook, accessed July 2, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/p/Lavand-Art-Framing-Gifts-100087419715820/.
[81] "Events Treaty #3 Arts Festival," Grand Council Treaty #3, accessed July 8, 2023, http://gct3.ca/events/treaty-3-arts-festival/.
[82] Bronson Carver, "Treaty 3 artist has homecoming at The Muse with 'The Red Chair Sessions," *Kenora Miner & News*, August 5, 2021, https://www.kenoraminerandnews.com/news/local-news/treaty-3-artist-has-homecoming-at-the-muse-with-the-red-chair-sessions.

marketing and promoting their work, and accessing funding for Indigenous artists.[83] The Triple K Co-operative was established near Kenora, in Red Lake in 1973 by brothers David, Henry, and Goyce Kakegamic, and their father, Joshim Kakegamic. This was the first Indigenous-owned silk-screen printing company in Canada, and helped other Indigenous artists maintain control of their work while reaching the art industry.[84]

The presence of Indigenous art in Kenora reveals the role that it has played in shaping public memory. The mural "Anishinaabe Aki" reveals a more significant history of how Indigenous artists such as Louis Ogemah have used art to change and shape public memory in urban spaces. Representation of the Anishinaabeg amongst murals in Kenora is limited, but looking at public spaces reveals how Indigenous artists have used art to create Indigenous space in the downtown core of Kenora that disseminate knowledge, experiences, history, make political statements, and create discourse.

Other forms of formal public memory can be seen throughout the town and reflect that many settlers and Canadian institutions have made a commitment to reconciliation. In 2020 Kenora town hall updated its strategic plan to state the town's commitment to honouring the TRC's ninety-four Calls to Action.[85] This is reflected in the town with the inclusion of Ojibway translations on new street signs and the renaming of Colonization Road.[86] Most recently, the town has embarked on the creation of a Peace Park located on First Avenue South. The park is planned to include muted landscaping with a granite hexagonal pole with six sides in the middle

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[83] "GAA-NIGAANII ONIDAAWIZIWAD / LEADING ARTISTS," The Muse Douglas Family Art Centre, accessed July 8, 2023, https://themusekenora.ca/exhibit/gaa-nigaanii-onidaawiziwad-leading-artists/.
[84] "GAA-NIGAANII ONIDAAWIZIWAD / LEADING ARTISTS," The Muse Douglas Family Art Centre, accessed July 8, 2023, https://themusekenora.ca/exhibit/gaa-nigaanii-onidaawiziwad-leading-artists/.
[85] Kelly Malone, "The long road to reconciliation," *CBC News in collaboration between CBC Indigenous and Discourse Media*, https://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/road-to-reconciliation-kenora/.
[86] Kelly Malone, "The long road to reconciliation," *CBC News in collaboration between CBC Indigenous and Discourse Media*, https://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/road-to-reconciliation-kenora/.

of the park. Each side will write "May Peace Prevail on Earth" in six different languages.[87] The peace memorial is funded by the Rotary Club, who has teamed up with the MMIWGT2S+ memorial committee to have a dedication to Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit (MMIWGT2S+).[88]

Embodied Practices of Public Memory

Western epistemology favours tangible transmissions of memory and has, as described by Diana Taylor, come to be understood to be more meaningful than embodied practices that are not based on linguistic or literary practices and thus have no claims to being meaningful.[89] Public memory requires looking beyond tangible forms memory. As Edward Casey observes, public memory occurs when people meet in a place where the public memory is enacted. Casey notes that "The place, in other words, lends itself to the remembering and facilitates it at the very least, but also in certain cases embodies the memory itself."[90] Casey adds that public memory requires human bodies to gather in proximity to each other in those spaces, gathering in spaces around a shared cause or topic, and using those spaces to generate public discourse.[91] Doing this sort of public gathering is commemoration because "commemoration is effected in the presence of others in a place to which we have all come."[92] Gathering in space not only creates public memory but may also create contested spaces. This examination of embodied forms of public

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[87] "Rotary Club of Kenora Peace Park," *Rotary Club of Kenora Rotary International District 5550,* https://portal.clubrunner.ca/991/sitepage/kenora-rotary-peace-park.
[88] "Kenora Rotary Peace Park to include memorial for MMIW," *CBC News,* last updated September 21, 2020, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/kenora-peace-park-mmiw-1.5730363.
[89] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 25.
[90] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 32.
[91] Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 35.
[92] Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," 36.

memory reveals that when Indigenous people have created public memory by occupying or gathering, it has become a site of contestation in Kenora. Public memory is, therefore, always being negotiated in the community, and many forms of public memory can be found in which new places of memory are created.

The creation of public memory through public gathering by Anishinaabe communities has been met with hostility from settlers in Kenora. The 1974 occupation of Anicinabe Park, the misuse of the Devils Gap rock as a tourist attraction, and the recent vigils regarding the discovery of the mass graves found at former residential school sites, provides evidence that embodied practices and use of public space for public memory by Indigenous Peoples are met with opposition from the settler community of Kenora.

Kenora has been home to sites of contestation where the Anishinaabe community has used public space to change public memory, and in turn was met with hostility. In 1974 the Ojibway Warrior Society took over the Anicinabe municipal park in Kenora, which resulted in a six-week standoff with local police. The Ojibway Warrior Society took over the park demanding better living conditions on reserves, education, and access to land, with tensions boiling over due to mass unemployment amongst the Indigenous community and the discovery of mercury poising in nearby Grassy Narrows. [93] Elder Tommy Keesick described living in Kenora in the 1960s and 70s, by recalling that "We couldn't even walk the street of Kenora… If you were only one Anishinaabe, walking the streets… you'd get beaten up."[94] The local *Daily Miner and News* Newspaper became a place in which tensions between The Ojibway Warrior Society and some

[93] "Anicinabe Park Occupation observed in Kenora, 40 years later," *CBC News*, August 22, 2014. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/anicinabe-park-occupation-observed-in-kenora-40-years-later-1.2744139.

[94] Kenneth Jackson and Cullen Crozier, "Tracking the Kenora Indian Beaters and passed down hate, *APTN National News*, November 19, 2021, https://www.aptnnews.ca/investigates/tracking-the-kenora-indian-beaters-and-passed-down-hate/.

settlers of Kenora were expressed publicly. In late June of 1974, the Ojibway Warrior Society posted a letter to the editor about the experiences of Indigenous Peoples in Kenora in anticipation of a conference being held there. The letter stated that "We will dig up old dirt and freshen the new soil through Indian Power – power of Indian people. We are tired of the abuses, and we will not tolerate this evil practice."[95] The letter went on to blame the Canadian government, general society, provincial governments, police, resort owners, and the National Hockey League for the "many legitimate grievances regarding treaty violations" and the "racism, bigotry, and subtle discrimination [that] is running wild in this town."[96] In response, a letter to the editor was posted on July 2, 1974, by Keewatin local Judy Parkes, who wrote, "When I read the letter in June 27th issue from the Ojibwa War Society, I was filled with disgust and a general feeling of nausea." Parkes goes on to state that "You speak of racism, bigotry, and discrimination. It's about time you realized that white people share these problems too. You Ojibway are just as much to blame for any discrimination as anyone." Parkes goes on to explain what free services and privileges the Anishinaabeg are "given" and finishes with, "Admittedly, the Indian people do have a problem, a drinking problem. One which could be remedied if their hands were kept busy at work. Of course, in order for this problem to be resolved they have to want change and apparently they don't."[97]

A few days later, the conference was held in Anicinabe Park, and tensions grew when the *Miner and News* reported that the Warrior Society was "occupying" the park with dangerous weapons.[98] The society decided to occupy the site and the leader of the Warrior Society, Louis

[95] The Ojibwa War Society, Two Wounded Knee Veterans, "Letter to the editor," *Kenora Miner and News,* June 27, 1974.
[96] The Ojibway Warrior Society, "Letter to the editor," *Kenora Daily Miner and News,* Thursday, June 27, 1974.
[97] Judy Parkes, "Letter to the editor," *Kenora Daily Miner and News*, Tuesday, July 2, 1974.
[98] Kenora Daily Miner and News, "150 Indians Occupy Anicinabe Park," Tuesday, July 23, 1974.

Cameron, described those who stayed in the park after the conference as those who were "prepared to do anything to remain on the site until they meet with government officials."[99] With the official occupation underway, The Ojibway Warrior Society posted a list of demands in the *Daily Miner and News*. The demands included a call for accessible transportation to and from Kenora and seven outside reserves, that language interpreters be hired at all government agencies, fair treatment by police, and for local businesses and unions to be held accountable for racially discriminatory hiring practices and workplace treatment.[100]

During the seizure of the park, the local *Daily Miner and News* made regular reports, described by authors Mark Anderson and Carmen Robertson as "near-hysterical," filled with anti-Indigenous racism and "cautionary fables" for white tourists, describing the Ojibway Warrior Society, and supporters as "aggressive, armed, dangerous, irresponsible, messy, dirty, ungrateful, hostile, unreasonable, whiny, lying, and militant.[101] The occupation was ultimately ended peacefully, and while many of the demands were not met, many issues of racism were brought to the forefront of public discourse. Leader of the Ojibway Warrior Society in Kenora, Louis Cameron, went on to make demands on the federal government.[102] The occupation of Anicinabe Park has not been formally commemorated by any of the town's heritage groups or city hall, but the occupation continues to be commemorated in public memory by supporters and those who participated. On the fortieth anniversary of the occupation, a march through town,

[99] Mark Anderson and Carmen Robertson, "The "Bended Elbow" News, Kenora 1974: How a Small-Town Newspaper Promoted Colonization," *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (summer 2007): 424.
[100] Anderson and Robertson, "The "Bended Elbow" News, Kenora 1974" 425.
[101] Anderson and Robertson, "The "Bended Elbow" News, Kenora 1974" 426.
[102] Anderson and Robertson, "The "Bended Elbow" News, Kenora 1974"431.

mini pow wow, sunrise ceremony, panel presentation, evening entertainment, and workshops were held in Kenora to commemorate the occupation and mark the anniversary.[103]

Close to Anicinaabe Park is another contested site of public memory. This site is a large boulder at a narrow channel of water which has served as public memory and has become a place of contestation. Devil's Gap is a narrow water channel on Lake of the Woods located between Treaty Island and the mainland at the lands of Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation. The large rock that sits on the shore of the channel of Devil's Gap has always had religious significance to the Anishinaabe, who left offerings of tobacco on the rock for safe traveling on water.[104] James Redsky recalls the history of where Devils Gap got its name. It is said to have been where Ojibway leader Mis-quona-queb was living with his wife, Esh-quana-queb, and other community members. Mis-quona-queb was a powerful person, and his powers came from his protectors and his medicine bag made of red fox skin that was always hung in his wigwam. One day, knowing there might be trouble with the Sioux, Mis-quona-queb left for Warroad, Minnestoa to fight the Sioux. Mis-quona-queb told Esh-quana-queb to watch his fox skin medicine bag and if it moved it meant that trouble was nearing them.[105] One day the bag started to move, and Esh-quana-queb warned everyone and left with her baby. As they were leaving, the Sioux came and took many women and children hostage. Mis-quona-queb had sensed trouble and had come home just in time to help them. As Mis-quona-queb and others fought off the Sioux, some of the wounded Sioux hid in the forest. On the shady side of a small channel, one of the women heard a moaning noise and she was scared because she thought it might be the devil, but she went to look. There

[103] "Anicinabe Park Occupation observed in Kenora, 40 years later," *CBC News*, August 22, 2014. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/anicinabe-park-occupation-observed-in-kenora-40-years-later-1.2744139.
[104] "Born in Battle," *Holidayer Newspaper*, from the Lake of the Woods Museum archival collection.
[105] James Redsky, *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-Quona-Queb* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), 72.

the woman saw a wounded Sioux man moaning in pain, and she killed him. This place is called Devils Gap today by the Anishinaabeg.[106] The Devil's Gap channel and the large rock within that channel, therefore, have historical and spiritual significance to the Anishinaabe, which is reflected in the public memory of Kenora through the continued use of the name Devils Gap.

The significance and meaning of Devils Gap dramatically changed in the early 1920s when the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) purchased the land surrounding Devils Gap. The CPR established a main lodge and twenty-two adjoining cabins to promote passenger traffic.[107] It was at this time that a large rock in Devil's Gap was painted with the face of a man, said to be painted as a joke by an anonymous local. In a 1927 CPR travel brochure for the Devils Gap lodge, the rock is said to be the origin of the name Devils Gap. The brochure reads:

> Devil's Gap itself owes its name to the semi-ludicrous painting on a large rock on the deep channel close to the camp. This painting is of the King of Darkness himself, mustaches and "imperial" complete – a monstrous grinning face, limned in strong colours on a rock whose contour suggests a human head. While delicious thrills race along his spine, the tourist learns that considerable mystery shrouds the identity of the artist, whose work, by the way, is renewed every year by an unknown hand.[108]

Among canoe trips, yachting, and swimming, another tourist attraction listed in the CPR brochure is visiting "Indian Graves." The brochure reads: "A visit to some ancient Indian Graves is well worth while. These may be found on a densely scrub-grown island about two miles from the Camp."[109] It describes the graves as being,

> built in the forms of mounds and covered with a low, tent-like structure of bark, which has an opening to the front in order that the spirit of the departed can get out. Surrounding each grave, there are a few worthless trifles such as china cups

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[106] James Redsky, *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-Quona-Queb,* 73.
[107] Kenora Miner and News, "Devil's Gap Lodge Will Not Open Next Summer," November 3, 1960.
[108] The Canadian Pacific Railway, "Devil's Gap Bungalow Camp Kenora," printed in Canada in 1927. From the Lake of the Woods Museum archival collection.
[109] The Canadian Pacific Railway, "Devil's Gap Bungalow Camp Kenora," printed in Canada in 1927.

> whose glittering inscriptions to "a good boy" or "mother" is only partially over-laid with the dust of years.[110]

Devils Gap was, therefore, a place of historical significance to the Anishinaabe of Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation, which was subverted by settlers into a tourist attraction in the 1920s. Settlers used public memory to remove Anishinaabe histories from the area by painting the sacred rock on the channel with the face of an "imperial devil" and claiming the name Devil's Gap as being given due to the painting.

The face of the Devil's Gap painted rock remained even after the CPR sold the land to a cabin owners association in the 1980s and became an iconic symbol of Kenora, with the name and painted rock ingrained in public memory. The nearby marina owned by the Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation is known as Devil's Gap Marina and has the painted rock as part of its logo.[111] Signs on the highway outside of town welcome visitors with the Devil's Gap rock face image, and postcards and other ephemera with the same painted face can be bought in town. In the 1980s, citizens came together to restore the rock painting after it had been vandalized by graffiti. A fund was started by locals, reaching one-thousand one hundred dollars by June of 1980 with donations from the "Town of Kenora, Publicity Board of Kenora, Argyle II, Lake of the Woods Museum, Main Street Merchants Association, Ministry of Indian Affairs, Sunset Country, Mall Merchants Association, Daily Miner and News, Town and Country Furniture and the Chamber of Commerce."[112] With the funds, the rock was sandblasted and repainted without mention of the significance of the rock to the Anishinaabe or permission from the Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation.

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[110] The Canadian Pacific Railway, "Devil's Gap Bungalow Camp Kenora," printed in Canada in 1927.
[111] "Services" *Devil's Gap Marina, https://www.devilsgapmarina.ca/.*
[112] Kenora Miner and News, "Facelift for Devil's Gap Rock," June 25, 1980.

In the early 2000s, the leasing agreement between the Devil's Gap Cottagers Association and Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation, established after the CPR sold the land to the cottagers, was not renewed by Chief Ken Skead. This meant the thirty-three families with cabins on the leased Indigenous lands faced eviction. One major issue for Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation was the back rent of five years owed by the cottagers after Indian Affairs had reassessed the property at a higher value.[113] The Cottagers Association disputed how the property was valued and took the dispute to federal court. Eventually the lease expired without renewal, and the land returned to the First Nation.[114]

The history of settler use of Devil's Gap ended in 2012 when a fire labeled as "suspicious" by the Ontario Fire Marshal took place in Devil's Gap, and seven of the thirty-three vacant cabins were burnt to the ground.[115] Because the cottages had been vacant and not earning the band money, the fire produced questions about the purpose of evicting the cottagers in the first place. In a news article reporting on the fire, a spokesperson for the cottage association said, "If the band didn't want us there, you hoped it at least had some greater purpose for the property."[116] To the settlers of Kenora, who had exploited Anishinaabe land and histories for the tourist industry, not using the land in this way was bewildering. When considering the history of Devil's Gap, it becomes evident how public memory has been used by settlers to stake a claim to land and to dictate who can take up space, use space, or change spaces. This was done by claiming ownership over the naming of Devil's Gap and the use of sacred places, such as the

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[113] Reg Clayton, "Devils Gap cottagers to challenge eviction in court," *Kenora Miner and News*, September 11, 2007. http://media.knet.ca/node/2980.
[114] Bill Redekop, "Fire Destroys Devil's Gap Cottages," *The Winnipeg Free Press*, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/2012/08/13/fire-destroys-devils-gap-cottages.
[115] Bill Redekop, "Fire Destroys Devil's Gap Cottages," *The Winnipeg Free Press*, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/2012/08/13/fire-destroys-devils-gap-cottages.
[116] Bill Redekop, "Fire Destroys Devil's Gap Cottages," *The Winnipeg Free Press*, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/2012/08/13/fire-destroys-devils-gap-cottages.

rock on the channel and the nearby graves, for the tourist industry. Devils Gap and the occupation of Anicinabe Park serves as an example of how public memory can be contested. Settlers have claimed ownership over the physical place and history of Devil's Gap, despite it already functioning as public memory to the Anishinaabeg. Kenora and the area surrounding Devil's Gap became contested space during when the Anishinaabeg claimed ownership of the land, and created public memory by gathering together in physical space, and deciding who can use and change that space.

In 2021 public space was again used to create public memory after the remains of two-hundred-and-fifteen anomalies were discovered as possible unmarked graves at the site of the former residential school in Kamloops, British Columbia. Like many places across the nation, the people of Kenora gathered at the Park Street roundabout to pay their respects to children who died at residential schools. Approximately one-hundred people gathered at the roundabout and left shoes of children, flowers, ribbons, signs, and stuffed animals to pay their respects, with a vigil that followed.[117] Much like the standoff in Anicinabe Park, the use of public space by Anishinaabe People was met with resistance. Sadly, before the vigil started, a disgruntled elderly man got out of his car to shout at onlookers, picked up a pair of shoes, and threw them to the ground.[118] One year later, in 2022, shoes can still be found at the sites of the former Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools while investigations into identifying burial sites are ongoing.[119]

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[117] Jordan Rivers, "Kenora comes together to honour the 215," *Kenora Online Local News* https://www.kenoraonline.com/articles/kenora-comes-together-to-honour-the-215.
[118] Jordan Rivers, "Kenora comes together to honour the 215," *Kenora Online Local News* https://www.kenoraonline.com/articles/kenora-comes-together-to-honour-the-215.
[119] Ryan Forbes, "4,127 lost children and counting, *Kenora Online Local News*, January 4, 2022, https://www.kenoraonline.com/articles/4127-lost-children-and-counting.

The occupation of Anicinabe Park in the 1970s, Devils Gap, and the memorial held in Kenora for the discovery of the potential graves at Kamloops Residential School highlight how public space is used as a place to be heard, make demands, embody certain behaviors, and perform public memory to create change and leave a lasting historical imprint. Using public space and performing public memory has been an enduring issue in Kenora as still seen today; Indigenous public memory has become contested space. Although it may be contested, public memory can be made anywhere in public space, and can be created outside of local institutions or groups. As people physically gather in public space, it creates public memory such as when residents of Kenora gathered after the discovery of possible graves at former residential schools and created a memorial. This serves as an example of how public memory can become contested space but will continue to be created and negotiated. Recently, Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation has discovered one-hundred and seventy-one anomalies in the ground that are plausible unmarked burials[120] and as more sites are searched, public memorials and vigils created by residents are likely to remain a permeant fixture of public memory.

Conclusion

This case study of the public memory found in Kenora reveals how public memory made by settlers tells a limited version of history. Public commemorations, including the memorials, murals, and plaques that are a part of public memory of Kenora, illustrate how the impacts of resource-extracting industries and Indian Residential Schools have been marginalized. The mural by Louis Ogemah reveals how Indigenous art has changed public memory and has become

[120] Charles Lefebvre, "171 anomalies discovered at former residential school site in northern Ontario," *CTV News Winnipeg*, January 17, 2023. https://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/171-anomalies-discovered-at-former-residential-school-site-in-northern-ontario-1.6234438.

embedded into the public memory found in Kenora's downtown. Embodied forms of public memory in Kenora show how contested spaces establish public memory and determine who is allowed to physically take up space and create public memory in those spaces. There is ample evidence that forms of public memory created by settlers are used to "mystify" history and create narratives of settler beneficence in the history of Kenora.

Chapter Two: What Should Public Memory Look Like

Introduction

Edward Casey explains that public memory is always subject to two forms of revision which are "first, a discovery of a glaringly false part of its content; second, a reassessment of its primary significance as a wider, or simply different, ethical or historical context arises."[1] Public memory created by settlers in Canada are therefore subject to revision. When public memory goes without revision or reassessment it can create collective amnesia surrounding history. Collective amnesia, as argued by William James Booth, serves as a way for perpetrators of past injustice to escape victims seeking justice in the present.[2] As Booth writes, "The passing of years does not absolve us of moral accountability for our actions." The *Updated Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights Through Action to Combat Impunity* published by the United Nations and commonly referred to as the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, was established to ensure that those who have perpetrated human rights abuses are held accountable, ensures that victims can seek reparation and that violations do not recur.[3] These principles highlight the inalienable right to the truth of past human rights abuses and the States duty to preserve the history of oppression and abuse through archives, truth commissions, and other sources of evidence.

Following the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* requires settlers and colonial institutions to take accountability through archival evidence and public remembrance. This would ensure citizens are not complicit in past injustice by helping those responsible for abuse be absolved

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[1] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory in Place and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 29.
[2] William James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 154.
[3] Diane Orentlicher, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2008, 7.

through collective amnesia.[4] In this context, it is necessary that public memory of the residential school system be created in downtown Kenora because it is the physical place where the Indigenous twenty-four percent of the population of Kenora faces the legal, administrative, economic, and political structures of power.[5] It is where the activities of the state and institutions, with their supporting bureaucratic ideologies, have become embedded in cultural forms and practices such as public commemoration that influence public memory.[6] These structures and institutions are located in Kenora's downtown. These are places such as city hall, where decisions are made that hold legal, administrative, and political power. This is where enduring colonial institutions are located, such as the *Miner and News* local newspaper, Lake of the Woods Museum, Confederation College, city hall, banks, library, and post office. It is where the offices of industries of colonial industrialisation, such as mining and lumber, are located. It is the responsibility of these enduring institutions to take responsibility for their colonial histories through public memory.[7] Downtown is where tourists come to visit and where residents gather socially. It is where many residents and nearby communities' access vital services such as the hospital or grocery stores. The residents of Kenora must take responsibility for whom they have voted into positions of leadership in colonial institutions and authorized the actions of those leaders.[8]

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[4] William James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice, 160.*
[5] Statistics Canada, "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population for the city of Kenora," last modified November 29, 2022, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?topic=8&lang=E&dguid=2021A00053560010.
[6] Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver, B.C: UPC Press, 1999), 4.
[7] William James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice,* 40.
[8] William James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice,* 43.

How to Change, Create, and Manage Public Memory

Reconciling public memory must include the role of settlers to acknowledge the rhetoric of colonial patriotism that has been promoted for generations. It is imperative that settlers do not speak for victims of the residential school system or further inflict trauma on survivors through public memory. The settler domination of public memory with revisionist histories make settler society responsible for helping create a space in which collaboration between stakeholders of public memory and Indigenous communities can collaborate to develop an inclusive and accurate public memory.[9] To achieve this, it is necessary to look at the reports and recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *The Final Report* states that,

> Reshaping history is a public process, one that happens through discussion, sharing, and commemoration. As Canadians gather in public spaces to share their memories, beliefs, and ideas about the past with others, our collective understanding of the present and future is formed.[10]

Commemoration is a central aspect of public memory and continues to be a theme throughout the report. Calls to Action numbers seventy-four, seventy-five, seventy-nine, and eighty to eighty-three touch on the importance of having Indigenous histories and the children who were victims of the residential school system commemorated in public memory, including at the sites of former residential schools and cemeteries. *The Final Report* highlights the importance of commemorating this history and states that,

> Commemoration should not put closure to the history and legacy of the residential schools. Rather, it must invite citizens into a dialogue about a contentious past and why this history still matters today. Commemorations and memorials at former school sites and cemeteries are visible reminders of Canada's shame and church complicity.[11]

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[9] ReconciliAction YEG, "5 Years After TRC: The Gaps in Public Memory," *Faculty of Law at the University of Alberta Blog*, February 18, 2021, https://ualbertalaw.typepad.com/faculty/2021/02/5-years-after-trc-the-gaps-in-public-memory.html.

[10] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, vol. 6 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 162.

[11] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation,* vol. 6, 182.

In creating public commemorations of residential schools, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Survivor Committee identifies three essential elements to ensure that commemorations support long-term reconciliation. The first element is that commemorative projects must be led by residential school Survivors and be contingent on their "advice, recommendations, and active participation."[12] The second element is that commemoration projects should create new connections between Indigenous families and community memory and Canada's public and national history. The third element is that oral history and memory should be tied to commemoration and include the processes of reclaiming identity and revitalizing culture that align with the principles of self-determination.

Looking further into the recommended memorialization policies, the *Final Report* utilizes a United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights*. This report was issued by Farida Shaheed and highlights memorialization policies for recognizing victims of state abuse and human rights violations. This report found that memorialization has changed from honouring the history of the state to honouring the perspective of victims who have suffered from state abuse in an effort of reconciliation. It states that "Memorialization is often a demand of victims and society at large and the path to national reconciliation is seen to pass through not only legal reparations, but also symbolic reparations such as memorials."[13] The report found that commemorations of Indigenous Peoples' experience in their oppression and their histories were not state driven initiatives in Canada but initiated by Indigenous Peoples themselves.[14] The report adds that victims of state abuse often call for memorialization as a

[12] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation,* vol. 6, 183.
[13] Farida Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* United Nations General Assembly, 2014, 4.
[14] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 19.

means of justice. However, while legal reparations attract the state's attention, memorialization "is rarely integrated into broader strategies for building democracy and post-conflict transitional strategies."[15]

The *Report of the Special Rapporteur* recommends that memorials, whether newly created or already existing, should have a set of principle questions to be asked in the public sphere. These include questions about the intended goals of the memorial, who the memorial is made for, what the sociopolitical impact of it is, who should be a participant in its creation, design, execution, and stewardship, and the inclusion of a range of perspectives.[16] It is also recommended that authorities, citizens, and civil society collaborate in creating memorials and highlighting the essential role authorities have in managing public space.[17] While authorities are responsible for collaborating with citizens and civil society to manage public space, using this for short-term political gains will not have an appropriate impact on society, but attempts to just "close the book" without reconciliation. Memorialization must be created with "the understanding of contemporary issues relating to democracy, human rights and equality."[18] This is a complex issue that requires the collaboration of many different parties. The emotional charge of memorialization should be considered when working with victims, states, and stakeholders. Stakeholders should be prepared to support victims in expressing their experiences in diverse culturally meaningful ways which may not take the shape of physically erected monuments.[19] The report further suggests that an emotional perspective should be used in collaboration with a distanced analysis of events to prevent a “victimized memory that loses sight of the need to

[15] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,*19.
[16] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 19.
[17] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,*19-20.
[18] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,*20.
[19] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 20.

prevent further violence."[20] It is suggested that an emotional perspective should be framed by "rigorous historical research and study."[21] The report concludes with a list of goals to be considered on a case-by-case basis, including overcoming denials that fuel hatred, providing symbolic reparation and public recognition, development of reconciliation policies, policies of prevention, and redefining identity.[22] Some recommendations to states and stakeholders include implementing memorials recommended by truth and reconciliation commissions and ensuring transparency in the memorialization decision-making process. It is further recommended that states and stakeholders support high-quality research projects, ensure engagement in educational initiatives, adopt legislation of memorialization processes, and create a detailed compendium of good practices, difficulties, and results achieved.[23]

Looking to the three elements of memorialization recommended by *The Final Report,* the recommendations of the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur,* and the United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles*, common themes appear. These common themes are having victims lead, collaboration, and accountability. This means that memorial projects should first and foremost be led by Survivors to share their testimony, memory, and histories. These projects should also have governments and stakeholders collaborate with Survivors to manage and change public space. Lastly, memorial projects should be based on extensive historical research to hold states accountable for their actions and inactions while also keeping an extensive record to hold the states and stakeholders accountable to decision-making processes on memorialization. Achieving Survivor leadership, collaboration, and accountability in memorialization projects in Kenora would require the use of archives.

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[20] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights*, 20.
[21] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 20.
[22] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 20-21.
[23] Shaheed, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,* 22.

Archives, according to the recommendations of *The Final Report* work in conjunction with measures set out by the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* to ensure that the public has access to the truth about human rights violations and the State has fulfilled their duty to safeguard that information in archives. Archives are also highlighted in *The Final Report* as being an essential element in the preservation of truth by housing the Survivors' testimonies of the residential schools. The archive can help achieve the elements of public commemoration because it is a place in which Survivor testimony and community memory can be preserved in conjunction with state colonial records impacting Canadian national identity. Suppose the framework for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation is followed. In that case, the result can be a participatory archive that supports "Indigenous frameworks of knowledge, memory, and evidence, and reposition… [with] Indigenous communities as co-creators of archival records that relate to them, including government archives."[24] Such archives can also aid in the suggested collaboration between the state and victims of state abuse by holding the records and testimonies of both parties. This also aids in the suggested research and educational goals of the *Report of the Special Rapporteur* by providing the required primary sources and testimony to be used for the "rigorous research and study" that should be utilized in the creation of public memorialization. Lastly, archives also support the suggested goals of transparency and accountability for decision-making and adoption of policies and legislation by stakeholders in creating public memory through transparent and accessible recordkeeping practices. Archives may also contribute to accountability by ensuring that the decision-making processes of governments, institutions, and other relevant stakeholders are kept for public access. The lack of an archival repository in Kenora therefore makes reshaping public memory difficult.

[24] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation,* vol. 6, 153.

The common themes of Survivor leadership, collaboration, and accountability emerge from *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles*, and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur*. These themes can be used as a guideline as to how public memory is managed, changed, and created. Changing, creating, and managing public memory with these themes requires archives. In Kenora, these themes can be used in establishing how public memory surrounding the residential school system is implemented. When looking at public memory in Kenora, it is evident how settlers have monopolized public memory and how residential schools, or other colonial histories have been excluded from it.

Stakeholders and Creators of Public Memory in Kenora

One of Kenora's most prominent stakeholders of public memorials is the Kenora Rotary Club. The Rotary Club is an international community in which community members come together to envision, create, and fund projects in their community to support goodwill and peace.[25] The Rotary Club of Kenora began in 1919 when Dr. Crawford McCulloch, commissioned Joseph A. Fife to conduct a survey of the possibility of establishing a club in the area. Following approval from the Association of Rotary Clubs in Chicago, the first meeting was held in 1920 at the Kenricia Hotel. The club has since taken on many projects in the community and has also supported projects overseas.[26] With community events, private, and public donations, the Rotary Club of Kenora has funded many heritage works in Kenora, including the ongoing Peace Park project, the Kenora Splash Park, the Goodwill Geyser, and the murals found

[25] "Who We Are," Rotary, accessed November 2021, https://www.rotary.org/en/about-rotary.
[26] Don Cameron and James Retson, "Kenora Rotary Club History by Don Cameron," Rotary Club of Kenora, Accessed December 2021, https://portal.clubrunner.ca/991/SitePage/kenora-club-history.

downtown. The Rotary Cub also funds local heritage committees such as the Lake of the Woods Heritage Townscapes. Many decisions for public memory projects have therefore been made and funded by members of the Kenora Rotary Club.

Those who join this club must be invited and approved by the club before entering. It is also expected that members have a professional skill or talent to contribute to the club, attend regular meetings, and pay regular membership fees.[27] Fees paid by members can be up to one thousand dollars per year. Corporate members, including two members, can pay up to five thousand dollars per year with additional costs attributed to regular meal and beverage needs during events.[28] Qualification for participation in this club is limited to those with professional skills and connections as well as the disposable income for annual fees and event participation.

Questions arise regarding how the Kenora Rotary Club decides what to fund and where. The Kenora Rotary Club has no archival repository, and Rotary Club International has no official recordkeeping policy for local clubs. Rotary Club International has an official archival repository in Chicago, which encourages local clubs to establish their own archives.[29] The rotary club district of 5550, which encompasses much of central Canada, including Kenora, has a district budget, board meeting minutes, and a policy and procedure listed on a website that is only accessible to members who sign in with an account. Therefore, the Kenora Rotary Club can make decisions and are significant stakeholders in which public memory projects will be created in the town without being held accountable for these decisions or allowing public inquiry into the decision-making process.

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[27] "Rotary Membership" Rotary Club, accessed November 2021, https://www.rotary.org/en/about-rotary/membership.
[28] Elaine Thompson, "Seven New Membership Types Created by Clubs," accessed November 2021, *Rotary District 5550,* https://rotary5550.org/stories/seven-new-membership-types-created-by-clubs.
[29] "Common Questions," My Rotary, accessed November 2021, https://my.rotary.org/en/learning-reference/about-rotary/history/common-questions.

The City of Kenora is also a significant decision-making force in creating public memory. The Heritage Kenora Committee works within City Hall to advise on "any action involving property that has been designated as a heritage property in the City of Kenora."[30] Decisions made by this committee are made available to the public through the city's website and can be accessed in person after a request is made and accepted with a five-dollar fee following the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.[31] The City of Kenora website defines a designated heritage space as "local historical buildings, cultural landscapes, and heritage properties [that] symbolize Kenora's history."[32] Among the buildings, cultural landscapes, and structures listed on the registry, the former sites of Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools do not appear.[33] Although the sites of the former Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's Residential Schools are located outside of the central downtown area, other cultural spaces outside Kenora, such as the Mather-Walls House and Channel Engineering, are listed. Spaces added to the heritage registry are eligible for financial incentives from the Community Improvement Plans from the planning department of the City of Kenora.

Several spaces found on the heritage registry have received funding for their spaces by the City of Kenora. Many heritage projects, such as the Lake of the Woods Heritage Townscapes, have been established and funded by the Rotary Club since 1994. The former site of the Cecilia Jefferey and St. Mary's residential schools had to hunt to locate funding for the

[30] "Heritage Kenora Committee," Lake of the Woods Kenora Your Government, accessed November 2021, https://www.kenora.ca/en/your-government/heritage-kenora-committee.aspx.
[31] "Freedom of Information," Lake of the Woods Kenora Your Government, accessed November 2021, https://www.kenora.ca/en/your-government/freedom-of-information.aspx?_mid_=21826#Request-details.
[32] "Heritage Registry," Lake of the Woods Kenora Arts and Culture, accessed November 2021, https://www.kenora.ca/en/visit-play/heritage-registry.aspx#Cultural-landscapes.
[33] "Heritage Registry" Lake of the Woods Kenora Arts and Culture, accessed November 2021, https://www.kenora.ca/en/visit-play/heritage-registry.aspx#Cultural-landscapes.

memorials erected in 2013 and paid for through funding from the federal government requested by Treaty Three Grand Council.[34]

The Cecilia Jefferey residential school memorial was placed at the former site of the school after Treaty Three Grand Council had a two-year search to find funding for the monument.[35] The monument is located on the school's former site at Round Lake, just outside of Kenora. It is a round boulder with a plaque in the centre reading "In Honour of the Children" with a garden and benches surrounding the monument. A similar memorial exists at the location of the former St. Mary's residential school approximately ten minutes outside of downtown Kenora, on Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation. The memorial includes a round plaque on the ground set in stone that reads "In Honour Of All The Children," including the dates of operation. The plaque is protected by a wooden pergola with stone benches with a stone altar for smudging at the entrance to the memorial. On March 24, 2014, Grand Council Treaty Three held a commemorative event with Elders, Survivors, and other community members in Kenora to mark the end of a series of commemorative events at the five residential schools located in Treaty Three. Each of the commemorative events celebrated the placement of monuments, and the making of a physical space in which people can remember, contemplate, and learn.[36]

The narratives told through the public memory of Kenora reveal the use of settler myth-making that essentially eliminates the presence of Indigenous Peoples. Questions arise about the intentions of the Kenora Rotary Club and City Heritage programs. Intentions may be to steer public memory in a way that protects power, but it is equally possible that these stakeholders are

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[34] Alan S. Hale, "Kenora going from no monuments for residential school survivors to three," *Kenora Miner & News*, published September 24, 2013, https://www.kenoraminerandnews.com/2013/09/24/kenora-going-from-no-monuments-for-residential-school-survivors-to-three.

[35] Alan S. Hale, "Grand Council erects monument for students of Cecilia Jeffrey residential school," *Kenora Miner & News*, published August 14, 2013, https://www.kenoraminerandnews.com/2013/08/14/grand-council-erects-monument-for-students-of-cecilia-jeffrey-residential-school-3.

[36] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation,* vol. 6, 184.

unintentionally steering public memory. In either circumstance, the power of public memory-making must shift from private clubs and city officials to organizations, programs, and communities outside of traditional heritage institutions. This requires shifting power into Indigenous-led and focused public memory projects and having current stakeholders reflect on their powerful positions of public memory making. This shift can be achieved by examining pain and shame, which requires settlers to confront the complexities of colonial history while still listening to Indigenous communities.

Places of Pain and Shame

In recent years, a noticeable global trend has occurred in the heritage sector, transforming places of pain and shame into museums, memorials, and protected buildings and cities. Places of pain and shame are, as William Stewart and Keir Reeves explain, "A range of places, sites, and institutions [that] represent the legacy of these painful periods: massacre and genocide sites, places related to prisoners of war, civil and political prisons, and places of 'benevolent' internment."[37] These places of "difficult heritage" are often places in which human rights abuses have taken place and where victims are memorialized. They are places such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial in Hiroshima, Japan; the Auschwitz Museum in Oświęcim, Poland; and the National Indigenous Residential School Museum of Canada in Keeshkeemaquah First Nation, Manitoba. These places are highly popular and have become sites for tourists, educational groups, or personal pilgrimages. The rise in popularity of places of pain and shame is unexpected, as Stewart and Reeves explain,

> These sites bring shame upon us now for the cruelty and ultimate futility of the events that occurred within them and the ideologies they represented.

[37] William Stewart Logan and Keir Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage*' (London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

> Increasingly, however they are now being regarded as 'heritage sites', a far cry from the view of heritage that prevailed a generation ago when we were almost entirely concerned with protecting the great and beautiful creations of the past: reflections of the creative genius of humanity rather than the reverse – the destructive and cruel side of history.[38]

Stewart and Reeves question what drives this apparent interest in "pain, shame, humiliation and the macabre."[39] Do these places garner collective or personal shame? Are people comforted by the misfortunes of others? Are people desensitized from movies, television, or games? Or do many perhaps visit due to personal connections?[40]

While these are important questions for those working within the heritage sector or those interested in visiting such sites to consider, these questions can be answered with archives. Difficult heritage sites grew in popularity with the use of the Internet, where records from institutions and governments have been made available to the public. As a result, the public has the ability to access or demand access to records for government and institutional transparency on the World Wide Web. As Richard Cox and David Wallace examine, never before in history have governments released so many documents in an effort to confront the past.[41] Widespread access to institutional records has not only generated increased public interest and demand for justice from affected communities but records have also been used as powerful sources of accountability. As Michelle Caswell highlights, records and human rights research has dramatically increased in recent years, "With an outpouring of scholarship addressing the paradoxical role of records and record keepers in facilitating both human rights abuse and the subsequent adjudication, memorialization, and reconciliation of such abuse."[42] Over the past two

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[38] Logan and Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame,* 1.
[39] Logan and Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame,* 3.
[40] Logan and Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame,* 3-4.
[41] Richard Cox and David Wallace, *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society,* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 4.
[42] Michelle Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3-4 (2014): 307.

decades, records have reshaped our world not only in courtrooms and media but at the core of truth commissions across the globe in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa, and Canada.[43] Places of pain and shame are in many ways influenced by public access to institutional records and the public's desire to have physical places that hold governments, corporations, and individuals accountable for past injustices.

Although public access to records of pain and shame are available in Canada through archival institutions such as the National Center for Truth and Reconciliation, it still has not taken hold of the Canadian psyche. Scholars such as Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt argue for shameful narratives to be present Canadian historical narratives. Using the trial of Gerald Stanley after shooting and killing Cree youth Colten Boushie in 2016 as a study, Starblanket and Hunt highlight the narratives of settler-colonialism that led Stanley's acquittal. Starblanket and Hunt describe the systematic denialism of settler colonial histories as "narratives of colonial violence [that] are often dismissed by settlers as a fabrication of historical revisionism while peaceful histories are colonial settlement and development are regarded as the 'correct,' 'unbiased,' or 'true' version of the past and present."[44] At the interpersonal level, Starblanket and Hunt explain that "the denial of racialized hierarchies blocks the potential for Indigenous suffering to be recognized and addressed, as Indigenous people are continually told that our lived experiences of oppression are a product of our own making, markings of a broken culture, an unwillingness to join Canadian society, or a product of gratuitous self-victimization and entitlement."[45] It is important that settler Canadians grapple with difficult histories to understand that the narratives

[43] David A. Wallace et all., *Archives, Recordkeeping, and Social Justice* (Oxon: Routledge, 2020), 6.
[44] Gina Starblanket, and Dallas Hunt, *Storying Violence: Unravelling Colonial Narratives in the Stanley Trial*, (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2020), 67.
[45] Gina Starblanket, and Dallas Hunt, *Storying Violence*, 67-68.

of peaceful settlement contribute to a long history of systemic of violence toward Indigenous Peoples that can be seen with the death of Colten Boushie and acquittal of Gerald Stanley.

Due to the reluctance of the colonial state, institutions, and individuals in Canada to grapple with difficult histories, a body of literature has emerged to have places of pain and shame publicly addressed, accountability taken, and specific demands and legal frameworks adopted. Archives are the driving force behind this literature such as the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Final Report*, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, and the United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* that call for reconciliation, promotion of human rights, and outline the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Although archives are only mentioned in part, they are an essential element in this body of literature.

The Truth and Reconciliations Commission's ninety-four Calls to Action outline four recommendations that directly address museums and archives. Greg Bak describes how an archival logic runs through all the ninety-four Calls to Action. Many of the recommendations require a great deal of recordkeeping, transparency, and accountability by governments and institutions, or calls for continued research and data collection. All of this requires the use of archival records and recordkeeping practices to be achieved.[46] For example, Bak emphasizes that archival practices and good recordkeeping are required for transparency and accountability by institutions such as Canadian child welfare agencies to meet Calls to Action one and two; the Parliament of Canada to meet Calls to Action fifty-three to fifty-six; the National Center for Truth and Reconciliation and the federal government for Calls to Action seventy-one, seventy-

[46] Greg Bak, Tolly Bradford, Jessie Loyer, and Elizabeth Walker, "Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC's Calls to Action," *Fonds d'Archives,* no. 1 (2017): 5.

two, and seventy-eight; and Library and Archives Canada and all Canadian archivy for Calls to Action sixty-nine, seventy and seventy-seven.[47]

Similarly, the United Nations *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People* (UNDRIP) also has an underlying memory logic that runs throughout the document. Articles thirty-one and thirteen call for the rights of Indigenous Peoples to transmit "histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literature"[48] as well as to "maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures."[49] This directly affects western archives; as Bak notes, because these articles are difficult for archivists who may hold records that are within their mandate but hold Indigenous Traditional Knowledge. Examples are the records created by the Canadian Ministry of Indian Affairs at Library and Archives Canada about Indigenous Peoples, language, culture, and Knowledge.[50] It is also noted that these articles highlight that western archives may not suit the needs of Indigenous communities and that "Indigenous cultures may possess forms of social memory that are quite different from but no less valid than the standard western social memory infrastructure of archives, historic sites, galleries, museums and libraries."[51]

The requirement of archives by the United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* is more easily discernable as the document outlines the importance of preserving the memory of survivors of human rights abuse, the inalienable right to know the truth, and the role of truth commissions. The role of archives is imperative to these functions, as highlighted in principle

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[47] Bak, Bradford, Loyer, and Walker, "Four Views on Archival Decolonization," 5-6.
[48] United Nations, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2008): 7. www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.
[49] United Nations, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," 7.
[50] Bak, Bradford, Loyer, and Walker, "Four Views on Archival Decolonization," 4.
[51] Bak, Bradford, Loyer, and Walker, "Four Views on Archival Decolonization," 4-5.

fourteen, "The right to know implies that archives must be preserved."[52] The *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* along with the principles of UNDRIP, therefore, apply to creating places of pain and shame because they highlight how archives and social memory lie at the core of truth-telling, state accountability, and transparency.

It is crucial to note that adopting these principles for truth, accountability, and transparency from the state requires that the state recognize complex Indigenous perspectives. These principals would also require Indigenous communities accept and recognize state authority and colonial legal frameworks, thus re-centering settler colonialism. Scholar Audra Simpson argues that the alternative to settler recognition of Indigenous Peoples' experience, presence, and history, is refusal. Refusal is used by Simpson as a methodological approach called "ethnographic refusal." Ethnographic refusal, Simpson explains, is informed by Indigenous resistance, agency, history, and sovereignty. Ethnographic refusal moves away from methodological approaches that are informed by cultural fetishization that disempower Indigenous politics.[53] When examining narratives of pain and shame, Simpson argues that recognition by the settler State for the plight of Indigenous Peoples means that it would require Indigenous communities to recognize the states authority, and "perform Indigeneity in ways that are politically effective, convincing, and pleasing…"[54] Simpson argues that there is an alternative to move from "seductive inducements to perform for the state," which is to "work through a narrative and memory-based process of constructing and affording rights to each other."[55]

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[52] Diane Orentlicher, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity,* 11.
[53] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014). 112.
[54] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus,* 159.
[55] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus,* 159.

Adopting narratives of pain and shame is complex, and requires, as argued by Starblanket and Hunt, that settler Canadians analyze the systematic denialism present in the Canadian psyche. This requires having a multitude of perspectives and narratives in public memory that represents the "ethical fullness" of a community's history and draws attention to how that community has evolved and taken responsibility for its history.[56] Paulette Regan argues that public memory should, "Involve remembering historical wrongs and cultural trauma in highly visible ways that honour victims [and] inevitably disrupt the more laudatory version of national history and its attendant myths."[57] Creating an ethically full public memory also requires the recognition that this may re-center settler Canadians into public memory and Indigenous communities may not accept this narrative. As Audra Simpson explains, resistance or refusal to the adoption of painful and shameful histories might jeopardize Indigenous sovereignty, but refusal may also influence public memory. This resistance or refusal is also a fundamental aspect of changing public memory. Refusing to participate, engage in discussion, or initiate change influences public memory because public memory is only made with public participation and engagement. Indigenous refusal is therefore an equally important aspect in creating or changing public memory and should be considered when reflecting on settler shame. Due to the complexity of changing public memory, accepting, and refusing pain and shame are both necessary in changing public memory and can be considered in different circumstances, places, and contexts.

[56] William James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice*, 40.
[57] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010): 73.

The Limits of Settler Memory Infrastructure

Including places of pain and shame may reshape public memory. But it is crucial to understand the limits of memory infrastructure under current settler colonialism in meeting the needs of Indigenous communities. The use of archives in memorializing shameful histories is a significant step in reshaping public memory. However, because structures of colonial oppression remain in memorialization, it will not be achieved without Indigenous resurgence.

Indigenous resurgence is the resurgence of Indigenous cultural and political practices. This requires regenerating language, oral cultures, and governance practices that residential schools attacked.[58] Leanne Simpson describes Indigenous resurgence as the engagement of Indigenous processes and traditions without the interference of the state and western epistemologies of resistance. The contemporary regeneration of language, land use practices, community, governance practices, intellectual traditions, ceremonies, and cultures. Indigenous resurgence supports Indigenous memory systems and operates outside of western memory infrastructure. To understand Indigenous resurgence, colonialism must be understood as a structure that does not only operate in a historical context but is an ongoing process.

As argued by Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang, settler colonialism can be defined into two different forms. The first form is external colonialism, which is defined by the expropriation of plants, animals, and human beings to build wealth for the colonizing power. This includes the extraction of natural resources, and exploitation of human labour, which is defined as natural resources and is most often used and required for defending and conquering frontiers.[59] The second form is defined as the "Biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora

[58] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle's back: stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence and a new emergence* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011), 13.
[59] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 4.

and fauna within the "domestic borders" of the imperial nation."[60] This is often achieved through institutional systems of schooling, policing, minoritizing and prisons.[61] As Tuck and Yang explain, this distinction is necessary in understanding settler colonialism as a structure and not an event. It is a process in which settlers take the land as their own for a source of capital, and relationships to land are restricted by ownership of that land.[62] External and internal settler colonialism are, therefore, structures that work by dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their lands and the political orders attached to that land.

Breaking the relationship to land harms the experience of Indigenous families, communities, ceremonies, culture, and language that make up Indigenous social memory. *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* states that removing children from the land and into the residential school system ruptured the connection children had with community memory and had a lasting impact on the next generations of children. Métis scholar Jennifer Adese is quoted in the final report saying,

> The assimilation of Indigenous peoples didn't begin or end with schooling. It's ongoing now. It also didn't exist in isolation, and it didn't target only culture. Its purpose was to take everything: language, family ties, stories, memories, political structures, governing structures, and economic relationships. These are things we need to remember.[63]

To support Indigenous structures of memory that have been broken, Simpson states that reconnection with lands helps Indigenous intellectuals understand Indigenous languages, become connected to place and community, and provide contemporary expressions of ancient stories and traditions. These intellectuals will contribute to Indigenous resurgence and decolonization in

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[60] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 4-5.
[61] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 5.
[62] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 5.
[63] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report*, vol. 6, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* 159-160.

ways that western epistemologies are unable to express.[64] Such intellectuals may be storytellers who use language, tradition, and memory to tell people who they were and imagine a future of where they will be.[65] Storytellers require a unique relationship to land and people to tell their stories and create "free cognitive space" through the physical gathering of people within territories, which "reinforces the web of relationships that stitch our communities together."[66] To achieve this, Coulthard and Simpson suggest that all peoples living in Canada utilize what they call "grounded normativity."[67] Grounded normativity is the resistance to settler dispossession by protecting and reconnecting Indigenous Peoples to land "through the practices and forms of knowledge that these practices continuously regenerate."[68] Grounded normativity can teach us how to live in relation to one another, and to respect the land and maintain reciprocal and diplomatic relationships with those who share that land. A significant aspect in achieving grounded normativity is giving land back to Indigenous communities because bodies generate knowledge in relation to the land they are on.[69]

Reconciling public memory, therefore, requires that land be given back to Indigenous communities because memory is made in connection with place. In Kenora colonial policies have displaced the Anishinaabe from their traditional lands and the memory that is connected to land, communities, and families. Therefore, giving land back and working from frameworks of grounded normativity supports Indigenous memory outside western memory infrastructure.

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[64] Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle's back*, 19.
[65] Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle's back*, 20.
[66] Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle's back*, 20
[67] Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Grounded Normativity / Place-Based Solidarity," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2, (2016): 254.
[68] Coulthard and Simpson, "Grounded Normativity / Place-Based Solidarity," 254.
[69] Coulthard and Simpson, "Grounded Normativity / Place-Based Solidarity," 254.

Conclusion

Looking at *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,* the United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* and *Report of the Special Rapporteur* a general guideline is established on how public memory should be changed and recreated. These reports have the common themes of having Survivors lead, collaboration, and accountability, which are achievable through archival records. When looking at the stakeholders of public memory in Kenora, it is evident that settler institutions have held a monopoly over memory infrastructure. The recent phenomena of commemorating difficult heritage and archives has made places of pain and shame a common part of public memory across the globe. Nation states, stakeholders, and the public can confront difficult histories to reconcile and take accountability for historical injustice but must also listen for when Indigenous communities refuse these narratives. Creating places of Indigenous pain and settler society shame should be approached with the acceptance that Indigenous Peoples may refuse, due to the possibility that settlers may be re-centered into the narrative. Changing public memory is ultimately not viable without Indigenous resurgence. Colonial oppression remains today, and therefore confronting difficult histories means challenging the current context of colonialism. This means that language, oral cultures, and practices of governance that the residential school system attacked must be regenerated through Indigenous reconnection with land and experiences of grounded normativity.

Chapter Three: Public Memory and the Community Archives

Introduction

In Kenora, public memory primarily reflects the history of industrialization and white settler colonization of the area. Looking to the previous chapters, Kenora has many gaps to be addressed in public memory, and this chapter seeks to address how a community archivist in Kenora might support memory infrastructure outside of the archive, and within it, through the availability of accessible and accountable archival records.

The colonial history of archives in Canada must be examined in order to address the archival needs of a community. The tradition of total archives theory in Canada remains today based on Western archival paradigms and historically sought to preserve the Eurocentric, patriarchal, colonial views of those who established Canadian archival institutions.[1] It is imperative that a community archive address this history through decolonial sensibilities throughout the archival process.

An analysis of *The Final Report,* the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur* provides the key themes of collaboration, community leadership, and accountability in public memory. These themes can be achieved through an archival recordkeeping process dedicated to principles of decolonization in Kenora. This chapter will explore how to support public memory projects outside of the archive, such as Grand Council Treaty Three's Geoportal, and how to support Indigenous Data sovereignty. Next, this chapter will look at how collaboration can be used to hold settler society accountable for practices in the history of colonialism. Lastly, this chapter will examine how local governments

[1] J.J. Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," *Archival Science*, vol. 21, no. 1, (2020): 61. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-020-09353-w.

and civic service organizations such as the Kenora Rotary Club may be held accountable to public memory.

The processes in creating a community archive shared here are in no way exhaustive or prescriptive. There are many archival processes that cannot be addressed in a single chapter, as well as the many ways of preserving memory that exist outside of archives. It is also important to note that many archival theories for community archiving go beyond this thesis and that there are many ways to address the needs of each unique community. This chapter explores how collaboration, community leadership, and accountability can intersect with archival theory to decolonize public memory practices in Kenora.

The Archivists Role in Supporting Memory Infrastructure

It is crucial to note that archives are limited in changing public memory because they are historically settler colonial institutions, and memory is made and preserved in many ways outside of western institutions. Archivists must look to support public memory outside of their institution. Although the archive may implement decolonial sensibilities, as a heritage institution, it is not immune to being dominated by the stakeholders that already hold authority over heritage in Kenora. For instance, the Rotary Club of Kenora already funds and creates much of the public memory in Kenora and would be able to hold the same influence within an archive. It is for these reasons, that an archivist must support where memory is created, preserved, and communicated outside the archival institution to support change in public memory throughout Kenora.

Listening, and inquiring into where public memory is made by the Anishinaabe community in Kenora is an important aspect to ensure that the archive is not used as another outlet for supporting settler colonial heritage. As scholar Emma LaRocque argues, within

archives, history, and other academic fields, an introspection is required by settler Canadians to de-imperialize scholarship. This, as LaRocque observes, requires listening, and that Canadians should begin by listening to Indigenous resistance because "Hearing the resistance challenges Western epistemological and canonical assumptions and practices."[2] This means that an archivist support where resistance to settler public memory is being made.

This requires asking where archivists can support Indigenous artists, projects, or events. For example, support can be offered by recognizing Anishinaabe Data Sovereignty. Indigenous Data Sovereignty is how Indigenous peoples create, own, and control their own data or data that is created about them.[3] Indigenous Data Sovereignty ensures the preservation of Indigenous Knowledge, spirituality, ecology; and recognizes the unique set of human rights of Indigenous Peoples.[4] Raymond Frogner asserts that custody and stewardship of Indigenous records can be redefined using the recommendations of the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP). Article thirty-one of UNDRIP states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expression."[5] Cultural heritage must therefore be placed within the stewardship of Indigenous Peoples, Elders and Knowledge Keepers.

This means that an archivist in Kenora must support Indigenous Data Sovereignty outside of the archival institution. The archivist may start by asking where they may support Grand Council Treaty Three in their data sovereignty. In January of 2023, Grand Council Treaty Three announced the official launch of the Treaty Three Geoportal. The Geoportal is a data storage tool

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[2] Emma LaRocque, *When the Other Is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 173.
[3] "Indigenous Data Sovereignty," *University of Toronto Libraries Indigenous Studies Research Guide,* February 28, 2023, https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/indigenousstudies/datasovereignty.
[4] Raymond Frogner, "The train from Dunvegan: Implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in Public Archives in Canada," *Archival Science* 22, no. 2 (2021): 213-214.
[5] Frogner, "The Train from Dunvegan," 228.

for the Anishinaabe Nation in Treaty Three. Communities and organizations across the nation can store, share, and view Knowledge, activities, teachings, maps, land assessments, and events in the Geoportal. Treaty Three Grand Council created Geoportal to "support decision making as a Nation through Manito Aki Inakonigaawin (Treaty #3 Great Earth Law)."[6] The Geoportal uses documents such as "impact assessments, forest management plans, land use studies, mineral surveys, emergency plans, housing developments, and projects outlines" which are then connected with a spatial GIS layer to make custom maps, and projects.[7] As Chief Lorraine Cobiness from Niisaachewan Anishinaabe Nation stated, "Treaty #3 Territory is shared by all 28 Treaty #3 communities and this tool supports us in continuing to work together and assert Anishinaabe jurisdiction and decision making across the Nation."[8]

In order to support Grand Council Treaty Three and their use of Geoportal, an archive in Kenora must utilize the First Nations principles of Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession, (OCAP®).The principles of OCAP® are a tool that can be used to support Indigenous Data Sovereignty by helping those who work with Indigenous communities to consider how they interact with Indigenous Data.[9] The principals of OCAP® can be achieved in archives through the adoption of the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives *Reconciliation Framework: The Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce.* This framework

[6] "Treaty #3 Geoportal Launch," Grand Council Treaty #3 News, accessed July 12, 2023, https://gct3.ca/treaty-3-geoportal-launch/.
[7] "Treaty #3 Geoportal Launch," Grand Council Treaty #3 News, accessed July 12, 2023, https://gct3.ca/treaty-3-geoportal-launch/.
[8] "Treaty #3 Geoportal Launch," Grand Council Treaty #3 News, accessed July 12, 2023, https://gct3.ca/treaty-3-geoportal-launch/.
[9] "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®," First Nations Information Governance Centre, accessed July 16, 2023, https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/.

was created for the Canadian archival community to respect, support, forge relationships, and uphold the inalienable rights and sovereignty of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis.[10]

The principles of OCAP® start with ownership, which refers to the collective ownership that Indigenous communities have over their own knowledge, data, and information.[11] The first principal of the *Reconciliation Framework* addresses ownership by stating that archives must give "acknowledgment that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are diverse and distinct peoples and sovereign nations with their own systems of governance and established protocols."[12] This means that archivists must work within Indigenous systems of governance that determine intellectual and collective ownership.

The second principal of OCAP® is control which refers to the right that Indigenous People, and their communities have to control the information, research, and management of the data that impacts them.[13] This aligns with principle four of the *Reconciliation Framework* that states that archivists must be committed to a reconciliation-based archival practice. This includes a commitment to dismantling archival colonial legacies and protecting and supporting the reclamation of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities' control over their histories, memory, language, and traditional cultural expressions.[14] An archivist in Kenora must therefore give the Anishinaabe community control over the records about or from them, and grant access to using or removing such records.

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[10]The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed July 2023, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf, 16.
[11] "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®," First Nations Information Governance Centre, accessed July 16, 2023, https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/.
[12] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed July 2023, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf, 18.
[13] "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®," First Nations Information Governance Centre, accessed July 16, 2023, https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/.
[14] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed July 2023, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf, 19.

The third OCAP® principle is access. Access is the right that Indigenous People and communities have to accessing data about themselves, and manage the access given to others.[15] This aligns with the Reconciliation Framework primary objective of respect. This objective is for the archival community to acknowledge the harms done by archival theory rooted in colonialism and how it undermines the intellectual sovereignty Indigenous Peoples have over the archival materials created about them. Archivists must adopt Indigenous methods of safeguarding information and learn about the cultural protocols surrounding access and use.[16] This means that if any information is held by the archive about the Anishinaabe community must be given without restriction.

The last principle of possession refers to the physical control of Indigenous Data and how ownership is asserted and protected.[17] This aligns with objective four of the *Reconciliation Framework* that states that the archivist must understand the unique rights of possession and disposition that may vary across communities.[18] This means that the Anishinaabe community would have control over how archival records about or from them are stored within or outside of the archive.

Using the recommendations of the Reconciliation Framework, archives can adopt the principals of OCAP®. This is imperative to supporting memory outside of the archival institution and ensuring that all current stakeholders of public memory do not maintain power using the archival institution. This may mean that no archival records from the Anishinaabe

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[15] "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®," First Nations Information Governance Centre, accessed July 16, 2023, https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/.
[16] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed July 2023, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf, 20.
[17] "The First Nations Principles of OCAP®," First Nations Information Governance Centre, accessed July 16, 2023, https://fnigc.ca/ocap-training/.
[18] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed July 2023, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf, 39.

community are stored in the archive and are instead given to Grand Council Treaty Three to support their Indigenous Data Sovereignty.

Although Indigenous Knowledge may not be shared with the archive, any records from or about the Anishinaabeg that come into the archive must be in full control of the Anishinaabeg and can be shared in Geoportal, removed from the archive, or preserved in the archive with any necessary restrictions. Using the principles of OCAP® in a community archive means that any Indigenous records that are requested to be preserved with the archive, can assume shared stewardship. This means that the archive will ensure proper preservation but the community it came from can determine how it is preserved, how it is shared, who it is shared with, when it is shared, and for how long. This also means that the histories remembered in the community archive are in constant negotiation as the values, politics, and relationships within the community change over time. The records shared with the community archive should always be in a reflective state where the community can provide regular feedback on how the records are preserved, described, and arranged.[19] All community participation, and information given by Knowledge Keepers must be credited and remunerated. As noted by Greg Bak, Danielle Allard, and Shawna Ferris, when Indigenous participation and Knowledge is given without remuneration it creates a divide with the professional knowledge of the archivist who is remunerated.[20] It is equally important that the relationship between the archive and Indigenous communities remain collaborative and reciprocal, which would require the archivist to regularly ask if the needs and vision of the Indigenous communities are being met.

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[19] Michelle Caswell, “Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives,” *Archival Science* 14, no. 3-4 (2014): 319.
[20] Greg Bak, Danielle Allard, and Shawna Ferris, "Knowledge organization as knowledge creation: surfacing community participation in archival arrangement and description," *KNOWLEDGE ORGANIZATION* 46, no. 7 (2020): 507.

An archivist in Kenora must support public memory outside of the archival institution to ensure that they are not giving any further power to current stakeholders of heritage. This means supporting artists, organizations, and individuals who embark on memory projects such as Geoportal. Archivists can ensure they support such projects by adopting the principles of OCAP® and the *Reconciliation Framework* that place the stewardship, access, and control of records back into the community.

The Colonial History of Total Archival Theory

The colonial history of archives must be interrogated to understand the complexities of decolonizing archival practices in Canada. Decolonizing the archive requires the rethinking of many archival principles. As Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd argue, it requires asking how Indigenous Peoples can access the archive and hold accountable archival institutions. However, as Fraser and Todd argue, "This engages several simultaneous and sometimes contradictory issues: the structure and function of archives remain bound to National imaginaries and histories. Decolonisation of these structures and processes can only ever be partial."[21] The creation of a community archive in Kenora requires decolonial sensibilities to address colonial epistemologies ingrained into Canadian archival practice.

These epistemologies have become ingrained into archives because archives have contributed to the expansion and preservation of oppressive colonial ideologies. Colonial empires used oppressive systems that expropriated land and political projects that inflicted violence against others based on race, class, and gender. Extensive recordkeeping maintained these systems, silenced the voices of the oppressed, and privileged the voices of those who benefitted from land

[21] Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities: Indigenous Research and Engaging with Archives in Contemporary Colonial Canada," *L'Internationale Online.* February 14, 2016.

expropriation. As David Wallace describes, "Colonial recordkeeping was an indispensable instrument for these processes, pioneering new exploitative forms of management control for profitmaking while absenting the voices and lived experiences of the subjugated."[22]

Contemporary archivists must understand this history and ensure that decolonial principles are implemented into all archival institutions. Archives have contributed to settler mythmaking in public memory as institutions of the state that created a national identity based on imperial ideology. National archives in Canada can be traced back to the creation of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1824 with the vice-regal patronage of Lord Dalhousie.[23] The Society sought records that documented Canadian history for the sole purpose of promoting patriotism. Each province developed its own historical traditions, and after confederation the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec sought to link the traditions of provinces and settlers to create a shared collective history and to generate a sense of nationality and unity.[24] In 1870 the Society took these ideas to the federal government along with signed petitions from "authors, clergy, and leading educators in Quebec City and Montreal."[25] The petition supported the preservation and accessibility of archival records. Following the reception of the petition by the federal government, The Department of Agriculture, which was responsible for arts and statistics, created an Archives Branch with a recordkeeping program for historical records to be collected and arranged.[26] To fill this role, Douglas Brymner was appointed Senior Second Class Clerk to the Department of Agriculture in 1872.[27] Brymner sought to acquire records about the

[22] David A. Wallace, "Defining the relationship between archives and social justice," in *Archives, Recordkeeping, and Social Justice*, ed. David A. Wallace, Wendy M. Duff, Renée Saucier, and Andrew Flinn (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020), 23.
[23] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream': The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada," *Archivaria* 15 (January): 16.
[24] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 17-18.
[25] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 18.
[26] Jay Atherton, "The Origins of the Public Archives Records Centre, 1897-1956," *Archivaria* (1979): 36.
[27] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law, and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 70.

British military, old manuscripts, and other records in Halifax, St. John, Fredericton, Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto.[28] Brymner held an Anglocentric view of Canadian history which, "Led him to focus on acquiring collections and items about British and European imperial and military figures, and the British Loyalists who fled north with the American Revolution, bringing the first major wave of Anglo-Saxon settlers to what would become Canada."[29] To support his vision of preserving the history of Anglophone settlers, Brymner created a copying program in which records were copied in London, Paris, and Rome, and sent to the Canadian national archives.[30] Brymner continued the copying program, but saw the larger potential of the Canadian Archives which he described as his "noble dream."[31] Brymner's noble dream was a national archive in which elements of the British Museum, the Public Records Office, and Historical Manuscripts Commission of Britain would be combined to create the Canadian Archives where all aspects of Canadian society would be collected without any specific emphasis on political life.[32] This required that Brymner reject the Canadian Government's Joint Committee on the Library of Parliament recommendations to have all of the records obtained by the Archives Branch be deposited into the Library of Parliament. Brymner made the distinction between the Library of Parliament which aimed to serve members of parliament and a national archive which would aim to serve the public by collecting records from the public and private sector and shed "light on social, commercial, municipal, as well as purely political history."[33] The challenge Brymner faced in his "noble dream" was the Department of the Secretary of State which kept all records

[28] Atherton, "The Origins of the Public Archives Records Centre," 36.
[29] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law, and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 70.
[30] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law, and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 70.
[31] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 21.
[32] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 21.
[33] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 21.

of government that did not belong to specific departments.[34] Confusion and rivalries over what branch or Department would acquire records continued until 1903, when the Dominion Archives were created by combining Brymner's Archives Branch from the Department of Agriculture and the Records Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.[35] A central repository was established in Ottawa on Sussex Street, and the title of Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records was formally established.[36] The first to be appointed to this role was Arthur G. Doughty in 1904 after the death of Brymner. Doughty expanded Brymner's copying program and focused on acquiring military records. In record acquisition, Doughty did not distinguish between public and private records and continued the tradition of preserving Anglophone settler histories.[37]

Doughty's acquisition approach to records proved challenging to maintain in the mid-twentieth century when advances in communication and the Second World War dramatically increased the number of records being created by the government and other bureaucracies. Doughty's eventual successor, W. Kaye Lamb, created a recordkeeping life cycle to tackle the pace at which records were created so that relevant information would always be readily available for historical research. Lamb created a system in which the ministries of government would interact with the national archives to create a life cycle for managing these records.[38] Records management requires the archivist to appraise the records based on their historical value. Lamb wrote that appraisal, "Is to decide wisely and well what shall be destroyed and what shall be retained."[39] Lamb maintained that the political sphere was not the only important aspect

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[34] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 22.
[35] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law, and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 72.
[36] Wilson, "'A Noble Dream,'" 24.
[37] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law, and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 71.
[38] Terry Cook, "An Archival Revolution: W. Kaye Lamb and the Transformation of the Archival Profession," *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 198.
[39] W. Kaye Lamb, "The Fine Art of Destruction," in Albert E.J. Hollaender, ed., *Essays in Memory of Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Chichester, 1962), 50. As quoted in Cook, "An Archival Revolution: W. Kaye Lamb and the Transformation of the Archival Profession," 202.

of the nation and that social, cultural, professional, and other individually collected records were essential to the archive.[40] The Second World War promoted a sense of nationalism within Canada, which had fought as an independent nation separate from the United Kingdom and the United States. The Massey Commission was established in 1949 to promote nationalism through the arts and culture and it identified the importance of government funding for preserving both public and private records in a wide array of materials from the federal and provincial governments as well as on a local level.[41]

The institutional start to Canadian archives followed an approach known as total archives theory, which is defined by the central role that the government took in the acquisition and copying from Europe, the management of records management in the public sector, as well as preserving records in a wide range of media from both the public and private sectors.[42] This can be seen in early archivists' use of European records to tell Canada's history rather than looking to the rich memory systems of Indigenous Peoples that existed long before contact, to relate history to the next generation. Brymner and his successors collected colonial records such as registers, statistics, land surveys, treaties, land acts, and collected the personal records of settlers. Their collections reflect their own lived realities under a unified national identity. The records in Canadian archives do contain Indigenous Knowledge but, as Carmen Miedema states, such records, "Were written by a white settler for a particular audience and with a specific goal in mind - these were not unbiased."[43]

[40] Cook, "An Archival Revolution," 200.
[41] Laura Millar, "Discharging our Debt: The Evolution of the Total Archives Concept in English Canada," *Archivaria* 46 (1998): 116.
[42] Millar, "Discharging our Debt," 117.
[43] Carmen Miedema, "Building bridges: dismantling eurocentrism in archives and respecting Indigenous ways of doing it right," 21.

Despite the many innovative and radical changes to archival theory, the legacy of total archives theory is reflected in the archival world. Archivists who were white male settlers created an archival record based on their Eurocentric, patriarchal world. Archivist Jamila Ghaddar argues that the creation of the national archives using total archives theory utilized Western archival paradigms that make it difficult for Indigenous knowledge systems to be incorporated. This meant there was an intentional privileging of written western traditions and legal narratives that value private property, property rights, legal titles and invalidate Indigenous laws, orality, language, and traditions as archival evidence.[44] The colonial legacy of Canadian settler archives remains even today. As Ghaddar writes, archivists and those who use archives continue to use these records, "as reliable and authentic documents with a singular judicial and cultural context – the colonial one – they facilitate the institutionalization and legitimatization of the *legal fictions* designed to subjugate Indigenous nations to western legal orders."[45]

Contemporary archivists have made a sluggish effort to reconcile with Indigenous communities and address the colonial history of Canadian archivy. Implementing UNDRIP and addressing the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliations Calls to Action have been measured and gradual. Many archives across the country, including Library and Archives Canada, have excused their woefully slow progress with a lack of funding or adequate numbers of staff.[46] In recent years, progress has been made by Library and Archives Canada through the creation of the Indigenous documentary heritage initiatives. One such project includes Project Naming, which helps identify people, places, and activities of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis.[47]

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[44] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 61.
[45] Ghaddar, "Total Archives for Land, Law and Sovereignty in Settler Canada," 61.
[46] Miedema, "Building bridges: dismantling eurocentrism in archives and respecting Indigenous ways of doing it right," 34.
[47] "About Project Naming," Library and Archives Canada, accessed December 2022, https://library-archives.canada.ca/eng/collection/research-help/indigenous-heritage/Pages/project-naming.aspx#about.

Another project, Listen, Hear our Voices, was created to digitize existing documentary heritage that is related to Indigenous languages and cultures. This includes written accounts of traditional practices, photographs, video recordings, and oral histories that is digitized with funding from Library and Archives Canada.[48] Most recently, the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives released a *Reconciliation Framework* which outlines the actions and awareness needed to establish reconciliation in Canadian Archives. The Framework was developed from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action number seventy, the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, and the United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles*.[49] Although much remains to be done, many actionable projects for reconciliation have been created, such as Library and Archives Canada Indigenous Heritage Action Plan, *We Are Here: Sharing Stories Project*, and the *Listen Hear Our Voices Project*.[50]

Historically, settler colonial archives have not been trustworthy institutions for Indigenous Peoples. Building trust means decolonizing archives, but this is complex and requires an ongoing conversation about the relationship between the nation-state and Indigenous communities. Decolonial sensibilities can be used to rethink archival theories and principles to create a community archive that holds settlers accountable, includes Indigenous Knowledge that supports culturally and politically specific ways of sharing, and holds local government bodies accountable to all.

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[48] Listen, Hear Our Voices," Library and Archives, Canada, accessed March 10, 2023, https://library-archives.canada.ca/eng/services/funding-programs/listen-hear-our-voices/Pages/listen-hear-our-voices.aspx.
[49] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, "Reconciliation Framework," accessed December 2022, https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/reconciliationframeworkreport_en.pdf.
[50] "Indigenous documentary heritage initiatives," Library and Archives Canada, accessed December 2022, https://library-archives.canada.ca/eng/corporate/about-us/strategies-initiatives/indigenous-documentary-heritage-initiatives/Pages/indigenous-documentary-heritage-initiatives.aspx

Settler Accountability

As previously seen in *The Final Report,* The *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur* it is crucial that collaboration take place between perpetrators and Survivors of state abuse by holding the records of both parties. This means that the existing public memory, dominated by settler narratives in Kenora, can be supplemented with the public memory, perspectives, and knowledge of Indigenous communities.

Using a community archive as a means of revisiting the colonial history of Kenora and having settler acknowledgment of past atrocities is essential. However, this alone does not mean there is meaningful reconciliation. As Jamila Ghaddar writes, "Revisiting the past, acknowledging and apologizing for historical wrongs, exposing or describing colonial violence and atrocities, or reflecting on one's racism and privilege are not necessarily anti-colonial, anti-racist, or decolonizing acts."[51] Ghaddar notes that this is because when the injustices of the colonial past are recognized, it often leads to settlers ignoring the present structures of colonialism.[52] True decolonization requires land repatriation along with language revitalization and the dismantling of current colonial structures of oppression. The community archive must serve as a means for understanding the current context of colonialism and supplement the existing public memory with traditionally marginalized voices.

To achieve this, the community archive must be guided by principles of social justice. In a review of archival scholarship, Michelle Caswell and Ricardo Punzalan found that social justice required the "inclusion of underrepresented and marginalized sectors of society; reinterpretation and expansion of archival concepts; development of community archives; rethinking archival

[51] J.J. Ghaddar, "The Spectre in the Archive: Truth, Reconciliation, and Indigenous Archival Memory," *Archivaria* 82 (2016), 20.
[52] Ghaddar, "The Spectre in the Archive: Truth, Reconciliation, and Indigenous Archival Memory, " 18.

education and training; and efforts to document human rights violations."[53] David Wallace and Renée Saucier found that there are four places in which social justice and archives intersect. The first intersection is that archives provide evidence of past injustice from different perspectives. Secondly, archives support outdated narratives and social norms that were used to support violence against groups based on race, class, gender, and ethnicity. The third intersection between social justice and archives is where archival silences reveal past prejudice and bias. Lastly, archives preserve accounts of abuse, violence, and oppression.[54] Social justice is often not achieved within the archive, but the records can impact the struggles against injustice.[55] Archivists can support social justice by ensuring that records are, as Saucier and Wallace explain, "*mobilised or activated.*"[56] This means the records rely on the agency and intervention of archivists based on morals and good recordkeeping practices to raise collective consciousness, support social justice campaigns, and find justice outside of the law.[57] Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor argue for archives to use a feminist ethics of care approach which focuses on radical empathy in which archivists create lasting relationships and empathize with record creators, the subjects of records, the archival user, and the larger community.[58] Establishing these relationships means that the archival process will be guided by radical empathy, and social justice is practiced through archival thinking to "enact a more just vision of society."[59]

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[53] Ricardo Punzalan and Michelle Caswell, "Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice," *Library Quarterly* 86(1): 27.
[54] Renée Saucier and David A. Wallace, "Introduction," in *Archives, Recordkeeping and Social Justice,* ed. David A. Wallace et. all (London: Routledge, 2020), 5.
[55] Saucier and Wallace, "Introduction," 19.
[56] Saucier and Wallace, "Introduction," 19.
[57] Saucier and Wallace, "Introduction," 19.
[58] Michelle Caswell, and Marika Cifor, "From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives," *Archivaria* 81, (2016): 33, 36, 37, 38.
[59] Caswell, and Marika Cifor, "From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics," 42.

In many cases, archivists have been successful in implementing these methods into the archival process to enact social justice. For example, the Department of Indian Affairs during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries created and maintained custody of records about many Indigenous communities. The records of the Department of Indian Affairs provide insight into the colonial oppression of Indigenous Peoples. The records were actively used and maintained by the headquarters office between 1844 and 1861.[60] Then over the course of the twentieth century the records went from being in passive storage to being accessible to the public. This was due to archival arrangement, description, and preservation after being transferred to Library and Archives Canada.[61] The records are now available to be searched on the Library and Archives Canada online database. This reveals that it is possible for records creators who perpetrated colonial oppression, to later support access to those records for the subjects to enact social justice.

In developing an archival process, it is important to rethink the traditional archival theories of acquisition, appraisal, and provenance to ensure that the existing records in the community are supplemented with the marginalized voices that have been excluded from public memory. Todd and Fraser note that the voices of marginalized people are often excluded from colonial records, including "Indigenous people, women, and children."[62] Colonial records often contain information about Indigenous Peoples but, "They are often depicted as passive by-standers, rarely free agents in their own right and far removed from narratives that highlight agency or sophistication."[63]

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[60] Bill Russell, "Indian Department Headquarters Records, 1844–1861: A Case Study in Recordkeeping and Archival Custody," *Archivaria* 75, no. 75 (2013): 221.
[61] Bill Russell, "Indian Department Headquarters Records," 221.
[62] Fraser, and Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities."
[63] Fraser, and Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities."

Looking at Kenora's current public memory, it becomes evident that other voices in the community, particularly the Indigenous twenty-four percent of the population, need to be heard to ensure accountability to the past.[64] Looking at the existing public memory and archival records, a community archivist may add the voices of other community members to reflect the history and identity of Kenora more accurately. A community archive may reflect the theories of archivist Hans Booms, who sought to address problems with acquisition and appraisal due to increased record production. Booms argued that individuals should be understood within a larger group, society, or community and are unable to avoid the values, beliefs, and conditions that the social environment imposes on the individual. For this reason, the role of archivist must be understood in relation to the society to which they belong.[65] With the overabundance of records due to increased technology, archivists face a problem sorting through and appraising relevant material to ensure that society's cultural heritage is accurately reflected. However, Booms demonstrates that an accurate reflection of society in the archival record is subject to the archivists' societal biases.[66] To achieve this, Booms argued that archivists should appraise documents based on public opinion and the socio-political values held at the time to understand what was most important at a particular moment in history.[67] Booms' theory can be helpful to implement a community archive by deciding which records most accurately reflect the opinions and values of Kenorans of the past. Within Boom's theory lies a problem that public opinion and the socio-political values of history are often that of the majority, and it would therefore be

[64] Statistics Canada, "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census of Population for the city of Kenora," last modified November 29, 2022, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?topic=8&lang=E&dguid=2021A00053560010.
[65] Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," *Archivaria* 240 (1987): 74-75.
[66] Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage," 78.
[67] Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage,"105-106.

difficult to reflect minority voices of history accurately.[68] For example, when looking at Kenora and the events of the 1974 Anicinabe Park occupation, many records document the actions of settlers. This includes police, city officials, and community members who reported the events to local and national newspapers. In this case, the dominating voice is that of settlers. These records alone do not reflect the public opinion or socio-political values of all participants of the occupation or residents of Kenora.

In order to resolve having the voices of the marginalized left out of the archival record, the community archive of Kenora can look to archivist Helen Samuels who sought to address the vast number of records produced by institutions and the gaps that are left within those records. In the 1990s, Samuels argued that archivists, particularly those of modern institutions, must have a different approach to appraisal. Since the nature of institutions has changed since the early twentieth century, so too should the archivist.[69] Samuels, working from the perspective of a university archivist, argued that the archivist must collect both "official and non-official" records of institutions meaning the administrative records produced by the institution and the personal records from those who belong to, and are impacted by the institution, such as ephemera from student clubs, personal statements, and committees. Samuels suggested that rather than make guesses on which records should be appraised for future research; archivists should actively do a functional analysis of the institution and become, "active participants in the creation, analysis, and selection of the documentary record."[70] The functional analysis will reveal which areas of the institution need to be represented in the archival record and seek to acquire relevant records.

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[68] Greg Bak, "Counterweight: Helen Samuels, Archival Decolonization, and Social License," *The American Archivist* 84, no. 2 (2021): 433.
[69] Helen Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities* (Chicago, Ill: Society of American Archivists, 1992), 5.
[70] Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities,* 12.

An analysis might reveal the need to create new records in the form of oral histories from those within the institution, that represent the parts of the institution have been under-documented as part of a "documentary mission."[71] This theory can be used to supplement that of Booms by actively looking for gaps in the archival record. For example, an archivist at a community archive in Kenora may see that the archival record of the Anicinabe Park occupation of 1974 is incomplete as not all voices are accurately represented. So, these records may be supplemented by conducting oral histories, interviews, calling for personal records, or looking at embodied forms of remembrance held within the community.

It is imperative to note that, while ensuring the archival record accurately reflects the histories and identities of all the communities it aims to serve, silences are always present. As Verne Harris notes, it is not possible for the archive to be a mirror that accurately reflects history. The archive will reflect histories of oppression and complex systems of power that have distorted the archival record and failed to reflect the reality of all peoples.[72] The archive is also limited in its ability to preserve all records produced today and for the archivist to be impartial in the archival process. The archive, therefore, can only ever be, as Harris describes, a "Sliver of a sliver of a sliver of a window into process."[73] Harris goes on to say that the archive is "A fragile thing, an enchanted thing, defined not by its connections to "reality," but by its open-ended layers of construction and reconstruction."[74] Similarly, Harrison Apple argues that, although many community archivists have advocated for community participation in the acquisition of archival records, many donors of archival records do not, "wish to spend their time reminiscing,

[71] Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities*, 13.
[72] Verne Harris, "The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002): 85.
[73] Harris, "The Archival Sliver" 85.
[74] Harris, "The Archival Sliver" 85.

especially as it concerns heartbreak, loss, and personal violence."[75] It is, as Apple argues, a choice for archivists. Archivists may make a choice not to acquire or even deaccession certain records from their collections at the requests of communities and individuals. These requests are best made when an ongoing relationship exists between an archival institution and the community. This is, as Apple writes, "the result of cultivating and being in those relationships that make knowledge-sharing possible in the first place, even if that ironically means a relationship with a community "elder" who actively refuses to produce endless records for my cause."[76] The use of theories such as Booms, Samuels, Harris, or Apple lies in creating relationships between archival institutions and the community. Without reciprocal and ongoing relationships with the community, the archive will not meaningfully serve those it aims to help.

Public memory would be a useful starting point in acquiring records when looking to develop a community archive. A community archivist in Kenora may look to murals or public commemorations to examine how western epistemologies have been privileged in public memory and how different histories and non-western memory infrastructure can supplement these. The archivist may also look to embodied practices of public memory for which historical events are essential to the community. For example, the fortieth-anniversary celebrations of the Anicinabe Park occupation by the Anishinaabe community in 2014 provides clues to which historical events are essential to the community, are permitted to be publicly shared, and could be important events to preserve in the archival record.[77] Looking to public memory can provide a guide for which histories are important to the community. Using the methods of Booms,

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[75] Harrison Apple, "'I Can't Wait for You to Die': A Community Archives Critique," *Archivaria* 92 (November 26, 2021): 130.
[76] Apple, "'I Can't Wait for You to Die,'" 133.
[77] "Anicinabe Park Occupation observed in Kenora, 40 years later," *CBC News*, August 22, 2014. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/anicinabe-park-occupation-observed-in-kenora-40-years-later-1.2744139.

Samuels, Harris, and Apple can turn these public memories into archival records so that collaboration between records can be achieved.

Accountability of Local Government

As previously seen from *The Final Report,* The *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur,* transparency and accountability is necessary from governments in examining historical injustice and the creation of public memory. The community archive can serve as a means of demanding transparency and accountability from local governments and institutions. Preserving the contemporary records of today's institutions is vital in ensuring that they are held legally and fiscally accountable to society. Many institutions today preserve their records to comply with recordkeeping legislation, protect against information loss, and ensure information security.[78] Many government institutions are reluctant to pass legislation on archival accountability in order to evade accountability.[79] In Kenora, records created by the municipal government are held at City Hall. The *Miner and News* local newspaper archives are held at the public library, and other private records, ephemera, research materials, and newspaper articles are held at the Lake of the Woods Museum. Collaboration between these institutions can ensure that a complete history of Kenora is accessible to the public in one central location and will address the needs of each institution to ensure preservation.

Currently Kenora follows the Province of Ontario's *Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* which states that anyone may have access to the records held by the municipal clerk. Record types include,

[78] John M. Dirks, "Accountability, History, and Archives: Conflicting Priorities or Synthesized Strands?" *Archivaria,* 57 (May 2004): 44.
[79] Dirks, "Accountability, History, and Archives: Conflicting Priorities or Synthesized Strands?" 44.

> a) by-law and resolutions of the municipality and of its local boards; b) minutes and proceedings of regular, special of committee meetings of the council or local board, whether the minutes and proceedings have been adopted or not; c) records considered at a meeting, except those records considered during that part of a meeting that was closed to the public; d) the records of the council; e) statements of remuneration and expenses prepared under section 284. 2001,c. 25, s. 253 (1).[80]

These records are cared for by the City Clerk, and online records can be found on the City of Kenora website for various years through the last decade. These online records have many incorrect and expired links that require ongoing maintenance. The online records are found under "Your Government," and organized into tabs such as "Agenda and Minutes," or "Budget and Finances."[81] Because these records are organized in separate locations on the website, it can be challenging to navigate without the ability to keyword search, utilize finding aids, or search the records as a whole. For example, the records of the Heritage Kenora Committee meeting minutes are available online but only for the year 2016. The meeting minutes for the Council of the City of Kenora are available online for the years 2021 through 2023. This makes it difficult to understand the City Hall's role in creating public memory. The *Municipal Freedom of Information of Protection of Privacy Act* states "The municipality or local board may enter into an agreement for archival services with respect to the records."[82] If the city entered an agreement with a community archive, the public may be better served and the *Municipal Freedom of Information of Protection of Privacy Act* followed more accurately because the archive would create finding aids for easier research and access.

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[80] Ontario Municipal Act 2001, S.O 2001, C. 25, "Inspection of Records," 253 (1). https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/01m25/v95.

[81] "Budget and Finances," Your Government, Lake of the Woods Kenora, accessed December 2022, https://www.kenora.ca/en/your-government/budget-and-finances.aspx.

[82] Ontario Municipal Act 2001, S.O 2001, C. 25, "Inspection of Records," 253 (3), https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/01m25/v95.

Private clubs such as the Rotary Club of Kenora are responsible for much of the public memory within the town. However, they do not fall under the *Municipal Freedom of Information of Protection of Privacy Act.* Kenora City Council meeting minutes, which do fall under the *Municipal Freedom of Information of Protection of Privacy Act*, refer to the work of the Rotary Club when approving funding and projects. For instance, meeting minutes for the Council of the City of Kenora from January 19, 2021, show the authorization of the city to the Rotary Club to convert and maintain the Peace Park.[83] On December 21, 2021, meeting minutes record the Council authorizing an application to the Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corporation by the Kenora Rotary Club and the Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Transgendered and Two Spirited Persons for the new Peace Park.[84] Due to the nature of meeting minutes is it difficult to ascertain the role of City Council in the decision-making process surrounding public memory. But, the meeting minutes reveal that the Kenora Rotary Club is the catalyst in bringing public memory projects to council. The Kenora Rotary Club has a salient role in public memory and having the club's records only made accessible to members does not keep the club accountable to the public. A community archive may gather the community's and other institutions' records to achieve greater archival accountability from private groups such as this. For these reasons, the private Rotary Club of Kenora is responsible for and influences the creation of public memory, and its lack of diversity, public opinion, and community consultation does not accurately represent the community or its history.

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[83] Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the City of Kenora, *Kenora Rotary Peace Park MOU,* December 21, 2021, https://listview.kenora.ca/Files/Meeting%20Documents/2021/Council%20(including%20Special)/January%2019%20Council%20Minutes.pdf#navpanes=0&view=FitH.

[84] Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the City of Kenora, *Application to NOHFC for Kenora Peace Park,* December 21, 2021, https://listview.kenora.ca/Files/Meeting%20Documents/2021/Council%20(including%20Special)/December%2021%20Council%20Minutes.pdf#navpanes=0&view=FitH.

Accessibility is an essential aspect of accountability. The community of Kenora should have access to all records of their history. At present, searching records is difficult due to them being held in different institutions. For instance, much of the historical information on Devil's Gap is physically held at the Kenora Public Library, The Miner and News offices, and the Lake of the Woods Museum. This makes access difficult, and these institutions at large do not reflect the perspectives of all community members. Collaboration between a community archive and these institutions would allow for better accessibility to the public. Support for history projects through collaboration between community groups has been demonstrated in the past with the *Kenora Great War Project*. In 2012, a local genealogy group that operates primarily on Facebook, called the Ancestor Seekers of Kenora, and the Lake of the Woods Museum, and the Kenora Public Library combined their research, knowledge, and resources to create a database of locals who served in World War I. The project was highly successful and included over one thousand stories and names of those who served in the war from Kenora and surrounding communities of Keewatin, Norman, Minaki, Reddit, Sioux Narrows, and Jaffray and Melick.[85] The project also led to an exhibit that was displayed at the Lake of the Woods Museum in 2014. The success of this project serves as an example of collaboration between private groups like the Ancestor Seekers of Kenora and public institutions such as the Lake of the Woods Museum and the Kenora Public Library, can be fruitful. Collaboration between all institutions and clubs within a community archive is achievable and would make a comprehensive history accessible while maintaining the accountability of institutions.

The community of Kenora cares for its history through the many institutions that hold archival records. Having these institutions collaborate and keep their records in one central

[85] "Home," The Kenora Great War Project, https://www.kenoragreatwarproject.ca/.

archival repository would allow for better accessibility from the public, and transparency from the local government and better alignment with the requirements of the *Municipal Freedom of Information of Protection of Privacy Act*. Collaboration would also enable the community to attain archival accountability from private groups such as the Rotary Club that have a large impact on the creation of public memory in Kenora. The success of the collaboration between private groups and local institutions in providing access to archival records can be seen in the *Kenora Great War Project.* With the active participation of the community groups, a community archive can improve transparency from their government, local clubs, and committees that have an impact on the community record.

Conclusion

The community archive must be a place in which the archival process is informed by social justice and led by the community. A reciprocal and lasting relationship between the community and the archive must be established and communities that have traditionally been marginalized from the archival record must have the space to participate in the creation of their archival representation actively. The relationship between the archive and the community must be continually revisited to ensure that the relationship continues to be equal in a world where oppressive colonial structures still exist.[86] Archival practices such as acquisition, description, and stewardship rooted in western pedagogies must be challenged to ensure that the community archive can support the traditional knowledge of the Anishinaabe of Kenora in culturally and politically specific ways. The movement for reconciliation, human rights, and cultural rights requires collaboration, community leadership, and accountability in public memory. This

[86] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives," 319.

requires that an archivist in Kenora support change in public memory outside of the archive and utilize the principals of OCAP® to support Indigenous Data Sovereignty. Archival theory can be used to achieve these principles in a community archive. Collaboration in the acquisition and maintenance of records would provide greater accountability of the settler community in the historical record. Indigenous community leadership and ways of knowing can better support an archive for all community members. Governments and stakeholders must be more accountable in decision-making processes surrounding public memory. Using contemporary archival theories to achieve these principles would ensure that the public memory of Kenora would more accurately reflect its history and address its colonial past.

Conclusion: Archives and Public Memory

Public memory impacts our lives every day, whether we consciously interact with it or not. Public memory is created to transcend time by marking a specific person, place, time, or event either in the past or present. Public memory is communicated through the creation of monuments, art, memorials, statues, speeches, events, or gatherings. Public memory is powerful because it reinforces shared experiences, brings history into the present, connects us to the past, and helps us forge a sense of identity.

In Canada, public memory is used by settlers to create a historical narrative of peace and innocence. This legitimizes settler claims to land and creates narratives of settler innocence in Canada's colonial history. Other colonial projects, such as the residential school system sought to break the memory systems of Indigenous Peoples by separating children from their families and breaking language and cultural ties. Such colonial projects broke public memory by removing Indigenous Peoples from their land and breaking treaties for resource extraction.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada recognized the importance of public memory in the *Final Report.* This Report outlines how colonialism has broken memory and how the nation has used public memory to create narratives of innocence in colonial history. The Report states, "Although public memory can simply reinforce the colonial story of how Canada began with European settlement and became a nation, the process of remembering the past together also invites people to question this limited version of history."[1] Preserving memory is the foundation of archival institutions, and because not all members of the public will utilize the archive, the archive can support public memory to ensure an accurate history is accessible to all.

[1] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation,* vol. 6,162.

Through a case study of public memory in Kenora, Ontario, chapter one explores what historical narratives are communicated through public memory. This chapter finds that the public memory in Kenora largely communicates a narrative of settler peacefulness and innocence, despite the history of residential schools and the exploitation of natural resources that have negatively impacted Anishinaabe communities. This chapter reveals the power of public memory and how it has been used by settlers to communicate a peaceful historical narrative, and how Indigenous Peoples from Kenora, such as Louis Ogemah, have created Indigenous public memory through contemporary art. Public memory made through embodied forms reveals how contested space is created, and the negotiations between settlers and the Indigenous community are had over who can define public space.

The second chapter outlines how public memory should be created, changed, and maintained. Using the *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,* The United Nations *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles,* and the United Nations *Report of the Special Rapporteur* a general guideline is established in how public memory should be changed and created. Examining the recommendations of these documents highlights that public memory should be created with Survivor leadership, collaboration between the state and Survivors, and accountability by the state. Another important aspect in creating public memory is the presence of pain and shame. Although some argue that this narrative re-center's settlers, others, including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, argue that it is important for settlers to address shameful histories. Acknowledging these perspectives means that settlers who address pain and shame should listen when Indigenous Peoples, communities, and organizations refuse to participate or support such narratives. It is refusal that then must be an added aspect into creating or changing public memory.

Chapter three examines how an archive may aid in decolonizing public memory both inside and outside of the archival institution. This chapter reveals that archives are limited in changing public memory because, as a heritage institution they are susceptible to being controlled by the current stakeholders of Kenora's heritage. This means that an archivist in Kenora must also ensure that they follow UNDRIP in respecting Indigenous traditions of Knowledge Keeping within their own communities, and that they utilize the principals of OCAP® to support public memory outside of the archive. Implementing the principles of OCAP® and UNDRIP can be achieved in the archive through the Steering Committee on Canada's Archives *Reconciliation Framework*. This chapter then reveals what theories and practices of community archiving can be used to support an ethically full public memory system.

Changing public memory in Canada is a difficult undertaking, as it is a highly contested subject. In recent years, public memory has been a recurring site of contention for communities grappling with complex histories and how they have been commemorated. For instance, after the discovery of hundreds of anomalies that maybe be unmarked graves at the site of a former residential school, a statue of Queen Victoria was toppled by protestors on Canada Day in 2021.[2] Queen Victoria had formally enacted residential school legislation and thus the commemorative statue dedicated to her was the site of protest.[3] The Queen Victoria statue has become a hotly debated subject from those who enjoyed the statue, those who disliked, it, those who hated it, and those who never noticed it. Some argue for the statue to be replaced as it once was, some want

[2] Erin Millions and Mary Jane McCallum, "Toppling Colonialism: Historians, Genocide, and Missing Indigenous Children," *Prairie History*, No. 5 (Summer 2021): 3. https://winnspace.uwinnipeg.ca/bitstream/handle/10680/1995/millions_mccallum%20Prairie%20History%20Fall%202021.pdf?sequence=1.

[3] Rachel Bergen, "Mother figure or colonial oppressor? Examining Queen Victoria's legacy after Winnipeg statue toppled," *CBC News,* July 7, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/queen-victoria-winnipeg-statues-residential-schools-colonialism-british-empire-1.6090322.

something else to replace it, and some want a contextual history added.[4] Even in writing this thesis the difficulties in aiding in the change of public memory was difficult. As a researcher, I did not make any great attempt to instigate change into public memory in Kenora. Due to the goals of this thesis, and the limitations by the COVID-19 pandemic, I could not forge reciprocal relationships with residents of Kenora, stakeholders of public memory, or Indigenous individuals or communities. Although the aforementioned limitations restricted me from instigating change in Kenora's public memory, it is not to say these are not important or a greater attempt should have been made. By offering services such as processing archival collections, supporting archival work for Grand Council Treaty Three, or advocating to stakeholders or public officials, a change in public memory could be realized. As seen by the example of the Queen Victoria statue, creating change in public memory that appeases everyone is difficult. It requires settlers to address shameful histories while also listening to Indigenous refusal. It requires implementing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, supporting Indigenous resurgence and data sovereignty, and funding public memory projects outside of heritage institutions. As memory institutions, it is the role of archives to adopt and support these challenges, which can create change. Despite the complex and nuanced challenges of changing public memory, this thesis explores the use of public memory by settlers and the role of the archivist in helping all Canadians understand our history.

[4] "Queen statue defaced after repair, raising questions of how to engage with colonial history," *CBC News Manitoba,* June 5, 2023, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/graffiti-queen-elizabeth-statue-1.6865384.

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