The Living Monument: A Consideration of the Politics of Indigenous Representation and Public Historical Monuments in Québec.

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Abstract

The Living Monument: A Consideration of Indigenous Representation and Public Historical Monuments in Québec.

Sarah A. Wilkinson

This thesis discusses key problems that historical public monuments in Québec raise for the historical and present-day politics of representation of Indigenous peoples through the discussion of two monuments in the Province of Québec --the 1893 Jacques Cartier Fountain in Montréal by Joseph-Arthur Vincent, and the 1890 sculpture *La halte dans la forêt* in Québec City designed by Louis-Philippe Hébert. It begins by examining the ways in which Indigenous peoples were represented in the period of Cartiermania (1820-1920) in relation to the Jacques Cartier Fountain which was the first monument erected in the likeness of Cartier. It then considers representations of the stereotype of the "noble savage" in Québec during Cartiermania, and two other historical moments: early French-Canadian nationalism (1763-1920) and present-day. I argue that both the Jacques Cartier fountain and *La halte dans la forêt,* fall into the tradition of representing Indigenous figures as allegory for French Canadian nationalism during the late nineteenth-century. The thesis concludes with a discussion of Onondaga/Iroquois artist Jeff Thomas' views on the notion of the "living monument." As a potential site for voicing contemporary Indigenous perspectives on such representations, the living monument offers a helpful strategy to negotiate historical and contemporary discourses on representation of Indigenous peoples in Québec.

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I would like to express my respect and gratitude to Jeff Thomas, for his invaluable knowledge and conversations that have contributed to my final formulation of the living monument. I also thank my colleagues and supportive group of peers with whom I have been fortunate enough to share these past two years of intense research and writing.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my loving husband Gerard who never stopped believing in me and whose endless patience, support and love enabled the hours necessary to carry out my research.

I also dedicate this thesis to my children Jada, Tristan, Enya and Phoenix, who have provided me with the strength and courage to pursue a better future. Your unconditional love is the fuel that keeps my fire burning.

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Introduction

> A monument is a deposit of the historical possession of power.
>
> ~ Ruth B. Phillips[1]

This thesis discusses key problems that historical public monuments in Québec raise for the historical and present-day politics of representation of Indigenous peoples in the province.[2]

For French Canada, Jacques Cartier during Cartiermania (1820-1920) signified a separate and distinct Québec nationalism.[3] During this period, through sculpture, postcards, political and religious propaganda, the name and image of Cartier was visually linked to various political gatherings, the Catholic faith, national holidays and monuments throughout the province. Some of these links include, but are not limited to the 1848 renaming of the main market in Saint-Roche to Marché Jacques-Cartier; the 1889 Cartier-Brébeuf monument located in Gaspé, and the inclusion of a child dressed as Cartier in Montreal's annual Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade five years running (1851-1855) (fig.1).[4]

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[1] Ruth B. Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Remembering Canadian Art History," in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds**.** Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 281.

[2] Currently, there is no literature on the problematic issues of Indigenous representation via settler monuments in the province of Québec.

[3] Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 73, 85-6.

[4] Gordon, 69. Other examples to draw from include: the monument in the shape of Cartier's cross (1934) located in Gaspé; the renaming of Montréal's New Market to Place Jacques-Cartier in 1847; and, in 1855, Canada Post issued a ten pence stamp with the likeness of Cartier taken from the painting by Francois Riss. The postage stamp can be viewed at: Canadian Postal Archives Database, Library and Archives Canada, {http://data4.collectionscanada.gc.ca/netacgi/nphbrs?s1=%28Jacques+Cartier+.ANYP.%29+Or+%28Jacqu

This study focuses on two monuments in the Province of Québec – the 1893 Jacques Cartier Fountain in Montreal by Joseph-Arthur Vincent, and the 1890 sculpture *La halte dans la forêt* in Quebec City designed by Louis-Philippe Hébert. It does so in order to examine the ways in which Indigenous peoples were represented in the period of Cartiermania in relation to the Jacques Cartier Fountain (fig.2), which was the first monument erected in the likeness of Cartier and representations of the stereotype of the "noble savage" in Québec during Cartiermania, as well as two other historical moments: early French-Canadian nationalism (1763-1920) and present-day.

As François-Marc Gagnon, Gail Valaskakis and many other scholars have demonstrated, much like the rest of Canada, Indigenous peoples have been historically depicted in Quebec Heritage using conventions abiding by the "noble savage" archetype.[5] This is an image that represents male and female Indigenous peoples as contemplative, eroticized figures located in subservient positions to a founding figure.[6] The stereotype of the "noble savage" is a myth that has infiltrated Indigenous representation by non-Native peoples since the seventeenth century. A proliferation of contemporary literature

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es+Cartier+.ANYI.+And+null.B742.%29&l=20&d=STMP&p=1&u=http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/archivianet/02011702_e.html&r=1&f=G&Sect1=STMP}, accessed January 13, 2011.

[5] François-Marc Gagnon, *Premiers peintres de la Nouvelle-France* (Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1976); François-Marc Gagnon, "The Hidden Image of Early French Canadian Nationalism: A Parable." *ArtsCanada* (December/January 1979-80): 11-14; Gail Gutherie Valaskakis, Marilyn Burgess and Rebecca Belmore, *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier* (Montreal: Litho Acme, 1992); Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 1992).

[6] The history of Canada is erroneously based on the founding of two Nations pertaining to the first settlements established by Britain and New France. These settlements are now what make up Upper and Lower Canada. Although explorers including Jacques Cartier, Samuel Champlain and others, have been attributed as "discoverers," and "founders of land," the land on which they laid claim was already occupied by many Indigenous tribes. Many of these tribes still exist today and continue to struggle with land claims. For a concise history, see: Olive Patricia Dickason and Moira Jean Calder, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations* [4th ed.] (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2006).

discusses the offensive nature and harmful effects of this myth on the self-esteem of Native peoples.[7]

Native figures featured alongside Cartier on historical monuments in Québec differ from founding figure/Native representations found on similar monuments in the rest of Canada.[8] As these two historical monuments indicate, Québec monuments were very much connected with a nineteenth-century *Canadien Français* agenda (1850-1948), one that was separate from the politics of New France (1608-1763).[9] Through a careful reading of both French and English language archival and secondary sources, I argue that both the Jacques Cartier fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* fall into the tradition of representing Indigenous figures as allegory for French Canadian nationalism. This dual embodiment of allegory and stereotype has far reaching effects that resonate in contemporary society. These depictions are contradictory to the current politics of the Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ), that professes to be inclusive of Indigenous rights.[10]

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[7] See, for example, Susan Dion, *Braiding Histories: Learning from Aboriginal Peoples' Experiences andPerspectives* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the "Noble Savage"* (Los Angeles California: University of California Press, 2001); Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*; and Valaskakis et al., *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier*.

[8] Throughout this thesis I use the terms Indigenous, Native, and Aboriginal interchangeably to refer to Native peoples. In Canada, there are several distinct Indigenous cultures. First Nations is a term that refers to Indigenous groups that are not Métis or Inuit. Métis are largely located in Western Canada rather than Quebec, however in my thesis I use the term Indigenous to refer to Native peoples and images in order to be inclusive of all Native peoples, including those labeled under the Indian Act category of "non-status" because the issues I refer to affect us all. I do not capitalize the word Indian when referring to the "allegorical indian" or "noble savage" because it is a way to acknowledge that these terms are offensive. By not capitalizing these terms I feel it in a way takes away the 'power' that these words carry.

[9] After conquest, the French population (*"Canadiens")* were forced to share territory with the British who were called the "Canadians." In order to emphasis linguistic distinctiveness, francophone elites began calling themselves *Canadien Français* or ("French Canadians"). Robert Bothwell, *Canada and Québec: One Country, Two Histories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 12-32.

[10] The Province of Quebec retains its own government as stipulated in the Canadian constitution. Currently the in house party is the Quebec Liberal Party (referred to in Quebec as Parti libéral du Québec.) The Quebec Liberal Party is a part of the Quebec political system and is independent of the federal Liberal

The thesis concludes with a discussion of Onondaga/Iroquois artist Jeff Thomas' views on the notion of the "living monument." As a potential site for voicing contemporary Indigenous perspectives on such representations, the living monument offers a helpful strategy to negotiate historical and contemporary discourses on representation of Indigenous peoples in Québec.

Many scholars acknowledge the problematic aspects associated with stereotypes of Indigenous peoples resulting from Eurocentric views circulated during colonization.[11] With the exception of a few sources and texts, including two key articles by postcolonial scholar Ruth B. Phillips (2003) and co-authors Andrea Walsh and Dominic Lopes (2009), little research has examined the connections between these stereotypical representations, public historical monuments, and the impact they have on Canadian and Indigenous relations.[12] These authors, however, explore similar issues relating to representation of Indigenous peoples in settler monuments from the perspective of appropriation and artistic intervention on behalf of Native artists. I expand on these discussions by arguing how contemporary art offers new ways of seeing and serve as successful alterNatives to the practice of simply removing these monuments which has become common in provincial government cases dealing with contested sites.

Party of Canada. The two other major political parties in the province, the Parti Québécois (provincial level) and the Bloc Québecois (federal level), espouse the same agenda that advocates succession from Canada and sovereignty for the Province of Québec. The Bloc Québecois currently holds a minority government in the House of Commons at the federal level.

[11] In this instance I am not referring to a specific period or place during colonization but to the state of scholarship globally. For foundation texts, see: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2003, 1978); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963); Gayarti Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Carey Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-316.

[12] Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Remembering Canadian Art History," 281-304; Andrea Walsh and Dominic McIver Lopes, "Objects of Appropriation," in *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriatio,*. ed. James O. Young (UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 211-34.

Currently, there is no literature on the problematic representations of Indigenous peoples concerning settler monuments constructed in Quebec.[13] This study seeks to contribute insight into issues surrounding historical public monuments, and offer an informed basis for the construction of future public monuments depicting Indigenous peoples.[14]

"Cartiermania"

> To Jacques-Cartier born in Saint-Malo on December 31st 1494 / He was sent by Francois the 1st to discover Canada on April 20th, 1534. / Throwing his anchor at the entrance of the Saint Lawrence on July 16th of the same year, / he took possession of the entire country in the name of the King, his master and called it New France.[15]

Founder of New France, Jacques Cartier has long been adopted as a Quebec historical hero, Historian Alan Gordon refers to the strongest peak of this phenomenon from 1820 to 1920 as "Cartiermania."[16] As Cartier was unable to successfully secure a colony, some

[13] There have been limited discussions on monument located in Quebec that depict Indigenous peoples by authors including Mario Béland, et al. *Louis-Philippe Hébert* (Québec; Montréal: Musée des Beaux-arts de Montréal, 2001) and René Gilbert, *Présence autochtone à Québec et Wendake* (Québec: Les Éditions GID, 2010). However, none of these authors offer critique on the problematic aspects associated with these monuments or the stereotypes they represent.

[14] There are many public historical monuments and architectural decorations found throughout Quebec that subscribe to the conventions of the ""noble savage"." Due to space restrictions and to offer a thorough discussion of the issues at hand, I only deal with two monuments in depth in this thesis. Other examples in Montreal include: The pediment on the Old Bank of Montreal building located on Saint-Jacques street in Old Montreal; The Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve monument located in the center of Place d'Armes also in Old Montreal; and the narrative in the pediments of the Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec in Quebec City.

[15] This text is a translation from French to English (mine) of the passages from the four plaques located on the Jacques Cartier fountain in Park Saint-Henri (figs. 3-6).

[16] Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians*, 73, 85-6. "Cartiermania" is a term coined by Gordon and refers to a specific period in the history of Quebec nation-building. I am adopting this term and expanding upon it as

scholars consider his presence as an insignificant historical contribution to Quebec or Canada.[17] Yet, despite the historical evidence, there exist longstanding examples in which Cartier has been used as the face of French Canada which suggests it was the image of Cartier that carried importance, rather than his actual contributions.

Until the Jacques Cartier Fountain of Saint-Henri was built in 1893, the most common way Cartier was referenced was by erecting crosses. The cross was meant to symbolize the cross planted by Cartier upon his arrival in 1450. There is however no shortage of the use of Cartier's namesake, examples of which include: Jacques Cartier Bridge in Montreal, Jacques Cartier River located in North Eastern Quebec; the regional municipal county named La Jacques Cartier (1981) located in Québec; Jacques Cartier Street in both Gatinéau and St-Pie Québec; Jacques Cartier Pizza in Saint-Hubért, Québec; Plage Jacques Cartier in Québec; and Pavillion Jacques Cartier in Montreal.

Quebec society has always looked a particular version of the past that affirms French Canadian legitimacy to the land occupied as a way to reflect and affirm national identity.[18] Literature on the history of Quebec indicates that the success and rise of Jacques Cartier as a French Canadian symbol is due to his image being a concrete

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a strategy that provides a framework for the discussion of the Jacques Cartier fountain and *La halte dans la forêt*.

[17] Gordon, 24.

[18] The concept of Quebec identity being strongly rooted in the past has been discussed by scholars including Alan Gordon and Quebec scholars including Fernand Dumont and Joycelyn Letourneau. See Fernand Dumont, "Of a Hesitant Québec," trans. Sheila Fischman and Richard Howard, in *Canadian Cultural Studies a Reader*, eds. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009),173-199; and Jocelyn Letourneau, "'Remembering (from) Where You're Going': Memory as Legacy and Inheritance," in *Canadian Cultural Studies a Reader*, eds. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 248-275.

equivalent of architect Eugène Etienne Tachés' quote and the provincial slogan still today: "*Je me souviens"* ("I remember"), popularized in 1895.

Elements incorporated into the Quebec *Carillon* flag of 1902 and adopted officially in the provincial flag *Fleurdilisé* in 1948, reference Cartier's flag and the flag of the Société Nationale Jacques Cartier – founded in 1926.[19] Incorporating Cartier's cross planted in Gaspé July of 1534, Quebec's national flag provides evidence of the wider implications Cartier's image holds for the province's French Canadian identity within the national socio-political arena.[20] More recently, Jacques Cartier 1534-1935, featured alongside the image of a Native wearing a plains headdress, made an appearance on a postal stamp commissioned by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (fig.7).[21] . The image, along with the inscription, which reads "Jacques Cartier, sur Mont-Royal," links the explorer with Indigenous peoples and a landmark specific to Montreal, Quebec.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Cartier was also used to signify French Canadian presence in other provinces in Canada including the Province of Ontario (created in 1867).[22] In North Bay, Ontario, the French Canadian circle along with the Federation of French Canadian Women, erected a monument in 1934 on Main and

[19] Gordon, 140. The main difference between the Carillon of 1902 and the current Québec Provincial flag is the fleur des lis on the current flag are white not gold, and placed in the center of the four sections as opposed to the original proposal of in each diagonal corner. The cross still remains the focal point of the flag.

[20] Up until the Jacques Cartier Fountain of Saint-Henri, the most common way Cartier was referenced was by erecting crosses. The cross was meant to symbolize the cross planted by Cartier upon his arrival in 1450. Alan Gordon provides an extensive look at the various examples of monuments of Cartier.

[21] JeanLafontaine.com "Catalogue SSJB, 1935 Jacques Cartier Rouges,'' accessed January 13, 2011, {http://www.jlafontaine.com/index.php?c=19&lg=1}.

[22] Other provinces include Prince Edward Island (1873) and Newfoundland (1949).

Harriet Street, to commemorate Cartier's 1534 voyage (Fig.8).[23] The monument also paid homage to the over 400 French Canadian women members of the Fédération des femmes Canadiennes-Françaises established since 1918.[24] The association was organized with the goal of expanding the participation of French Canadian women during World War I in fields including but not limited to: education, culture and politics.[25] Bearing both Cartier's name and the name of the Fédération, this particular monument, recalling Cartier's cross, was dedicated to the North Bay chapter of the association.

Significantly, the frequent appearances of Cartier serve as evidence that the use of the French navigator is part of a large-scale political agenda which has the purpose of solidifying a French Canadian identity as separate and distinct in the Canadian national arena.[26] These various examples point to how his image has been used at various points in Quebec history and beyond to stand for French Canadian identity. However, from 1820-1920, the figure of Cartier played a specific role of importance and particular emphasis was placed on Cartier as a symbol which had to do with the history of Quebec and Canada.

Quebec was a British colony from 1760 until the implementation of the *Constitution Act* of 1791. However, after the conquest of 1763, the French no longer

[23] Karrie Emms. "Do You Know What This Is?" *Nipissing Reader*, March 2007, North Bay, Ontario.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Despite the emergence of the link between Cartier and French Canadian nationalism during the nineteenth-century (circa 1820), the Federation of French Canadian Women monument demonstrates other far reaching implications of Cartier's iconography into the following century.

identified as citizens of New France, but rather as a part of a new *habitant* culture.[27] When the *Constitution Act* implemented the divide between Upper and Lower Canada, Lower Canada - present-day Quebec - retained French laws and institutions. By 1820, *les habitants* (also referred to as *"Québécois"*), had become concerned with asserting their own sense of identity.[28]

Since 1820 and especially prompted by the 1837 rebellion and the fear of losing their French Canadian identity to the larger Anglophone population, French Canada became focused on its own history. It is within this context that by around 1850, Jacques Cartier became the most prominent figure for French Canadians.[29] For Francophones during this period, Cartier represented three ideals: the arrival of Europeans to the New World, affirmation of French legitimacy to possess North America and the development of French Canada.[30] It was for these reasons that Cartier became the first French Canadian historical hero.[31]

As previously mentioned, the Jacques Cartier fountain was the first monument erected in the likeness of Cartier, and the role of Cartier played a large part in the construction, naming and execution of the square that has come to be known as Park Saint-Henri. Park Saint-Henri, also known as Square Saint-Henri, is nestled in the quiet

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[27] John F. Conway, *Debts to Pay: The Future of Federalism in Québec* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2004), 21-55; Gordon, 55.

[28] Conway, 21-55.

[29] Gordon, 73-74.

[30] Ibid., 5, 55.

[31] Ibid., 55. Gordon provides an extensive overview of hero worship and how this phenomenon offers insight into the formation of nationalism. Historically, hero worship came about as a culmination of the reaction to the rise of modernity. The hero was a comforting sign that values of the past were just and right, and that through political and spiritual upheaval the hero could provide a "moral anchor for society."

neighborhood of Saint-Henri, a borough located on the island of Montreal in what was historically known as the tanner's village.[32] Notably, Square Saint-Henri was originally named Jacques Cartier Square. However following the creation of square Georges Etienne Cartier also in Saint-Henri, it was renamed in order to avoid confusion between the two Cartier parks.[33]

The streets that border the park, Rue Saint-Antoine, Agnes, Laporte and Place Guay, all converge to create a quadrant, at the center of which sits the very large sculpture known as the Jacques Cartier Fountain.[34] In order to allow for the focal point of the park to remain the center of the square, the park was conceived around the base of the Jacques Cartier fountain from which eight paths branch out, along with a belt path that surrounds the radius of the square, and a final path surrounding the base of the fountain.

At a meeting held at the Saint-Henri Hotel de ville on July 6th 1892, the municipal council of Saint-Henri mandated that the president of the parks committee Tousignant Aquin hire a sculptor who would become responsible for creating a monument to rest on the base of the fountain.[35] The council voted and agreed to give the commission of

[32] Jean Bélisle, *Square Saint-Henri* (Montréal : Société historique de Saint-Henri, 1992), 2.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Bélisle, *Square Saint-Henri*, 2. In the nineteenth century, the municipality of Saint- Henri was instigated and it was at the end of this period in which Square Saint-Henri was created.

[35] Ibid., 5-6. On October 30, 1890, the city of Saint-Henri voted on a loan to acquire the piece of land bordered by the roads Willie (present day Laporte), Agnes, Saint-Antoine, and what at the time was a vague terrain. The land was purchased from the McKay succession, and the purpose of the acquisition was to create a public square and by extension, a residential quarter isolated from the working quarters. The municipality of Saint-Henri hoped that by situating the future square in proximity to place Saint-Henri and the Grand Trunk train stations, the elite locals of Saint Henri would be attracted to the area.

eighteen hundred dollars to Quebec sculptor Joseph-Arthur Vincent and on December 5, 1892, the agreement between Vincent and the city was made official by contract.[36]

The base of the Jacques Cartier fountain is made of cast iron and was most likely executed according to Vincent's plans by the Chanteloup foundry.[37] According to the contract for the Cartier monument drafted by Notaire Achille Cléophile Amédée Bissonette, Vincent was to make a sculpture of Jacques Cartier and "all his accessories" that would rest on top of the base of the fountain.[38] The practice of erecting fountains in Parks and Squares is a long-standing European convention of defining space. The Jacques Cartier fountain was created at a time when there was a tradition of adopting this convention of placing fountains for parks in Montreal. Notably this example is also one of the oldest fountains from this tradition that is still functional.[39]

The finished fountain features Cartier facing west and pointing in the direction upon which his gaze is fixed as Vincent intended. West being the direction for which Cartier had fixed his aspirations.[40] Cartier stands on the square pedestal which contains the four narrative plaques referred to earlier. Below this is the base which is held up by images comprised of four relief sculptures of Indigenous faces spouting water from their

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[36] Personal collection of Dr. Jean Bélisle, *Original Contract of Jacques Cartier Fountain drafted by Notaire Achille Cléophile Amédée Bissonette,* ca. December 5, 1892, Montreal, Quebec, 1-2.

[37] Bélisle, 7. Vincent was forty years old when he acquired the Saint-Henri contract and was still very active at the end of the 19th century. He specialized in technical models for the Chanteloup foundry of Montreal, a specialization that is said to have served as a handicap to his later works. Saint-Henri Historical Society, archives, 1000-MA-54. Little is known of the sculptor, although it is documented that he started his career in Sorel, Quebec around 1876 and established himself in Montreal around 1880.

[38] Bélisle, *Original Contract of Jacques Cartier Fountain drafted by Notaire Achille Cléophile Amédée Bissonette,* ca. December 5, 1892, Montreal, Quebec, 1-2.

[39] Saint-Henri Historical Society, archives, 1000-MA-54. Figure 4 is a postcard depicting the finished fountain, in its original state.

[40] C. Massicollov, "La Statue De Jacques-Cartier," *Le Monde Illustre* 478, vol. 10 (July 1, 1893) : 101.

mouths that fills four large basins located below them (fig.9). In comparison to Cartier and all other details on the fountain, the Indigenous renderings are much less intricate. The details of the faces are all similar with feathers on their head and blank staring expressions (fig.10). The pillars supporting the four basins feature detailed foliage which almost overshadows the Native figures entirely. To the side of the four basins stand four ornately decorated jets.[41] Below, the fountain's largest basin are six relief sculptures of beavers whose tails are rendered in an upright position and appear as if they are holding the weight of the entire fountain.

The Jacques Cartier fountain was inaugurated June 14, 1893, with the streets and houses of Saint-Henri decorated with flags and lanterns in celebration.[42] At roughly 7pm, approximately ten thousand people converged upon the square for the unveiling of the fountain. At 8pm, the festivities commenced with fireworks and the removal of the drapery from the fountain. Throughout the celebration several key speakers took the stand. Mayor of Saint-Henri, Ferdinand Dagenais, gave a speech followed by the former prime Minister of Québec Honoré Mercier who delivered a nationalist message. The federal deputy of Hochelega, physician Séverin Lachapelle, acknowledged the role Cartier played in the founding of New France. The Senator and Mayor of Montreal Alphonse Desjardins closed the ceremony. The celebration in the square was followed by a banquet at city hall.[43] This flurry of activity signals the importance the Jacques Cartier fountain held as a symbol of nationalism during this period.

[41] Ibid. The nine jets of water are not purely an aesthetical convention: they are meant to signify Cartier's time as a navigator of the high sea

[42] Ibid., 6.

[43] Ibid., 10.

In Quebec City (the *capital nationale*), there was also another very important monument. After the 1791 *Constitution Act* and the separation of Upper and Lower Canada, the Legislative Assembly was created and located in Quebec City in what is present-day Quebec. With the 1840 *Act of Union,* came the merge of Upper and Lower Canada into one colony and the abolishment of the Legislative Assembly With the 1867 *British North America Act* and confederation dividing Canada into provinces, the Legislative Assembly re-emerged as the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec. It would not be until 1968 with the growth and establishment of the Quebec sovereigntist platform that the upper council would become abolished allowing for the renaming of the Legislative Assembly to the Quebec National Assembly.[44]

Hébert's *La halte dans la forêt* is situated in front of the main honorary entrance of the current National Assembly building in Québec City, which is referred to in Quebec tourism books, newspapers and literature as "la porte du sauvages" (*the door of savages*) (fig.11)[45] Hébert's two monuments depicting Native figures, *La halte dans la forêt* and *Le pêcheur à la nigogue*, were not a part of architect Eugene Etienne Taché's original plan. It was decided by the Committee of honorable Council that the two sculptures would complete the foreground of the building and serve to pay tribute to the first

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[44] For more extensive discussion on the history of the Quebec political system from the nineteenth-century to present please see Conway, 37-99.

[45] Bruno Hébert, *Philippe Hébert Sculpteur*, (Montréal: Fides), 72. Although it is often referred to as such in historical documents and literature, recent books including one by Emma McKay titled *Montreal & Quebec City Colorguide* (2005), indicate that up until as recent as 1970 the entrance was referred to as the "door of savages," but that as per McKay "you don't hear that term much anymore" (162).

"original inhabitants of the country" (fig.12).[46] It is important to note that in this instance the "inhabitants" being referred to are Indigenous peoples, rather than *les habitants*.

On October 4, 1886, Hébert signed the contract for the legislative statues and the two statues of his Indigenous figures.[47] He was to create models at his expense that were one-third the size of the finished seven-foot monuments for which he would be paid the sum of twenty five hundred dollars.[48] Taché wrote the sculptor with instructions on how to carry out the commission, asking that the artists' composition include four characters arranged as follows: the father figure standing spearing fish, the mother and children were to be on the top of a rock face and placed according to the pediment of the order.[49] All the other rendering of the figures were left to the sculptor provided the general lines of the monument matched with those of the architecture.[50]

In 1887, Hébert submitted his first version of the monument to the board who were not satisfied and he was asked to resubmit.[51] Taché, worried about the composition and its central position on the building façade, sent another correspondence in which he

[46] Martin, 140. The "original inhabitants of the country" is also wording used in the archival material sourced for this project.

[47] City of Montréal Archives. *Hébert Fonds*, BM28, Folder E (E-3.2, Lot 18 C-1). Hotel de Ville Montréal, Montreal, Quebec. Hébert wrote in his journal that he had signed the contract on this day; Martin, 140; Hébert, 73. Although the best bronze sculptors in Quebec during this time submitted proposals for the project, Hébert was responsible for half of the entire commission

[48] Du Rapport d'un Comite de l'honorable Conseil exécutive en date du août 1886 approuve par le Lieutenant Government, no. 324. Archives nationales du Québec

[49] Hébert, 73.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

included photographs of the Montagnais peoples of Lac Saint Jean Québec for the artist to reference.[52]

These photographs of people from the Montagnais nation of Lac Saint Jean in Québec, along with numerous other photographs in his personal collection, provided Hébert inspiration for his sculptures produced during Cartiermania.[53] One example titled: *Crowfoot-Chief of the Blackfoot Nation. Died 25 April 1890 aged 69 years*, shows a striking resemblance to the father figure in Hébert's final composition (fig.13).[54] After many correspondences between the sculptor and the Honorable Council, the final product was cast in bronze in Paris in 1890 at the Thiebault Frères Foundry.[55] It arrived in Quebec in August that same year and was eventually installed in 1894.

The monument consists of what is claimed to be an Abénaki family although the Abénakis and Montagnais peoples are two separate distinct Indigenous peoples, both living in Quebec. Montagnais peoples make up the North Shore region of Quebec and are part of the larger nation of Innu, which encompasses and recognizes many distinctions within, based on region and dialect of Innu language used. The Abénaki peoples are located along the bank of the Saint Francis River in Quebec in the village of Odanak and

[52] Eugène Taché, *Fonds Eugene-Etienne Taché*, Archives nationales du Québec Lettre de E.E. Taché à Philippe Hébert, Paris, 14 décembre 1888, Livre de copies de lettres 1879-1901, p. 56-58 (AP.G. 286/9).

[53] Ibid.; Du Rapport d'un Comite de l'honorable Conseil exécutive en date du août 1886 approuve par le Luietenant Government, no. 324. Archives nationales du Québec. It is possible that Hébert's friendships with Bourassa, Taché, Eugene Hamel and Simeon Lesage, all members of the committee accepting proposals for the building façade, may have influenced this change of plans.

[54] City of Montréal Archives. *Hébert Fonds*, BM28, Folder 99-3-1 (F1.2-F12.1); Folder H-32 *Material de travail*; H2.6.

[55] Archives nationales du Québec Québec Parliment, Halte dans la foret, 1890. (H23-B-1).

are a separate distinct people from the Montagnais region.[56] The monument is said to be homage to the Abénaki people, the "first inhabitants" of the land. The use of Montagnais individuals for a monument said to depict Abénaki individuals signals that the Honorable Council and Hebért were more concerned with their own aesthetic of what an Abénakis person *should* look like as opposed to actual Abénakis peoples

The monument places the father of the family in the centre of a triad formation, gazing in the direction of Cartier's arrival just ten kilometers away. He holds a long bow in his hands and stares pensively as his crouching son retracts his bow aimed in the same direction. Both the male figures in the composition feature muscular bodies intricately sculpted out of bronze and are rendered very detailed in the Greek classical style. The left side of the triad is composed of the mother and child with the former seated and watching in the same direction as the rest of the family, while the small child, scantily clad, hovers just behind her, clinging to her right arm. The child has no clothing, and the dress of the mother droops down. Although somewhat muscular, and rendered with the same facial detail, the mother and child are not as rigid as their male counterparts and are depicted in a more erotic manner. The dress of the mother figure, for example, is dropped just enough on one side exposing her left breast In fact, all of the figures on the monument are scarcely clothed, a historical inaccuracy, according to Abénaki elders of the Odanak reservation, because due to assimilation, by the 1800s Abénaki people used guns, not bow and arrow, and wore European inspired clothing, not loin cloth.[57]

[56] There are also bands of Abénakis located in Vermont and New Hampshire, and the Eastern Shores of the Champlain River.

[57] Tom Obomsawin. Recorded discussion from a meeting with the Elders on the Odanak reservation, Odanak Museum, Wednesday September 29th 2010. Odanak, Québec.

Significantly, the original decorative program of the National Assembly building façade planned for 13 statues and 2 allegorical groups dedicated to the memory of key players in the history of New France. Constructed between 1877 and 1886, the figural arrangement was designed to conform to a hierarchy of historical importance.[58] The plan however was continually modified until 1883, of which of particular significance was the place of Cartier. While the central tower of the building was dedicated to Jacques Cartier as a lead figure in the hierarchy of heroes, his statue was never realized in the final construction of the building -- only his name was inscribed on the top of the building façade.[59] What this suggests is a paradoxical kind of representation of French Canadians and Indigenous peoples in this period of Cartiermania concerning the ways in which Indigenous peoples figured into the ideals of nineteenth century Quebec.

The Allegorical "indian" of Quebec

Native figures featured alongside Cartier on historical monuments in Quebec differ from founding figure and Native representations found on similar monuments in the rest of Canada. Much like the rest of Canada, Indigenous peoples have been historically depicted

[58] Martin, 139; Bruno Hébert, Philippe Hébert Sculpteur, (Montréal: Fides): 72; Denis Martin, "Les heros de la patrie: La façade de l'hotel du Parlement, in *Louis Philippe Hébert 1850-1817*, ed. Daniel Drouin, (Québec: Musée du Québec ; Montréal : Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 2001) : 139. The current Parliament Building was constructed from the plans of Eugene-Etienne Taché, the architect and author of Quebec's slogan "je me souvien." The building is of second empire style, an architectural style inspired by the Napoléon III wing at the Louvre. This particular style was chosen in order to forge a link between France and Quebec.

[59] Martin, 140; Gordon, 88-89. Gordon suggests through his reading of newspapers of the period, that the change in plan was influenced by angered Anglophone minorities in Quebec who viewed Cartier as a strictly French Canadian hero.

in Quebec Heritage using conventions abiding by the "noble savage" archetype.[60] What is remarkable about monuments in Quebec are how, as in the example of the Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt*, they embody the stereotype of the "noble savage" ***and*** serve as allegory for French Canadian defeat by the British.[61]

Native historian Amelia Kalant provides useful insight into the historical relationship between French Canada and its Indigenous communities through the notion of the "myth of vacancy". She argues that French Canadian colonization is viewed differently than Anglo American because French Canadian colonization is perceived as a relationship of integration rather than forcible colonization. There is a perpetuated idea presented in Anglo Canadian and American historical texts that the French depended on the Natives for the fur trade; in historical texts this came to be read as French vulnerability to Native peoples.[62] French Canadians believed Iroquois and Huron nations killed each other off leaving free land. Kalant refers to this relationship as the "myth of vacancy," and explains that what was thought to be a friendly encounter between French and Native communities is entirely dependant on this myth.[63] She argues that this myth has to be dismantled in order to unravel the myths of French founding that are based on a near-absent Native.[64]

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[60] Refer to footnote #5.

[61] Although beyond the scope of the study here, notable today these representations are even more complex due to the many historical and contemporary shifts in nationalism and sovereigntist platforms.

[62] Amelia Kalant, "Displacing the Native in Canadian Histories," in *National Identity and the Conflict at Oka: Native Belonging and Myths of Postcolonial Nationhood in Canada* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 95-96.

[63] Ibid, 97.

[64] The idea of the near-absent Native can be evidenced in Alan Gordon`s discussion on the ceremony surrounding the unveiling of the Cartier-Brébeuf monument on June 24 1889. Gordon points out that former Québec Premier Pierre-J.-. Chauveau's speech in which he read a poem proclaiming Cartier as

The myth of vacancy may be on of the contributing factors in the presumed lack of Indigenous presence in contemporary Quebec. With the perceived absence of Indigenous populations, monuments including the Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* became proxies for actual Indigenous bodies. Indigenous populations were presumed to have died off from internal conflicts, but would soon be recuperated, to become transmigrated into the French Canadian Nationalism of the nineteenth century.

Historian Ramsay Cook echoes Kalant's position by pointing out that French Canadians have always been a self-conscious minority. He asserts that, given the fraught history between dominant Anglo-Canada and their need for security and equality, French Canadians lack security in their position as a minority group and as a result spent a lot of time trying to maximize their position.[65] In doing so, the figure of the Native was used as an icon for the French Canadian plight particularly from the middle to the end of the nineteenth-century.[66] In its fight for a national distinctiveness, Quebec attempted to consume the Aboriginal population entirely. This was done by labeling Indigenous peoples as a thing of the past, either integrated during the assimilation process or erased by colonization. Despite its inaccuracy, this wide held belief resulted in the Native figure transforming to allegorical form – more precisely, to an image constructed of an Imaginary Indian" rather than actual Native figures.

Cook proposes the rubric "the Last Huron Syndrome" to refer to the use of the Native figure as an allegory for French Canadian nationalism, defining the syndrome as

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Donnacona's hero, and the celebration that followed ignored entirely the fact that the land belonged to Aboriginal peoples pre and post Cartier. Gordon, 96-97.

[65] Ramsay Cook, *Canada, Québec and the Uses of Nationalism. 2nd ed*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1995), 107.

[66] Ibid.

"the nightmare of ultimate extinction".[67] He provides two examples of such usage: poet and historian Francois-Xavier Garneau's 1840 poem titled "Le Dernier Huron" (*The Last Huron*) and artist Joseph Légaré's 1840 painting *Paysage au monument a Wolfe* (fig.14).

Garneau's poem is meant to capture the emotional strife of a people assimilated as the result of defeat. The following excerpt indicates the popular opinion circulating about extinction and total assimilation of Aboriginal populations during this time:

> *Triomphe, destine! Enfin ton heure arrive;*
> *O peuple, tu ne seras plus.*
> *Il n`errera bientôt de toi sur cette rive*
> *Que des mânes inconnus.*
> *En vain, le soir, du haute de la montagne*
> *J`appelle un nom; tout est silencieux*[68]

The poet names the Huron people as the subject of his writing, however, *Le dernier Huron* is reflective of the pessimism French Canadians felt about their own fate during this period. In 1839, after traveling though Canada and investigate and report grievances and the aftermath of the Rebellion, John George Lambdon, the Earl of Durham and the appointed Governor General of British North America at the time, released The Durham Report.[69] The Report recommended assimilation and public figures including political writer and editor of *Le Canadien* a nationalist paper, Etienne Parent, began to declare acceptance of this fate.[70] Both the recommendation of assimilation and acceptance by respected public figures in Quebec society upon the release of the report contributed to

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[67] Ibid, 100.

[68] Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau. Francois-Xavier Garneau : sa vie et ses ouevres. Montréal : Beauchemin & Valois, Libraires-Imprimeurs; 1883. xliv

[69] Ged Martin. *The Durham Report and British Policy: A Critical Report* (Cambridge: University Press; 1972).

[70] Cook, 99.

"the Last Huron Syndrome" and perhaps sparked Légaré to paint *Paysage au monument a Wolfe* in 1840.

In Légaré's painting, the Native figure is on the ground, holding up his bow to the monument of General Wolfe, the British General who died during the pivotal battle of the seven years war (1756-1763) which resulted in the British conquering New France. At first glance, this gesture appears to be a sign of resignation on the part of the Native man but upon closer examination behind a tree in the left hand corner sits a canoe presumed to be for the man's escape.

According to Gagnon, historically General Wolfe did not have anything to do with Aboriginal peoples[71] Demonstrating that Légaré based the figures of his painting off of an earlier engraving done by Emile Carlier entitled: *Mercury endormant Argus (after Salvatore Rosa*, ca. 1768, Gagnon argues that the figure in the likeness of Wolfe in this painting in fact represents the French Nations' defeat at the hands of the British during the 1759 conquest (fig.15).[72] Carlier's engraving represents the Greek mythological tale in which Mercury cunningly puts the hundred eye giant Argus to sleep in order to steal and return Io to Jupiter. For Gagnon, the Native figure in Légaré's painting serves as allegory for Mercury, and he asks the viewer to make the connection between the embodiment of the Native body as French defeat at the hands of the British and their submission after the Rebellion of 1837, and the link to French Canadian Nationalism.[73] It follows then that Wolfe would be Argus, or allegory for the English empire and the canoe

[71] Gagnon. "The Hidden Image of early French Canadian Nationalism," 11.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

stands in as Io, signifier of movement to freedom.[74] Gagnon surmises that Légaré represented Wolfe as a monument because both Wolfe and the conquest were thought to be of the past, while the future would belong to French Canada.[75] According to Gagnon, Légaré therefore looked to the new trend in romanticism of the ""noble savage"" as a prototype for his figure, a figure that represented the image of a true revolutionary and the man of the future.[76]

Although both Cook and Gagnon seem to agree that Légaré's painting serves as an example in which the Native figure serves as allegory for French Canadian nationalism, Cook alternatively argues that the painting serves as a sign of both hope and fear, because French Canadian Nationalism was driven both by fear of extinction and the dream of freedom.[77] The fear of becoming a minority is what Cook claims continues to keep the Last Huron Syndrome alive and thriving even in contemporary society.[78] Gagnon also refers to this fear by indicating that for Légaré the Native figure could not serve as more than a mere image because the artist had a specific type of nationalism that was defined from within a political nationalism that did not include differences between peoples within human diversity but one that was strictly French Canadian.[79]

Gagnon's argument suggests that there was no room for Aboriginal peoples in the construction of French Canadian nationalism, which may be indicative of why the

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 12.

[77] Cook, 106.

[78] Ibid, 104.

[79] Gagnon, 14.

tradition of referring to Native peoples in terms of allegorical image emerged. It surfaced not only as a means to situate French Canadian nationalism as a distinct entity from the rest of Canada, but also as a way to ignore larger issues by simultaneously paying tribute to what has come to be termed "our Indians."[80]

"Our Indians" is a term that is often used to refer to Indigenous peoples, but more specifically, Indigenous peoples thought to be of the past. These images may be seen in ethnographic photographs by photographers including Edward S. Curtis, in paintings such as *Paysage au monument a Wolfe* but are most commonly found etched in stone of monuments. In my interview with artist Jeff Thomas, he elaborates on the concept in a discussion of his photographic practice and his 2004 *Scouting for Indians* project in the following terms:

> I've heard this over a period of time, them say "Our indians" and its usually a non Aboriginal person that says that and I always thought, well, okay I know where its coming from, and its coming from this paternalistic history, but, how do you actually visualize, what that – "our Indians" is? And I began to look at the different types of Indian figures that I was finding as, that's what they're talking

[80] Jeff Thomas, in discussion with the author, October 28, 2010. Thomas is an artist, scholar and curator whose photographic works engage with monuments, architectural details and ethnographic representations of Native peoples including those by Edward S. Curtis (*A Conversation with Edward S. Curtis*, 2001) counter colonial views while exploring notions of absence . An important contribution to contemporary art, Thomas' projects have made a substantial impact on the way in which colonial narratives in the urbanscape are viewed. His writings have also contributed an Aboriginal world view to the growing body of postcolonial scholarship including: *Where Are The Children: Healing The Legacy of Residential Schools* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003); and "Articulating the Vanishing Indian," *FUSE* Magazine 25: 4 (2002). He has also collaborated with Library and Archives Canada in the re-naming of historical photographs of Indigenous peoples. For the purposes of my thesis, I draw mainly on Thomas' views as a scholar rather than on the analyses of his works or related works by other Indigenous artists, by extension. For more in depth discussions on his works, see: Phillips; Walsh and Lopes.

about, that's "our indian," and so it kind of frees them up from having to talk about what the realities are today.[81]

This same observation can be applied to the appearance of Indigenous peoples on settler monuments in Quebec. As previously indicated, *La halte dans la forêt* was meant to serve as homage to the Abénaki people, however no existing documentation attests to the fact that any member if the Abénakis was ever consulted or used as a model for this monument.[82] Consequently, the representations are imagined constructions of the Abénakis from the minds of its creators and strong evidence that the use of Native peoples as an allegorical image surfaced as means to situate French Canadian nationalism as a distinct entity from the rest of Canada.

While, as argued by Gagnon, Wolfe was not concerned with Native peoples, Cartier's relationship with the Indigenous populations in Canada was one more fraught with animosity. On his first voyage in 1534 Cartier kidnapped the Chief of the Stadaconan people, Donnacona, his two sons, Domagaya and Taignoagny, and ten other Stadaconans before heading back to France.[83] On the second voyage (1535-1536), he offended Stadaconans by not asking permission to use their land or enter an alliance with them prior to visiting Hochelaga.[84] The reason for the kidnappings was because

[81] Ibid.

[82] Hébert archives.

[83] Gordon, 17-21; Bruce G. Trigger. Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 301; Ramsay Cook, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 26.

[84] Gordon, 17-21; Trigger, 301. Prior to colonization, what is now known as Montreal, was in fact the Iroquois settlement of Hochelaga.

Donnacona was perceived to be opposition to the French presence on the Saint Lawrence River and could be used to gain information for the King on the happenings in the Saint Lawrence Valley and the location of the Kingdom of Saguenay which the Chief claimed to contain riches.[85] Cartier returned for his final voyage in 1541 with Sieuer de Roberval and set up colony just West of Quebec. At this time, Cartier fled against order of Roberval because his colony was overtaken by Stadaconans enraged that he had again not requested permission before settling on their land and had not brought back with him any of the people he kidnapped.[86]

Despite these negative historical accounts of Cartier's disreputable relations with the Indigenous populations and original habitants of Québec, the two public historical monuments *La halte dans la forêt* and the Jacques Cartier fountain, commemorating his voyages and various other representations depict Cartier accompanied by one or more Native figures. This suggests that the appropriation of Native bodies for use on these particular founding monuments served a dual purpose: to capture the concept of the last Huron syndrome and to serve as an example of "our indians."

As Thomas points out, appropriating Native bodies for use on a specific monument is not an uncommon practice during this period.[87] Other examples include the Scout that was once kneeling at the case of the Samuel Champlain monument in Ottawa, Ontario and the memorial monument of Joseph Brant in Brantford, Ontario (figs.16-

[85] Gordon, 17-21; Trigger, 301-302; Cook, 35-96.

[86] Trigger, 301-302.

[87] Thomas, in discussion with the author, October 28, 2010..

17).[88] This practice indicated that there was a lack of concern with the choice of nation being depicted or "honoured" and more emphasis placed on the particular image or "look" of the figures represented.

Monuments exhibit the will of its builders to remember but they cannot maintain that memory in stable form in a contemporary post-contact society. French Historian Rene Gilbert writes that historical monuments in Quebec depicting Native peoples offer positive maintenance of the memory of Native existence in provincial history.[89] Gilbert's argument does not extend to the problematic aspects associated with these stereotypical representations, but rather it presents them as a guide for tourists and those wishing to learn more about Quebec. The repercussion of this uncritical presentation is a perpetuation of the myth of the "noble savage" as well as historical attitudes toward Indigenous peoples that are said to conflict with contemporary politics of inclusion put forth by the Quebec State.

[88] Ibid. Thomas points out that the sculpture for the Joseph Brant monument utilized photographs of men from the six Nations reservation for reference for this monument, while the Champlain scout meant to portray and Iroquois man was in fact modelled after an Ojibwa man.

[89] See René Gilbert, *Présence Autochtone à Québec et Wendake* (Québec: Les Éditions GID, 2010). Gilbert provides a survey of all monuments located in Québec city and the surrounding area known as Wendake, stating that the aim of his book is to give the reader a better understanding of Quebec Natives and surroundings and to try to make the reader realize the influence they have and still have on our lives, the important role they play in our diverse community which is perceived as monolithic not accounting for contributions of other cultures. However, the author refers to Native peoples as "d'une civilisation ancienne" (15). Gilbert also refers to *La halte dans la forêt* as an honour to First Nations (53), which completely negates any problematic representation inherent in the monument which my thesis seeks to address Gilbert makes brief mention of the fact that these Indigenous figures are more often than not located in positions of subservience, but it is more as passing observation rather than critical engagement.

Indigenous Representation and the "noble savage"

In Quebec heritage, Indigenous people have been historically depicted utilizing conventions abiding by the "noble savage" archetype. The two nineteenth-century examples by Hébert and Vincent are significant because *both* monuments celebrate the heroic figure of Cartier and *both* were installed during a key period in the formation of a nineteenth-century French Canadian identity (1850-1948) during which, the image of the "noble savage" was heavily used in the construction of a national self-identity.

The archetype of the "noble savage" represents male and female Indigenous peoples as contemplative, eroticized figures meant to stand for the natural virtue of the New World.[90] The "noble savage" is a racialized term that is connected with the racist construction of the "dying race" ideology. Artists and ethnographers of the colonial period are cited as key contributors to the visual anthropology of Native peoples. Aesthetically, the "noble savage" appears in paintings, photographs and on public historical monuments carved out of marble—muscular and eroticized, often in positions of subservience to founding figures. The "noble savage" is the good "Indian," because he or she aids the white man in his colonial mission but always remains uncivilized.[91] Native education scholar Susan Dion refers to the constructed discourse of subordination inherent in Canadian images of the "Indian" as "the discourse of the romantic, mythical

[90] Francis; Valaskakis; also see: Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *The Massachusetts Review* 16.4 (Autumn 1975): 698-714, for a look at how the noble savage stereotype is also entwined with the "Indian princess" stereotype that posits the Native woman as savior to the white male colonizer and signifier of available terra nova ripe for colonization. For Green, Native women have a more difficult position as noble savage because they are also desired by the male colonizer, while Native males are not.

[91] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 51; Green, 703-704.

other" in which Aboriginal people are depicted as romantic, mythical people of the past thought to be extinguished as a result of European contact.[92] Another example of this is the 1770 oil painting by Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, which is a fictionalized painting that depicts a kneeling Native figure, meant to serve as an allegory for the New World (fig.18).[93]

Historian Daniel Francis has noted that these images are largely responsible for the white construct of the Imaginary Indian"—the concept of the "Indian" that non-Native people have accepted as a stereotype for Native peoples.[94] One such stereotype is that of the ""noble savage"." Many scholars have examined the myth of the "noble savage" as part of a broader context in order to examine the historical antecedents of the term and their impact on contemporary society.[95] A large number of scholars attribute the origin of the term to Genevois philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[96] Rousseau researched ethnographic information on "savages" in order to gain insight into the life of man/woman in a state of nature. Rousseau's "savages" lacked the concepts of good and evil invented by civilization; he/she was advanced above animals but did not possess the

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[92] Dion, *Braiding Histories*, 4.

[93] Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe* shows similarities with that of Joseph *Légaré's Paysage au monument à Wolfe* the main one being the use of the "noble savage" archetype. It must be noted that while both artist's employ the use of this archetype, Légaré's "noble savage" carries a different meaning as allegory for French Canadian defeat by the British.

[94] Francis, 3-5.

[95] See, for example: Ellingson, *The Myth of the "Noble Savage"*; M.J. Rowland "Return of the 'noble savage': Misrepresenting the Past, Present and Future," *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, (2004): 2-14; Dagmar Wernitznig, *Going Native or Going Naïve: White Shamanism and the Neo-"noble savage"* (Maryland: University Press of America, 2003); and Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present (*New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

[96] See for instance Maurice Cranston, *The "noble savage": Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1754-1762* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The "noble savage": A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928); Bruce Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

qualities that developed and advanced civilization because he/she could not form abstract ideas.[97] Other scholars, including Francis, suggest the "noble savage" was first introduced by English dramatist John Dryden in his 1670 play, *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*.[98]

The most current and convincing discussion of the "noble savage" myth comes from anthropologist Ter Ellingson who notes three key historical figures as influential in the moulding of the myth of the "noble savage": French lawyer and ethnographer Marc Lescarbot, Rousseau and British ex-colonial diplomat and anthropologist John Crawfurd. The derivative of the "noble savage" has inferred many meanings from its historical origin to its contemporary adaptation.[99] The myth as it is known in contemporary society is a political and polemical fabrication of the racist anthropology movement in nineteenth-century Britain, headed by Crawfurd, who constructed the myth in 1859 as a way to promote race as a scientific ideology and advocate violently racist modes of ordering society.[100] Crawfurd linked his ideology to Rousseau's version of the "noble savage" in order to substantiate his claims by providing intellectual weight to his arguments. Hence "dying race" is a racial/racist construct.

Ellingson posits that the origin of the term is derived from the 1609 writings of Lescarbot. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hunting was equated with war and the defense of innocent people. The noble aspect presented by Lescarbot referred

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[97] Ibid., 81-82.

[98] Francis, 7.

[99] Authors Ellingson, Francis, and Valaskakis all discuss versions of the "noble savage" in their writings. Gail Valaskakis offers a look at the "noble savage" stereotype as it relates to female Indigenous identity in *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier*.

[100] Ellingson, *The Myth of the "noble savage,"* 307-313.

to the "Indian" free practice of hunting, perceived as a noble right in European culture. Lescarbot was a lawyer, and from a legal standpoint "savages" occupied the legal status of European nobility because they owned land and hunted; this was a status position traditionally reserved solely for nobility in European custom.[101] According to Ellingson, playwright John Dryden author of *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* appears to have consulted works such as English author Samuel Purchas's 1625 ethnographic collection in which he would have been acquainted with the works of Lescarbot, thus debunking the thinking of some scholars that Dryden's 1670 play is the origin of the term.[102]

There are various interdisciplinary concepts of the origin of the term; however, contemporary scholarship on the "noble savage" is based on an interrelated idea that the "noble savage" is not just a stereotype but a persistent myth. It is the innate timeless quality of the myth that positions the "noble savage" archetype as a harmful entity that extends from anthropological, historical, and ethnographic literature into aesthetic representations found throughout the art historical canon as well as pop culture.[103]

To return to the monuments, adopted by nineteenth-century French Canada, this archetype of "noble savage" was similarly incorporated in representations but given an added significance in its specific use in connection with the Last Huron syndrome.[104] The

[101] Ibid, 23.

[102] Ellingson, 35-38. This research is very convincing and offers evidence that contradicts the claim made by historian Daniel Francis in *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (7) in which he traces the introduction of the term to dramatist John Dryden.

[103] Ellingson, 374; Dion, 65.

[104] Other examples of the use of the "noble savage" by Hébert include: *Souper du Lac* (1908), *Sans Merci* (1893), *"Fleur des bois"* (1897).

"noble savage," and the "Imaginary Indian," inherent in the Last Huron Syndrome of nineteenth-century Quebec, are all connected and arguably based on the myth of vacancy because they are embedded in the racist ideology that positioned Indigenous peoples as a "dying race." The persistent myth of the "noble savage," irrevocably connected to Historian Daniel Francis's theory of the "Imaginary Indian," is evidenced in both the subservient position of the Native figures on the Jacques Cartier fountain and the figures in Hébert's sculpture. Hébert's interest in the Imaginary Indian" was formed at an early age. Gagnon recalls three sources that served as influences on the artist. They included childhood stories by Jacques Boutin stories depicting murders and robberies; childhood books that his father would read during the long winter nights that contained never-ending struggles between missionaries and "savages"; and stories by Le Jeune and Brébeauf, and his favorite, James Fennimore Cooper, author of the *Last of the Mohicans*.[105] All of these sources contained tales of Indigenous peoples as "savages," "bloodthirsty warriors," and representatives of a race that would soon be extinct.

It must be noted that Hébert was not the only one exposed to literature and other imagery that confirmed and enforced notions of Indigenous peoples. The Imaginary Indian" was widely circulated in public monuments and imagery of Quebec and along with the image of Jacques Cartier, played an important role in the formation of a nineteenth-century French Canadian agenda that would help define French Canadian nationalism.

Numerous Native and postcolonial scholars have emphasized that post-contact histories must be brought into view, and that this can be achieved by including

[105] François-Marc Gagnon, "L'iconographie indienne de Hébert," in *Louis Philippe Hébert 1850-1817*, Ed. Daniel Drouin, (Québec : Musée du Québec ; Montréal : Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 2001) : 246.

Indigenous perspectives in Canadian historical sites, replacing negative stereotypical representations with positive representations. Discourse that positions Natives as romantic, mythical others needs to be altered so that Canadians and Québecers become engaged in understanding Native peoples, understanding themselves, and themselves in relation to Native peoples. Not addressing these monuments as sites of nation-building featuring offensive depictions of Native peoples allows for non-Native peoples to continue to position Native peoples in the past, part of a make-believe world. This non-activity jeopardizes all possibilities for achieving an equitable and just relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. Thomas eloquently sums the stakes in the politics of representation in the following:

> "These kind of manifestations of Indians, of the kind of conquered but noble-ized Indian was a way to commemorate that era leaving, and also about the fact that they essentially vanished after that, the idea was/is that, we can paint a pretty picture, so to speak, of that – oh look how we're honoring the Indians that were here before, but in fact what their talking about is the subjugation of Aboriginal people. So I look at the monuments first, as a way of whitewashing history and commemoration and bypassing talking about the realities of what actually happened to Indigenous people not only here, but in other parts of the world."[106]

Monuments can be viewed as a deposit of the historical possession of power, and they have been discussed by many researchers as pivotal tools in the nation-building

[106] Thomas, in discussion with the author, October 28, 2010.

process.[107] Referring back to the Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* in Quebec, the concepts of the problematic nature of stereotypical images located on public historical monuments also opens up possibilities for examining nationalism and politics specific to each work, region and peoples.

Aboriginal Heritage Laws and the Current Politics of Quebec

In Canada at the federal level, the term "Aboriginal Heritage" encompasses culture, languages, identity, imports and exports, and moveable cultural objects.[108] Scholarly discussions of heritage often examine appropriation and focus on objects that are made by members of First Nations but collected by non-Native individuals or institutions in Canada. Examination of Canadian legal structures reveals that currently in Canada the main interest of Aboriginal communities is the repatriation of moveable cultural objects and works of art that have been traded, stolen, or confiscated during colonial missions and placed in various museums and private collections.[109] Despite this fact, research by legal scholars Catherine Bell and Robert Paterson indicates there is not one existing policy that addresses negotiating repatriation claims with Aboriginal communities for

[107] See for instance Gordon; Phillips; Walsh and Lopes; a thorough discussion is also provided by historian Brian Osbourne on the importance that the location of the monument plays in the significance of the monument, specifically in regards to marking territories to signify colonial power of possession: "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place," commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage for the Ethnocultural, Racial, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity and Identity Seminar, Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 1-2, 2001.

[108] These terms are categories listed by Heritage Canada in regards to the Aboriginal Heritage. For the full definition of Aboriginal Heritage and what it entails, see official Heritage Canada website: {http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/pa-app/pol/index-eng.cfm}.

[109] Catherine Bell and Robert K. Paterson, "Aboriginal Rights to Cultural Property in Canada," *International Journal of Cultural Property*8.1 (1999): 170.

objects that have been appropriated from various communities.[110] There is also currently no policy at federal or provincial levels that addresses Aboriginal rights in conjunction with public historical monuments. In Quebec, the "inclusive" bill O82 presented on February 18, 2010, intended to reflect twenty-first century views on Quebec heritage, and to replace the current Law on Cultural Property Act adopted in 1972, defines cultural heritage, which extends to Indigenous communities, as "encompassing not only documents, buildings, objects and heritage sites, but also the cultural heritage landscape, intangible heritage, people, places and historical events."[111] Currently there is no specific reference made in this document that extends to already existing historical monuments.

Andrea Walsh and Dominic Lopes present notions of Aboriginal Heritage law beyond moveable Aboriginal cultural property arguing that monuments do not appear as objects of personal heritage or have a history of migration but are regarded in terms of public objects created for particular places, as if they have little to nothing in common with objects that have been appropriated from First Nations and that now reside in museums and collections.[112] Walsh and Lopes connect similarities between artifacts appropriated and exhibited in museums and monuments; the main connection is that both categories comprise visual elements that tell the national narrative of Canadian history.

[110] Ibid, 168.

[111] National Assembly, First Session, Thirty-Ninth Legislature, Bill O82, Tabling of Québec Heritage Act, presented by Christine St-Pierre, Ministere de la Culture, des Communications et Condition Feminine Québec. February 18, 2010. {http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fra/39legislature1/Projets-loi/Publics/10-f082.pdf}.

[112] Andrea Walsh and Dominic McIver Lopes, "Objects of Appropriation," in *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation*, ed. James O. Young, (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 215-216

These objects may then be regarded as visual symbols of Aboriginal identity and even proxies for actual bodies.[113]

Phillips also presents the connection between monuments and the use of Aboriginal identities in the construction of these historical sites of collective Canadian memory. Her analysis of the types of negotiations surrounding monuments belonging to settler societies pays particular attention to Canada and issues facing colonized Indigenous peoples in such settler societies.[114] To motion to the problematic nature of stereotypical images of Indigenous peoples and public imagery, she introduces the concept of "Invisibility and Hypervisibity" to describe instances when a hyper visible**,** stereotypical image is located on an item (including a monument) and simultaneously promotes the invisibility of the hardship of the actual peoples represented in its image.[115] These images, including those located on the Jacques Cartier fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* perpetuate the notion of the absence of Native peoples, which in turn allows for non-Native peoples to distance themselves from larger issues that are facing Indigenous communities including poverty. In this context, how might a culture that is continually represented as being part of a make believe past ever gain the ability to overcome hardships that remain invisible to the non-Indigenous public?

The situation in Quebec presents a unique paradox between historical and perceived well-intentioned contemporary relations with its Indigenous communities. Kalant posits that the moment when the British conquered Montreal the French became the 'Natives' or the

[113] Ibid.

[114] Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Remembering Canadian Art History," 281-304.

[115] Ibid, 295.

colonized, attributing this to the fact that when the English came and conquered an already settled French colony, it positioned the English as latecomers to French Canadian "Natives."[116] According to Kalant, it is because French Canadians were doubly colonized: once by France and a second time by the British. Ancestry and perceived lineage gave motive for French Canadians to defend the land as theirs against invaders. The land became Native Canadien (meaning French Canadian), supplanting the "Indians".[117] In more recent history, French Canadians are also said to be colonized by American imperialism, making the French Quebecois, as the contentious title of Quebec sovereigntist writer Pierre Vallières' 1968 book reads, "The White Niggers of America."[118] Discourses of racialization such as those discussed in this thesis in relation to the so-called founding of New France clearly have been ongoing and continue to be carried through in contemporary Québec scholarship and literature as Québécois into present-day continue to grapple with issues of perceived ethnic minority status in Canada.

Canadian Cultural Studies, and Quebec Studies on contemporary Quebec nationalism from a sovereigntist perspective, generally hold that Quebec nationalists view themselves as a separate distinct entity from the rest of Canada and all other cultural groups.[119] Significantly, these authors maintain that French Canadian (or Québécois)

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[116] Kalant, 109.

[117] This is also argued by Gordon; Kalant, 114.

[118] Pierre Vallières, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique: Autobiographie précoce d'un « terroriste » québécois.* (Montreal : Editions parti pris, 1968). Writing from the perspective of a member of Le front de liberation du Québec, Vallières argues that the working class of Quebec share the same experience of colonization as Black slaves in America during the civil war. For Vallières the workers of Quebec have been exploited by the ruling classes, which had a long lasting impact on the Québécois. He advocates for the system to be overthrown with drastic militant action.

[119] Fernand Dumont, "Of a Hesitant Québec," Trans. Sheila Fischman and Richard Howard, in *Canadian Cultural Studies a Reader*, Eds. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009,173-199.

culture be able to maintain its own language, identity, and self-government as a separate nation, distinct from the rest of Canada.

Since both Québécois and Indigenous communities in Quebec are striving for independence these different perspectives indicate a tension between both entities. The category of Aboriginal Rights is affirmed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission and is a category of human rights that is distinguishably set forward in the Canadian Charter. The Ungava nation that comprises the region of Northern Quebec includes Cree and Inuit, and makes up two-thirds of Quebec's territory.[120] Legislation in 1898 and 1912 gave parts of Ungava to Quebec without Aboriginal consultation. Quebec has no legal right to territory gained in 1898 and 1912 should secession occur because this territory was granted under the condition that Quebec remain in the federation.[121] Legal studies indicate that the independence of Quebec can only be achieved within its present provincial borders with consent of Aboriginal peoples because they make up a third of the sovereign tier in Canada's federal structure.[122] Attempting to bypass the consent of Aboriginal peoples will render secession invalid and illegitimate.

At the federal level, Quebec has made attempts in recent years to show support for Indigenous issues, including the minority government's support for the UN declaration that Canada has yet to sign.[123] Article 31 of the declaration states that

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[120] Peter Radan, "'You Can't Always Get What You Want': The Territorial Scope Of an Independent Québec," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 41.4 (2003): 630-31.

[121] Radan, 629.

[122] Ibid, 659.

[123] Paul Joffe, "U**N** Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Achieving Reconciliation in the Canadian Context," presented at the Canadian Aboriginal Law 2009 conference held in Ottawa, Ontario hosted by Pacific Business and Law Institute, November 19-20, 2009: 46.

Indigenous people have the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their intellectual property over cultural heritage, visual and performing arts—something that holds potential for amendments to include representation of Indigenous subjects.[124]

At the provincial level, Political scientist Daniel Salée, points to examples of legislation in the recent history of Quebec, in which the state was perceived to have attempted to offer policies of Indigenous inclusion but at the same time highlight sustained sentiments towards French Canadian sovereignty and national distinctiveness. Some of these examples include: *Partnership, Development, Achievements* (1998) and *Paix des Braves* (2000); however the state implementation of Bill 99 (2000) contradicts these attempts.[125] Many Indigenous communities see Bill 99 passed in December 2000, as problematic because the policy addresses territory that remains within the boundaries of a structure of authority and administrative jurisdiction within the domain of the Quebec State over which Indigenous communities have no control.[126] Through this act, Quebec proposed an all-encompassing category of Quebec citizens for which the bill attributes the right to self-government separate from the rest of Canada.[127] This grants the Quebec Government and National Assembly the power to control their right of self-

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[124] Ibid, 59.

[125] Spring 1998 policy Partnership, Development, Achievements, stipulated that Indigenous peoples will have access to the same living conditions and general development opportunities and access to fair share of public wealth afforded to Québec residents while still being allowed to maintain their distinct identity. In 2000, the Québec Government and Grand Council of Crees signed a final agreement "Paix des Braves," which promised that the Québec government would pay in excess of 3.5 billion dollars to the Eeyouch over a fifty-year period if they agree to stop opposing the Québec government's hydro-electric projects in their region. Indigenous communities of Québec argue that bill 99 goes against these agreements and the proposed right to distinct identity for Indigenous peoples.

[126] Salée, 107.

[127] Ibid.

government while simultaneously refusing Indigenous peoples the right to self-government. The bill was not devised in consultation or collaboration with Indigenous communities, and therefore did not receive the benefit of a negotiation between equals.[128]

Introduced the Ministère de la culture, des communications et condition féminine du Québec on February 18, 2010; the recent draft bill O82 Law on Cultural Heritage at the National Assembly of Quebec is meant to be more inclusive by extending the powers of identification and cultural heritage designation to Indigenous communities as appropriate, on the land reserve or lands covered by the Cree Act of Naskapi Quebec.[129] This new bill despite its proposed inclusiveness, the bill however does not address current politics of representation of Indigenous peoples nor, for the purposes of this study, how they are reflected in historical public monuments throughout the province.

According several studies, despite the fact that Québec has demonstrated a willingness to improve the state of Indigenous peoples, there is no question that the sovereigntist agenda entails remaining in charge of their own interests, by not acknowledging Indigenous sovereignty, which ultimately relegates Indigenous culture to a lower priority.[130]

These politics, fraught with contradiction can be said to be reflected in the province's historical and contemporary management of public historical monuments. As evidenced in the examples of Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt*, historical representation of Quebec-Indigenous relations place particular emphasis on the

[128] Ibid.

[129] Draft Bill O82.

[130] Radan, 646; Saleé, 107; M.E. Turpel, "Does the Road to Quebec Sovererignty Run Through Aboriginal Territory?" in D. Drache and R. Perrin (eds.), *Negotiating with a Sovereign Quebec* (Halifax: James Lormier, 1992); M. Coon Come, "The Cree, Self-Determination, Secession and the Territorial Integrity of Quebec," *The Network*, No. 5 Newsletter of the Network on the Constitution, (May 1992):11.

myth of the "noble savage" -- the iconography of which consists a Native figure(s) located in a subservient position to a founding figure, hierarchically lowest in social ranking. In order to provide recognition of social issues currently facing Indigenous communities including poverty and the right to self-government, more attention to postcontact histories can be achieved by including Indigenous perspectives in Canadian historical sites; conducting more studies on Aboriginal heritage policy in Canada and Quebec (including bill O82); and replacing negative stereotypical representations with positive representations. As Thomas points out, these images do not honor but in fact subjugate Aboriginal peoples by bypassing discussions of Aboriginal lived experiences. This provokes the question: how might the appropriation of Indigenous bodies and images in colonial monuments be dealt with?

Recently in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, there has been removal of parts of, or entire monuments, deemed offensive by Indigenous communities, due to stereotypical representations.[131] While this approach seems to be the current trend, scholarship indicates that complete removal runs the risk of eliciting historical amnesia that prevents fostering a critical understanding of the issues leading to the "necessary" removal.[132]

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[131] See for instance the removal of the kneeling scout that once occupied the base of the Samuel Champlain monument located on Parliament Hill in Ottawa (1999): Jeff Thomas, "What's the Point?" in *Public Art in Canada: Critical Perspectives* Eds. Annie Gérin and James S. McLean (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 115-124; the removal of the Louis Riel monument off the legislature grounds in Winnipeg Manitoba (1994): Paul Samyn, "Controversial Riel statue taken away: sculptor's emotion captured by documentary film-maker (Nude statue of Louis Riel removed from the Legislative Building grounds, Winnipeg)" (1994, July 28). *Winnipeg Free Press*, p. B1; see also the four murals by George Southwell that were boarded over, in the Victoria British Columbia Legislature Buildings (2008): Lindsay Kines. "Historic artwork goes undercover at B.C. legislature." Times - Colonist, June 3, 2008, http://0-www.proquest.com.mercury.concordia.ca/ {accessed March 23, 2010}.

[132] Phillips, 281-82.

The answer to th**e** question of how to deal with the appropriation of First Nations bodies and images in colonial monuments may lie in the realm of artistic practice. As Phillips has noted, art offers a possibility to intervene in dominant discourse—further proving the importance of the visual arts arena in postcolonial negotiation within settler societies.[133] Physical monuments are always subject to processes of destruction, erosion, and accretion. On the other hand, the cultural construction of a painting or other object *as* monument is altered by evolving narratives of history and art history. In his writings, artist George Catlin a non-Indigenous artist, admits that his paintings serve as "a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race."[134] Of course the noble savage stereotype is not the only representation of Indigenous peoples drawn on by non-Indigenous peoples. However, while Catlin's project differs from and does not engage with monuments specifically, his statement suggests the power that art containing stereotypical representations of Indigenous peoples and the role these representations play in the perpetuation of dominant perspectives. It can be even more powerful in cases of "subject appropriation" by an artist misrepresenting a culture that he/she does not belong to.

James O. Young and Susan Haley define "subject appropriation" as "when members of one culture (call them outsiders for the sake of brevity) represent members of other cultures (call them insiders for the sake of convenience) or aspects of insiders'

[133] Ibid.

[134] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 8th ed (London: H.G. Bohn, 1851), 3. The works of Caitlin serve as one example of how an artist from outside a culture, however well intentioned their works may be, can perpetuate stereotypes that are harmful to the self esteem of the culture being represented.

culture."[135] Subject appropriation is not a clear type of appropriation, however, because it may not be clear that the group or persons partaking in the act of appropriation are actually taking anything physical from the "insiders" of the culture.[136] The authors argue, on the one hand, that nothing is taken from an insider culture if an artist from outside that culture represents it. On the other hand, considering acts of representing cultures other than one's own a suspect form of subject appropriation by those outside the culture being represented, they also stipulate that just because nothing is physically removed from the culture does not mean that culture cannot be harmed by subject appropriation.[137] Offering examples of Hollywood films stereotyping Indigenous peoples they ascertain that the misrepresentation of the culture being represented is one of the most harmful and offensive ways an artist could harm an insiders' culture.[138]

> "These misrepresentations doubtlessly foster discrimination against Aboriginal people. Such harmful misrepresentation is unequivocally wrong. Just as it is wrong to slander or libel an individual, it is wrong to misrepresent all the members of some culture in a manner that harms them."

Following this, even sympathetic portrayals of minority culture can be harmful however well-intentioned are of no benefit to Native peoples in the long run. [139] Young gives the example of the "noble savage" stereotype depicted in *Dances with the Wolves*, a

[135] James O. Young and Susan Haley, "'Nothing Comes from Nowhere': Reflections on Cultural Appropriation as the Representation of Other Cultures," in *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation* Eds. James O. Young and Conrad G. Brunk, (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, MA : Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 268 - 289. 268.

[136] Ibid., 269.

[137] Ibid., 272-273.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Young and Haley, 274.

Hollywood movie that was a failed attempt to correct previous held stereotypes of Indigenous peoples;.[140]

Young and Haley's arguments may be extended to the monuments in question. Both the Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* are cited as being homages to Indigenous peoples, and yet despite their sympathetic intentions neither of these monuments or their representations of the "noble savage" archetype offer any benefit to the Indigenous population of Quebec. By taking the contested nature of monuments as a starting point to create visual acts of new appropriation, Native artists can potentially complicate the culturally and socially conditioned reception of these public works. In the following last section, I propose that the creation of a "living monument" could provide a perspectival shift from the originally intended meaning of the monument.

The "Living Monument"

There are several meanings discussed in the scholarship about what a living monument can be. My formulation comes out of a discussion with Jeff Thomas. I take it to mean a socio-political work of art that utilizes the contested nature of settler monuments

[140] The 1990 film "Dances with the Wolves" won in the category of Best Picture at the Oscar awards. It was said to have provided a revisionist look at the role Native Americans played in the civil war. However, despite the fact that Native American actors and actresses were cast in roles for the movie, it ends with an excerpt proclaiming the Sioux nation "submitted to white authority," and that "the great horse culture of the plans was gone." These claims are false as the Great Sioux Nation is alive and thriving. There is a large body of scholarship dedicated to the depiction and portrayal of Indigenous peoples in Hollywood Cinema. Other examples of problematic representations of Indigenous peoples in film include*: Disney's Pocahontas* (1995) and *The New World* (2005) both directed by Terrance Malick. Cinematic responses to such portrayals include the recent documentary and recipient of the 2011 Peabody Award, by Cree filmmaker Neil Diamond: *Reel Injun* (2009). For further reading please see: Cornel Pewewardy, "The Pocahontas Paradox: A Cautionary Tale for Educators," *Journal of Navajo Education*, vol. 14, no.1 (Fall-Winter, 1996-1997): 20-25; Christopher E. Gittings, *Canadian National Cinema: Ideology, Difference and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Peter C. Rollin and John E. O'Connor (Eds.), *Hollywood's Indian: the Portrayal of the Native American in Film* (Kentucky: University Press, 1998;2003).

featuring Native images, to create visual acts that layer intended meaning. In questioning how students can understand current post contact histories when the current curriculum posits Aboriginal peoples as the romanticized mythical in a historical context, Dion argues that educators in schools have to take a critical look at the way in which images of Aboriginal peoples are represented and begin to challenge it so that the knowledge absorbed by these students can help elicit a change in the current relationships between Canada and Aboriginal peoples.

> The need for more engagement with such issues is also discussed by Thomas:
>
> "Along with the actual figure on a monument are museums as well, because they offer in a sense, something there that is open to engage with. So with the museum, although we look at it as being in an area of the museum world and in the academic and gatekeepers and all that kind of thing, there are still ways to work with the collection that are meaningful for the Aboriginal community and so it's all part of, in my mind the same thing. How do we utilize those sources that are around us to talk about issues that are important today? I think, talking about Champlain and so on, it has to come back to the classroom.[141]

I would like to propose the 'living monument' as a successful alterNative to the removal of these historical public monuments and an opportunity for public education on Indigenous representation. My formulation of the living monument has the potential to offer alterNative ways of seeing that include Aboriginal histories through personal memories and collective memorialization. A tool existing outside the actual physical location of the historical monument, it hinges on the existence of its historical counterpart

[141] Jeff Thomas, in discussion with the author, October 28, 2010.

to bring issues of Indigenous representation and Aboriginal lived histories into the realm of public discourse.

One of the beneficial aspects of this type of monument is its inherent informative and educational value and ability to represent current post contact histories. By existing outside the boundaries of a physical location, it serves as a fluid monument that could contribute to evolving historical narratives. The ability to address the absence of Indigenous perspectives in these historical sites of commemoration and the stereotypical images that they represent requires further understanding of post contact histories by a larger audience.

In 2000, Communications scholar Gregory Ulmer formed an experimental model at the University of Florida called *EmerAgency* which is in the process of testing the practice of education in the age of the internet. This model of monumentality offers a concept that has the potential to be effective in providing necessary tools for social change. *EmerAgency* aims to show how the institution of education can become part of writable collective memory. It does so by transforming commemoration into the mode of active collective reasoning by utilizing the Internet as an inhabitable monument.[142]

EmerAgency showcased that knowledge on how to use images in education was both a form of technology and institutional invention. It addresses the potential that the Internet offers in the delivery of disciplinary knowledge to areas of need existing outside the confines of academic discourse. For Ulmer, *EmerAgency*'s greatest strength is its ability to function by the simple act of circulating as an idea. The program also creates collaboration across all education levels to incorporate the Internet in curriculum

[142] Gregory L. Ulmer, *Electronic Monuments* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) xi.

development in turn granting schools a voice in what Ulmer terms the ”fifth estate” in society.[143] Ulmer proposes that the Internet allows for the possibility that monumentality can become a primary site of “self-knowledge both individual and collective, and hence a site supporting new politics and ethics, as well as a new dimension of education.”[144] Or put another way, it allows for the possibility of monumentality to go “live.”

I would like to apply the same principles of the *EmerAgency* model to my concept of the living monument as it effectively offers a different way of seeing an already existing commemoration of a historical event or figure, steeped in oppressive colonial narratives and fail to take into consideration the real life lived experiences or histories of Aboriginal peoples. The type of model also offers the ability to link an existing memorial is to a broader audience via the Internet, providing a connection between the acknowledged value of a memorial and the unacknowledged value or peripheral aspect that exists in the lived value of the private sphere which Ulmer has termed the “peripheral memorial.”[145] However, *EmerAgency* operates on the assumption that the population is largely media literate. While this may quite possibly be the case, in order for the “living monument” to be successful, it must also address the portion of population that might not own a computer. Thus the Internet, while playing a large part in

[143] Ulmer, xiii.

[144] Ibid., xxi.

[145] Ulmer, 47-48. The protocol for the creation of internet based *MEmorial* includes locating an existing monument, selecting an organization or agency responsibly for policy formation in regards to the specific disaster of commemoration, placing an electronic device at the site of the memorial that links the symbolic nature of the memorial with what the author terms unacknowledged sacrifice (those not personally named), via a suggested print out with statistics or data concerning the event, and coupling it with a feature on a website that includes links to relevant sites that stimulate the peripheral.

dissemination of information is only one component in the living monument I am suggesting.

A socio-politically-engaged photographic work by artists such as Thomas, along with the role orality and oral histories play, are also important dimensions.[146] The living monument is intended to function as an interaction between historical and contemporary modes of thinking. A tool existing outside the actual physical location of the historical monument, it hinges on the existence of its historical counterpart to bring issues of Indigenous representation, and Aboriginal lived histories into the realm of public discourse.

These photographic works would ideally exist on an interactive panel juxtaposed with a historical monument. The panel could include information on Indigenous representation and stereotypes, providing examples in contemporary society and their link to settler monuments. There is a long history of Indigenous artists engaging with continued problematic nature of Indigenous stereotypes and colonial narratives of history. The website would be complete with an informative essay and a URL to an existing website, showcasing images of both the noble savage in art, and contemporary responses to these representations by Native artists such as Shelley Niro, Jeff Thomas and Kent Monkman (figs.19-21).[147] At minimum, the living monument could simply include an

[146] Thomas's photographic practice deals with "Indianess" and what that means in the non-Native context. He also explores what it means to be an "Urban Iroquois." His works offer different ways of seeing that counter hegemonic colonial narratives.

[147] Niro, Thomas and Monkman are of course only three examples out of a large group of contemporary Aboriginal artists. Niro's art practice offers a female perspective on the myths of Native peoples. Monkman's work addresses how Native peoples have been presented and constructed in historical paintings by recreating scenes that offer a perspective different from ethnocentric renderings of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

interactive terminal located inside the entrance of the National Assembly building, featuring the same website.

Offering a downloadable information package, the website could be made available to educational professionals for use in their own curriculum. This would allow for the information to be incorporated independent of Internet to reach an audience that might not otherwise have access.

The website could also be set up in a manner that would allow for audience participation through the inclusion of an application that allows website visitors to upload their own video responses to the featured works of art and information provided. This type of interaction allows for society to play a role in the maintenance and ongoing narrative of the living monument.[148]

The power to elicit social change through photographic works is exemplified by the works of Thomas. Starting in 1992 he began taking photographs of the Indian scout located at the bottom of the Champlain monument in Ottawa, Ontario. From these photographs he created a series titled: *Scouting for Indians*, which he exhibited at the Ottawa Art Gallery as part of his solo exhibition *Discernment - The Building of a Public Contemporary Art Collection* (1996). The location of the gallery and Thomas' exhibition, around the corner from the head office of the Assembly of First Nations may have played an important role in the protest and eventual removal of the controversial statue.[149] While

[148] In 2009 a three part documentary series entitled: *Redress Remix: Canada's Apology for the Chinese Headtax* was released. Directed by Lesley Loksi Chan, the documentary discusses the issue of the Canadian Government's 2006 apology to the Chinese Canadian community for the 1923 Chinese Head Tax and Exclusion Act. The documentary was accompanied by a website www.redressremix.ca, described as a "living documentary." This type of approach could be successful when implemented in conjunction with the living monument I am proposing.

[149] During my interview with him, Thomas discusses the possibility that someone from the office saw the exhibition and the ball of change began rolling, resulting in the Assembly of First Nations protest that same

the creation of similar photographic works of *La halte dans la forêt* and the Jacques Cartier fountain as having the same effect remains conjecture, with the presence of the photographic works both online and at the site of the original 'birthplace' of the historical monument which it depicts may at least productively serve pedagogical purposes.

A final aspect of the living monument to address is the role orality plays in the formation and continued success of the monument. Oral histories play a large part in Aboriginal cultures and have even been responsible for the survival of cultures throughout the colonization process. Orality offers an important component to the continued success of the living monument. As Thomas puts it:

> People like you and people like me begin talking about these sites, and that's where the living part of it comes in: and how we get people to rethink these places. I never could've imagined in 1992 talking to any other Aboriginal people about monuments, and finding out that, yeah, there are people out there, especially in universities, who are looking at the landscape in that way, so it's changed even from when I first started, but I think that's how it comes to how we talk about it, […] in a sense of a living monument. I think that's where we become part of that: we're not the static figures that are part of these historical monuments. We're the ones that are talking about it and taking it in a new direction. In my mind that's about the best that you can do, and build on it.[150]

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year, and the monuments' eventual removal. This provides evidence in the power that art plays in contributing to social change.

[150] Thomas, in discussion with the author, October 28, 2010.

Conclusion

This thesis has illustrated the ways in which current discourse on Indigenous representations are understood in relation to public historical monuments in Quebec through examination of two Québec heritage sites: the Jacques Cartier Fountain (1893) by Joseph-Arthur Vincent in Montreal and *La halte dans la forêt* (1890) by Louis Philippe-Hébert in Quebec. These historical monuments were connected to Cartiermania and a nineteenth-century French Canadian sovereigntist agenda (1850-1948) that featured Jacques Cartier as a figure of French Canadian nationalism and include sculptures that deploy the archetype of the "noble savage". Representing male and female Indigenous peoples as contemplative, eroticized figures located in subservient positions to a founding figure. This stereotypical representation of Indigenous peoples served a particular purpose during the nineteenth century in Quebec history as allegory for French Canadian defeat during the British conquest, referred to as the Last Huron Syndrome. It also created a way for the French Canadian population to solidify a distinct national identity as "Native" inhabitants of the land by supplanting the Native by etching Indigenous figures in stone as a means to pay homage to what they considered a priori a "dying race"

This thesis has discussed how the stereotype of the "noble savage" is a myth that has infiltrated Indigenous representation by non-Native peoples since circa the seventeenth century in such a way that subject appropriation can become harmful to the culture being represented. However the complete removal of all or some of the offensive portions of the monuments as has occurred in other provinces in Canada is a counterproductive measure because it does not address the sites of contention but

removes the problem entirely hence opening up these sites to become vulnerable to historical amnesia.

I have argued instead for the living monument as not only a viable alterNative to complete removal of these monuments but also an opportunity to engage in the inclusion of Aboriginal lived histories. This monument exists outside the physical location of the monument through modes of communication including the Internet, classroom and oral discussions while remaining linked to the original birth place of the historical monument.

By historically contextualizing these discussions in relation to the Cartiermania dominant in New France from circa 1820 to the 1920s, the living monument could expound how the history of Quebec-Indigenous relations have affected ways in which monuments, such as Jacques Cartier Fountain and *La halte dans la forêt* are understood today. It would present alterNative images of the 'living' Indian, that while still a racialized identity could counter the longstanding stereotype of the "noble savage" and the problematic racist ideology of the "dying race." Finally, the living monument also potentially brings forward a productive conversation about the Quebec State, the current politics of Indigenous representation, and contemporary laws on Aboriginal Heritage in the province and informs representations on future public historical monuments.

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Figure 1: Thomas Coffin Doane. *Au Commandant de Belvèze*, 1855, Daguerreotype, Collection André L'Homme, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, PA-139248.

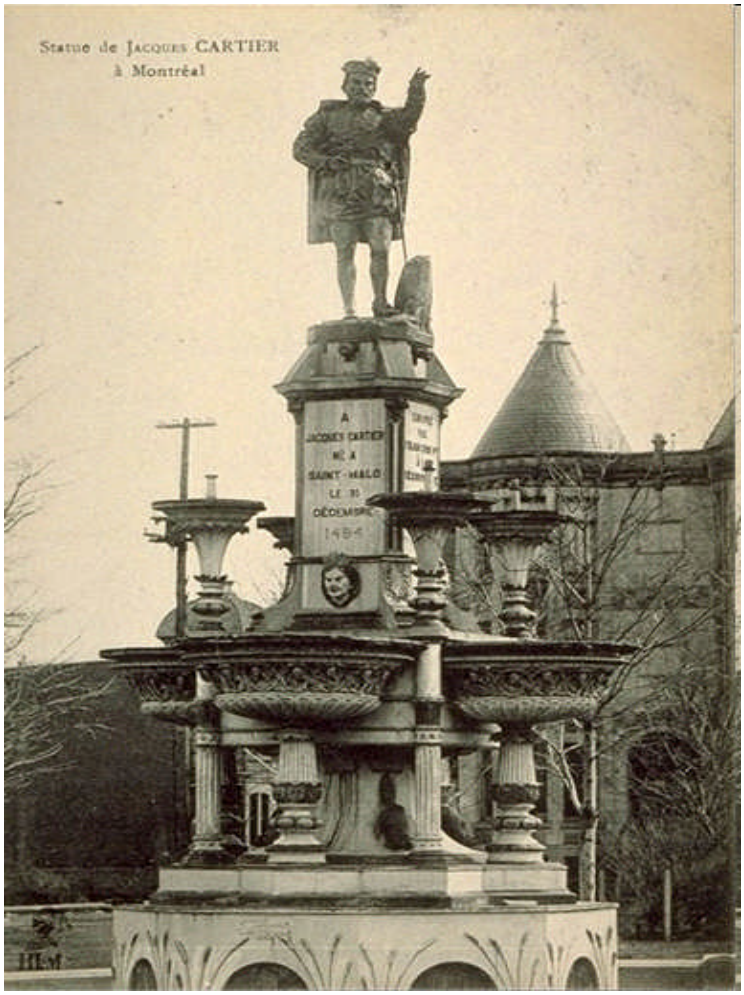

Figure 2: Anonymous, *Jacques Cartier Fountain*, 1893, Collection Michel-Bazinet, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, collection de cartes postales, CP5455

Figure 3: Anonymous, *Plaque 1*, *Jacques Cartier Fountain*, 1893, Park Saint-Henri, Saint-Henri, Québec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 4: Anonymous, *Plaque 2*, *Jacques Cartier Fountain*, 1893, Park Saint-Henri, Saint-Henri, Québec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 5: Anonymous, *Plaque 3, Jacques Cartier Fountain*, 1893, Park Saint-Henri, Saint-Henri, Québec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 6: Anonymous, *Plaque 4, Jacques Cartier Fountain*, 1893, Park Saint-Henri, Saint-Henri, Québec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 7: Anonymous, *Jacques Cartier Stamp*, 1935, JeanLafontaine.com "Catalogue SSJB, 1935 Jacques Cartier Rouges,''
{http://www.jlafontaine.com/index.php?c=19&lg=1} accessed January 13, 2011.

Figure 8: Anonymous, *Jacques Cartier Quadricentennial Monument*, 1934, North Bay, Ontario. Photograph by Jeff Carroll.

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Figure 11 : Louis-Philippe Hébert, *La halte dans la forêt*, 1890, National Assembly Building, Quebec City, Quebec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

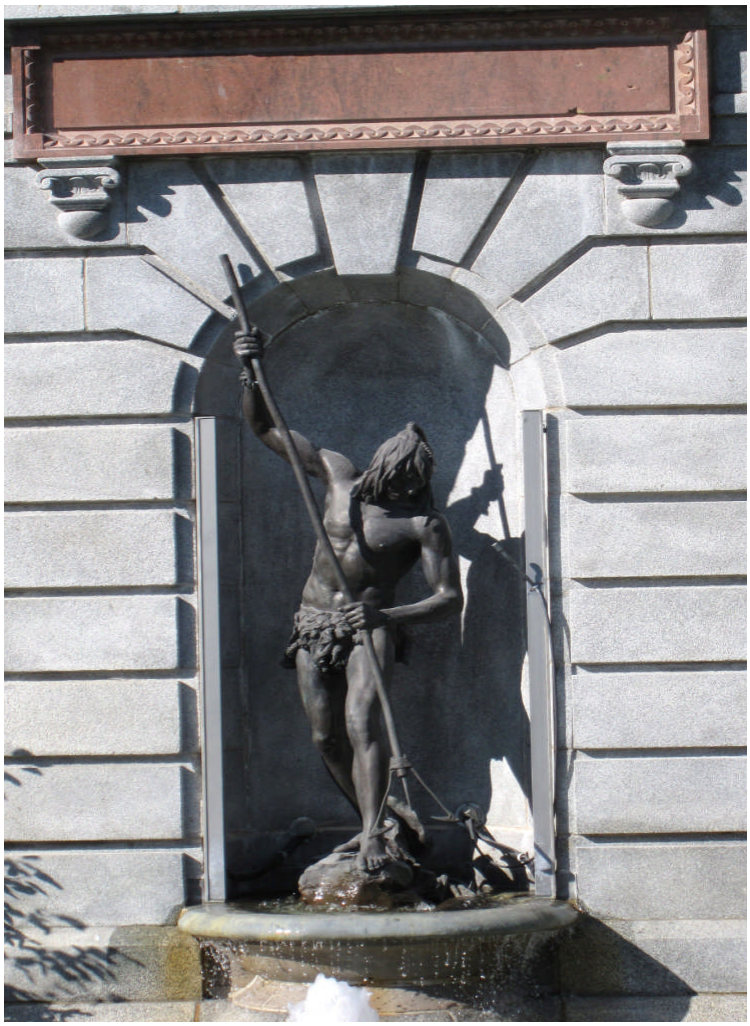

Figure 12: Louis-Philippe Hébert, *Le pêcheur à la nigogue*, 1890, National Assembly Building, Quebec City, Quebec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 13: Anonymous, *Crowfoot-Chief of the Blackfoot Nation. Died 25 April 1890 aged 69 years*, *Hébert Fonds*, City of Montréal Archives, BM28, Folder 99-3-1 (F1.2-F12.1); Folder H-32 *Matériel de travail*; H2.6, Montréal, Quebec. Digital photograph by Sarah Wilkinson.

Figure 14: Joseph Légaré. *Paysage au monument à Wolfe,* 1840, oil on canvas, 52 x 69 inches, Le Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Québec.

Figure 15: Émile Carlier, *Mercury endormant Argus (after Salvatore Rosa)*, 1768, engraving, 24 x 39 inches, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec.

Figure 16: Anonymous, *Champlain Monument*, 1898, Nepean Point, Ottawa, Ontario. {http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/tresors-treasures/?page_id=7322&lang=en}.

Figure 17: Anonymous, *Chief Joseph Brant Memorial*, 1886, Albumen print Brantford, Ontario, Photographer: Park & Co., Brantford, Ontario. Library and Archives Canada. {http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/Aboriginal-portraits/020005-2060-e.html}.

Figure 18: Benjamin West. *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770, oil on canvas, 60 x 84 inches.

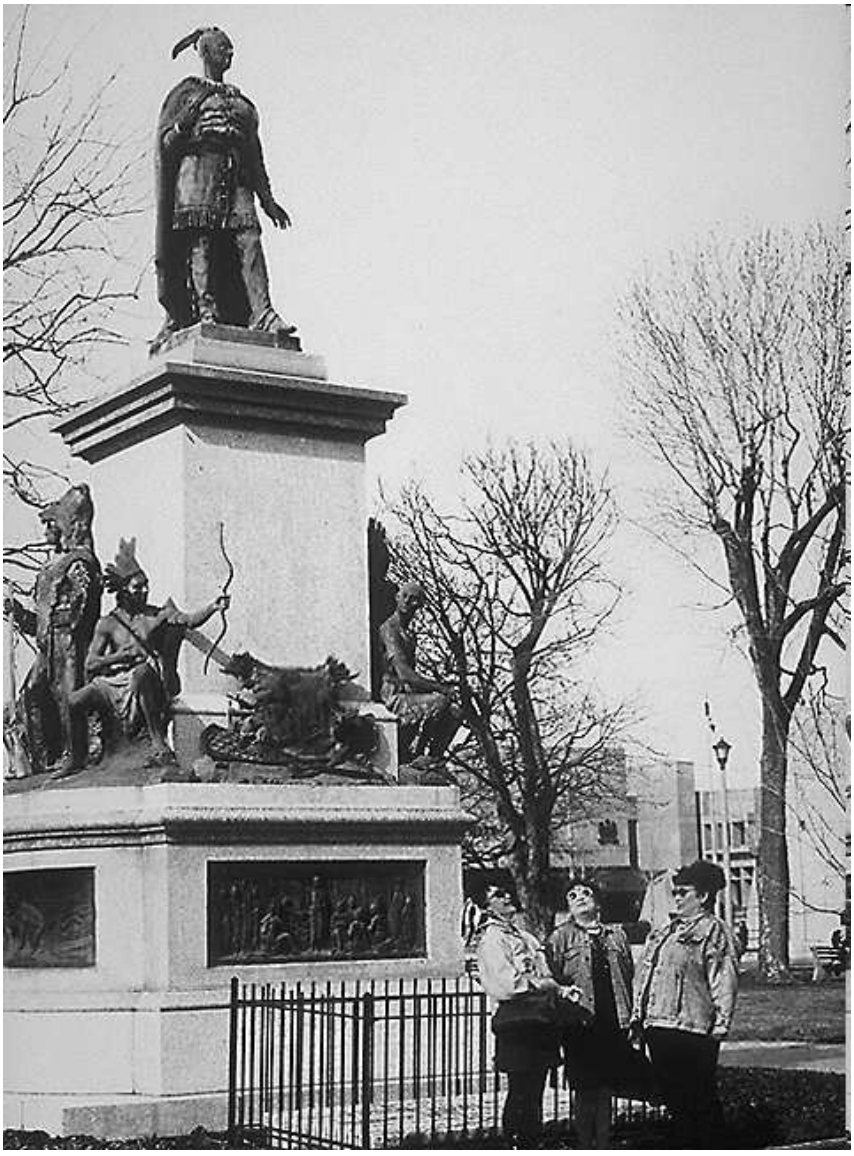

Figure 19: Shelley Niro, *Three Mohawk Women at the Base of the Joseph Brant Monument*, 1991, Photograph, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

Figure 20: Jeff Thomas. *Peace Chief @ Place d'Armes*, 2001, digital photograph.

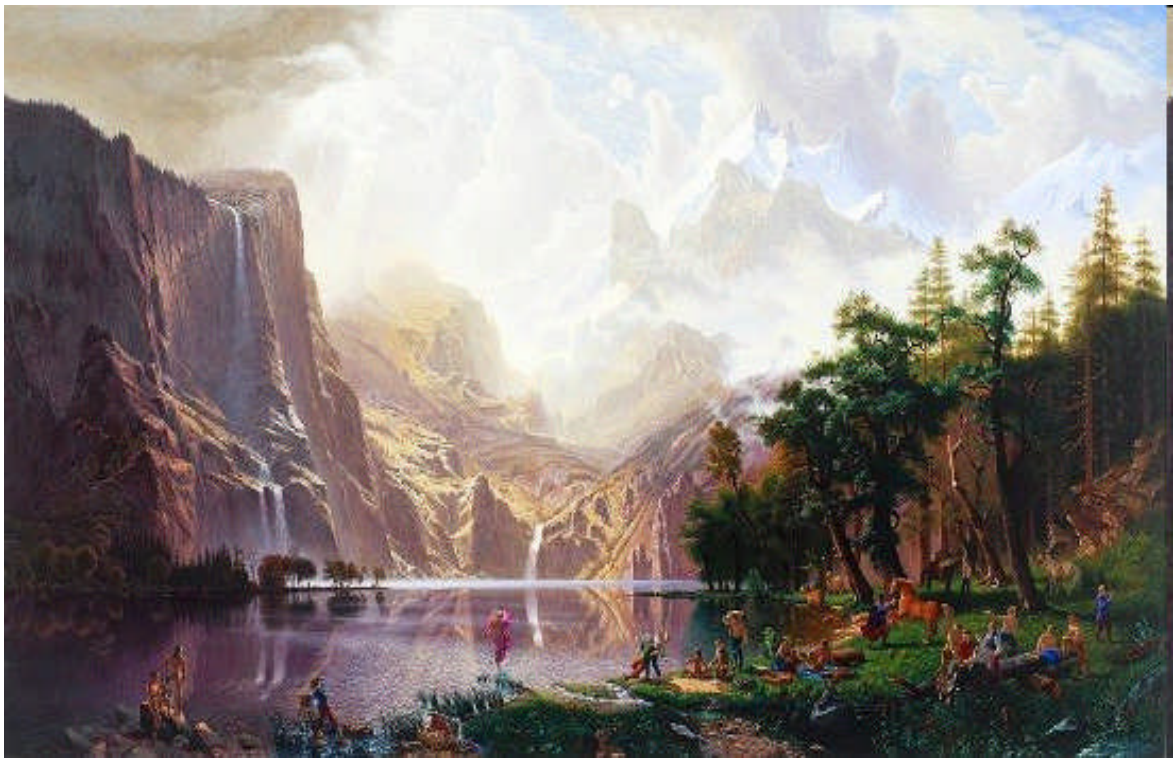

Figure 21: Kent Monkman. *Trappers of Men*, 2006, oil on canvas, 84 x 144 inches, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Quebec.