

PLACING MEMORY
AND REMEMBERING PLACE
IN CANADA

Edited by James Opp and John C. Walsh

**PLACING MEMORY
AND REMEMBERING PLACE
IN CANADA**



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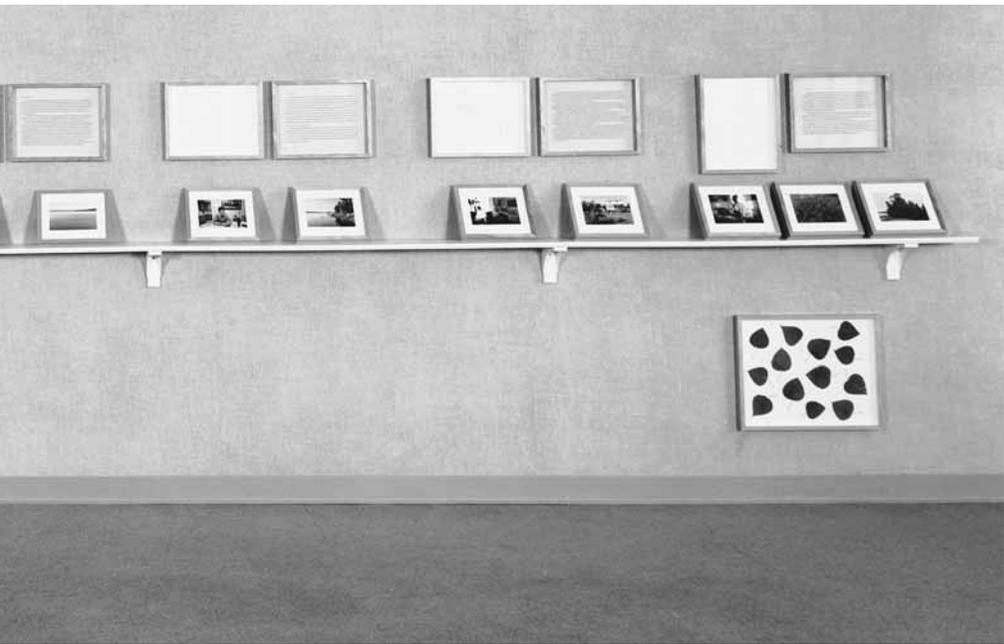
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Figure I.1 Marlene Creates, *where my grandmother was born* from the series *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991* © CARCC 2010.

Assemblage of 13 black and white photographs, 1 colour photograph, 6 memory map drawings, pencil on paper, 6 story panels and 1 title panel, screen print on plexi, aspen leaves and one beach stone from the site, and a wooden shelf.

Installed dimensions: 63½ inches high × 21½ feet long × 7¼ inches deep (161cm high × 6.5m long × 18cm deep), plus floor space.



Introduction

Local Acts of Placing and Remembering

JAMES OPP AND JOHN C. WALSH

When we describe the land – or, more frequently, remember events that occurred at particular points on it – the natural landscape becomes a centre of meaning, and its geographical features are constituted in relation to our experiences on it. The land is not an abstract physical location but a *place*, charged with personal significance, shaping the images we have of ourselves.

– Marlene Creates, *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991* (1991)

For her 1991 series, *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991*, artist Marlene Creates arranged a set of hand-drawn memory maps and stories from her Newfoundland relatives. The maps and

texts were aligned with contemporary photographs of the locations narrated, namely, the birth places of her grandmother, her grandfather, and her great-grandmother. The framed words and pictures were then assembled with “souvenirs” of these places, such as rocks and leaves. In her discussion of *Places of Presence*, Joan M. Schwartz notes that “past links to present, place to space, identity to landscape. In the slippages between past material reality and remembered lived experience are the imagined communities, invented traditions, performative memories, and cartographic illusions of the geographical imagination.”¹

Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada is a collection of essays and an assemblage of a different sort, although it shares many things in common with Creates’s project. The scholars here have their own stories to tell, narratives constructed with found objects and other souvenirs: texts, postcards, maps, photographs, and oral histories. These essays are also concerned with “imagined communities,” “performative memories,” and “cartographic illusions of the geographical imagination.” Most of all, however, the contributors to this volume assert the significance of *place* as a site made meaningful by memory and commemorative practices. In return, they, like Creates, are also cognizant of how *placing* is critical to memory’s making and to its social, cultural, and political power.

So why would we return to themes outlined so elegantly by a visual artist two decades ago? After all, both “place” and “memory” are broad concepts with shelves of books, essays, and dissertations devoted to their elucidation.² Indeed, the global explosion of interest in memory studies over the past two decades has led some to ask whether we are facing a “memory crisis” or at least suffering from “memory fatigue.”³ Inspired by Pierre Nora’s understanding of “*lieux de mémoire*” and Benedict Anderson’s concept of the nation as an “imagined community,”⁴ Canadian scholars have followed international trends, producing a wide-ranging body of literature that explores monuments, memorials, commemorations, and a variety of other civic rituals and performances.⁵ However, Nora’s extensive multi-volume collection on “sites of memory” in France, particularly the condensed form translated into English as *Realms of Memory* (1996-98), tended to reinscribe the nation rather than problematize it.⁶ Similarly, in Canada much of the work sidesteps the actual “place” of memory making in order to frame the analysis in relation to more abstracted notions of nation and empire. In these studies, the key questions

centre on how historical representations consolidated and legitimized political authority and the nation-state. And yet, as Andreas Huyssen suggests, “the form in which we think of the past is increasingly memory without borders rather than national history within borders.”⁷

Nora’s work attracted attention in part because his “sites of memory” were spatial expressions as much as they were temporal. This was hardly surprising since Nora was heavily influenced by the pioneering work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who argued that “every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework” and devoted a whole chapter to the topic.⁸ However, for Nora, the very externalization of memory in the form of monuments, memorials, or commemorative performances signifies a sense of loss. *Lieux de mémoire* carry only the residue of once-meaningful attachments; the spaces and places in which they are located appear inert and static, unable to resist the assault of “history” in the modern era.⁹ In contrast, the growing cross-disciplinary literature on the significance of “place” as a “geographical space that is defined by meanings, sentiments and stories rather than by a set of co-ordinates” has recast the role of memory.¹⁰ Memory not only enacts on but is itself embedded, inscribed, and shaped by landscapes, topographies, and environment. This dynamic understanding allows for a more fluid series of interactions between memory and place, as seen in Gaston Gordillo’s *Landscapes of Devils* (2004), a rich ethnographic account of the Toba of the Argentinean Chaco. For Gordillo, place does not simply carry a collective memory, but rather the tensions of place are themselves manifested in the spatialization of memory, and ultimately “every memory is, in a fundamental way, the memory of a place.”¹¹

Closer to home, Brian Osborne’s deep reflections on identity and place have been particularly important in bringing a geographical dimension to the study of memory in Canada. Osborne calls attention to the significance of landscapes in shaping identity through the “emotive power of imagined place.” His wide-ranging studies of monuments and historic sites demonstrate how such seemingly place-less socio-political processes as nation-making, heritage tourism, and democratic citizenship are made meaningful to people through their anchoring and locating in place and their invocation of shared public memory. Although Osborne recognizes that “people are affected by their engagement with the palpable immediacy of local places, and with the nested abstractions of the regional, the national, and the global,” his main interests

ultimately lie in the articulation, formation, and contestation of national identities.¹²

This book charts a different course not by ignoring national identities but by shifting the focus more directly onto the “palpable immediacy of local places.” Just as Marlene Creates’s assemblages of mental maps and individual stories infuse the landscape with profoundly personal and localized meanings that resist nationalizing narratives, this volume reasserts the significance of the local as the “centre of meaning.” Even though all of our case studies are from Canada, our goal has not been to identify and explain something uniquely “Canadian.” Rather, our chapters tell stories about people living in place, exploring how they influence and are influenced by the commemorative inscriptions that mark place. Conversely, we also interrogate the personalities and institutions that remember the past by questioning how the conditions of place have shaped acts of memory. In approaching these intersections of memory and geographical imagining, we have deliberately situated these processes within a deeply localized context.¹³

Turning to the “local” invariably raises questions surrounding the vast and growing literature on globalization. Local knowledges, cultures, customs, and economies are often framed as points of resistance to the homogenizing forces of global capitalism. Although the pairing of global/local has become standard fare, many scholars note that the emphasis on globalization has tended to overshadow the local and, in the process, has marginalized place.¹⁴ Arturo Escobar reasserts the importance of place-based strategies, arguing that “it might be possible to approach the production of place and culture not only from the side of the global, but of the local; not from the perspective of its abandonment but of its critical affirmation; not only according to the flight from places, whether voluntary or forced, but of the attachment to them.”¹⁵ We share Escobar’s sensibilities, but we also resist essentializing local places as organic, whole, or ahistorical. The “local” is a fluid and uncertain category, reminding us that, despite the claims of planners, architects, and other spatial engineers, the production of place is always unfinished and uneven.¹⁶

Within Canada, two recent works have sought to deepen the relationship between memory and the local.¹⁷ William Turkel’s *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau* repositions the land itself as an “archive,” an entity to be studied, surveyed, and “mined” for information.

Although commemorations and memorial acts take place, Turkel maintains a strict division between the actual physical “place” defined by the geographical features of the plateau and the memory making that plays out within it. Drawing on a vast array of material clues, Turkel insists that a place carries on its surface all sorts of markers of its past, things big and small that convey very deep, and often long-term, historical understandings. The material evidence and the scales of time multiply as more and more voices lay claim to these embedded traces, contesting the memories and meanings attached to the plateau.¹⁸

From a different perspective, Julie Cruikshank’s *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* situates glacial landforms and topography as active participants in making memory, positioning both Aboriginal “local” knowledge and the colonial archive against a dynamic landscape. Cruikshank complicates our understanding of memory and place not only by centring Native voices in her narrative (and effectively de-centring official archives) but also in pointedly asking, “Do glaciers listen?” As this question would suggest, Cruikshank is interested in understanding how place is complicit in its own representation and knowing. Glaciers, she explains at the outset of her book, are historical actors that “make moral judgments” and “punish infractions.”¹⁹ Rather than extracting clues from these glaciers, and from the larger ecology to which they belong, Cruikshank is more interested in showing how glaciers helped author Tlingit oral tradition, compelled surveyors to re-draw maps, and both facilitated and limited what all travellers, explorers, and even later recreational canoeists could see and know. Public memory is not only made on or about the glaciers but was also historically made *with* them.

While appreciating both perspectives, our approach to the study of place generally follows Henri Lefebvre’s admonitions for a dynamic, diverse, and bold spatial history: “[A history of social space] must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice.”²⁰ Place is made and remade in these interactions. Like Lefebvre, we consistently cast our analytical gaze on what people did (and do) in affecting place making, particularly as it involves or affects memory. As Edward Casey argues, “place is not entitative ... but eventmental, something in process, something unconfined to a thing. Or

a simple location. Place is all over the place.”²¹ The very title of this collection emphasizes *placing* and *remembering*, active verbs that signal the dynamic nature of the social acts and processes analyzed by the contributors.

Each essay in this volume deals with one specific geographic location, but the scalar dimensions that intersect place and memory vary widely. In “The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia: Place and Memory at the Highland Village Museum,” Alan Gordon traces the currents of global Scottishness that were incorporated into Cape Breton’s Highland Village. Here, place is both the physical environment that surrounds the museum and an imagined landscape that links the local to an international identity. Gordon’s chapter reframes Anderson’s “imagined communities” and challenges us to think about community formation in ways that leap across and beyond the nation. In contrast, Frances Swyripa’s “Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue: Public Ritual, Heritage, and Memory on Main Street” focuses on a more geographically narrow subject. Through a close examination of the commemorations, parades, and performances of memory that transpire over more than a century, Swyripa points to the frictions of competing communities that vie for official recognition in staging public acts of memory. Whereas Gordon notes that local investments in place increased over time as donations of artefacts flowed into the Highland Village Museum, Swyripa points to the decline of Jasper Avenue as a site of public memory. Class, ethnicity, gender, and politics are set against larger structural changes in the urban centre that reshape the rituals of civic identity. As these chapters and many others in the volume indicate, remembering and commemorating are acts that can define the “local,” declaring who is “of” this particular place (and, conversely, who is not).²²

Such local considerations of place are also significant even when national and imperial histories are at stake, as Cecilia Morgan argues in “History and the Six Nations: The Dynamics of Commemoration, Colonial Space, and Colonial Knowledge.” Morgan connects the investments of the Six Nations in local acts of memory with long-standing concerns over land claims, territorialization, and the remapping of new political spaces. Using a gendered analysis of inter-community divisions, Morgan exposes the complexity of power relationships that surround the inscription of public memory on and within local places. Although the colonizing state remains a hegemonic force, it is one that the Six Nations countered through their own histories and narratives, local conditions, places, and memories. Furthermore, in locating her analysis

in and not merely *about* the Six Nations, Morgan also reveals how the politics of memory and commemoration can disturb the neat binary between colonizers and colonized that is perhaps too easily mapped onto Aboriginal reserves and their borders. As the examples of Morgan, Swyripa, and Gordon demonstrate, this volume reasserts the local as a meaningful centre for our narratives, not to avoid but rather to clarify the overlapping regional, national, and imperial concerns embedded within the acts of placing memory and remembering place.

As a whole, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* engages with “public memory” – memories that are made, experienced, and circulated in public spaces and that are intended to be communicated and shared.²³ However, in “‘That Big Statue of Whoever’: Material Commemoration and Narrative in the Niagara Region,” Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester note that scholars too often overlook the question of how audiences interact with, utilize, or simply ignore memorial spaces and the stories they convey. Through a set of comparative surveys, this chapter maps the mnemonic landscape of the Niagara region, tracing some of the tensions and gaps between the histories recalled by local citizens and the actual monuments that mark the region, often clustered near tourist attractions. By calling attention to competing modes and scales of communication that shape our understandings of history and place, their work cautions that sites of commemoration may not be as powerful as we assume. Whereas Gordon and Morgan emphasize the anchoring of memory and community identities to local material sites, Johnston and Ripmeester point to the uncertainties that exist between memorials and history. As with Swyripa’s analysis of the decline of memory and attachment to Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue, we need to be aware of acts of forgetting and disenchantments of place. And yet, as Johnston and Ripmeester conclude, local sites of memory continue to carry within them potential re-activations as new narratives recast the histories of these sites in new ways.

Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada is structured around two central concerns. The first half, “Commemorations: Marking Memories of Place,” focuses on “official” celebrations, museums, and memorial acts. In the second half, “Inscriptions: Recovering Places of Memory,” the subject matter shifts toward “vernacular” expressions of memory situated in oral stories, photographs, and the landscape itself. And yet, in both parts of the volume, the mobility of memory emerges as an important theme. John C.

Walsh's opening chapter of the first part, "Performing Public Memory and Re-Placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900-58," traces the return of former residents to Eastern Ontario in order to celebrate Old Home Weeks and Old Boys' Reunions. James Opp's chapter, "Finding the View: Landscape, Place, and Colour Slide Photography in Southern Alberta," follows his parents on photographic outings to the foothills. For both Walsh and Opp, as with many others here, it is the acts of inhabiting, returning, or moving through specific locations that produce or confirm memories of place. Rather than dismiss the longing to return or represent "home" as little more than romantic nostalgia for a lost age, Walsh and Opp call attention to the social and economic contexts that have shaped contemporary geographic imaginings. Indeed, although their chapters offer very different perspectives on how memory and place intersect, they share a common desire to explore, in Walsh's words, the "location of culture in places we seem to have forgotten."

And yet it is not just the mobility of people but also photographs, souvenirs, and other representations of place that carry memories within and beyond the local. Collective remembering occurs within a "world of things," and a great deal of scholarship has focused on the relationship between materiality and memory.²⁴ This has been especially important to heritage studies and archaeologies of memory, which share a common interest in how monumental and everyday objects are invested with mnemonic significance.²⁵ As Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone suggest, memory "does not operate only as an abstract (mental) system; it is generated by and channelled through an endless variety of media and artefacts."²⁶ Like Johnston and Ripmeester, both Walsh and Opp consider how memory is communicated through a variety of media: newspapers, souvenirs, postcards, calendars, and photographs. Such analyses compel us to reconsider not only the materiality of the traces left behind but also the contexts and performances of their production in and through place, from pageantry and parading to collecting and designing. It is the connections between practice, object, and space that draw our collective attention, compel our theorization, and form the spines of our narratives. And it is here that the afterword by Joan M. Schwartz, "Complicating the Picture: Place and Memory between Representation and Reflection," pushes us to think through the implications of a world without material sites of memory, where virtual fragments in digital archives reshape our consciousness

of space, time, and self. Might such changes, Schwartz asks, herald a “sea change in the nature and locus of memory and its relationship to place”?

In his influential book *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (2003), Eviatar Zerubavel argues that societies emphasize the unchanging materiality of place as an anchor between the past and the present. Souvenirs and relics serve as bridges that allow us, regardless of our current location, to take a cognitive journey back in time and across space to the point where we acquired the object.²⁷ Although these interconnections are important, Zerubavel’s work strictly divides materiality from the mental work of memory, forged against the “constancy of place.”²⁸ However, as Matthew Evenden demonstrates in his chapter, “Immersed: Landscaping the Past at Lake Minnewanka,” local places and landscapes are hardly constant entities. The flooding of a small settlement within the boundaries of a national park in order to generate power erased the place and reassembled it as a landscape to be viewed through the windshields of automobiles. For Evenden, competing memories do not simply play out on a static stage, but rather the lake itself is constantly evolving as a place and site of memory. Here, some narratives are commemorated and others ignored; parks officials struggle to present a “compromise with nature” while trying to control the souvenirs left behind by those who now frequent the settlement submerged under water. The re-making of place seen in the contributions of Evenden, Opp, Swyripa, Walsh, and many other chapters supports the argument of Tim Cresswell and Gareth Hoskins that “places are a complicated mixture of fixity and flow, stability and change.”²⁹

In order to explore how people have historically made their memories with, in, and through the material culture of place, scholars need to confront the institutions where these resources have been “re-placed.” For many of the authors in this collection, the archive in particular emerges as both the site and subject for analysis, whether referring to established “official” institutions or seen as more “vernacular” collections of souvenirs and photographs. The archive stands as an intentional site for preserving and organizing the artefacts of memory and embodies its own spatial logic.³⁰ In “Archive and Myth: The Changing Memoryscape of Japanese Canadian Internment Camps,” Kirsten Emiko McAllister situates herself within the space of the archive, reconnecting representations of place with narratives of community. Unlike the colour slides

that Opp traces in his parents' basement, these visual representations document traumatic spaces of forced removal. And yet they simultaneously serve as representations of distinctive places and markers of identity for the post-war Japanese community. For McAllister, as for several of the authors here, the archive is not merely an accumulation of material but also a theatre of performance and practice. To "dwell in the archive" as a researcher is to be both an observer and a participant in these experiences.

For scholars interested in the history of memory and in the history of power-knowledge relations, the archive is perhaps modernity's purest architectural expression, or at the very least an architecture that rightly takes its place alongside the museum.³¹ Both of these institutions, and their related practices, belong to an episteme that, following Pierre Nora, we might call "the will to archive":

Modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image. What began as writing ends as high fidelity and tape recording. The less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs – hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age, attempting at once the complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past.³²

Nora romanticizes an "authentic" collective memory, contrasting what is "experienced from the inside" with the "exterior scaffolding" of sites of memory, and critics have rightly called attention to the problems with such essentialist constructions.³³ Nevertheless, Nora's wider comment on the significance of the archive for "modern memory" and his emphasis on the materiality of traces (i.e., memory inscribed on and through objects) raise important themes that connect to many of the chapters in this volume.

Steven High's "Placing the Displaced Worker: Narrating Place in Deindustrializing Sturgeon Falls, Ontario" documents the "will to archive," but his chapter disrupts the usual framework of state authorities using the archive and administrative standardization to structure populations and economic activity. In the course of conducting oral interviews of former mill workers, High encountered the "mill history binder," the unfinished product of years of collecting and archiving. Circulated among workers and safeguarded from

managers, the binder served, High argues, as a “surrogate for the mill itself” even as the mill was being erased from the local landscape. The determination of workers to secret out materials and the instructions of the company to destroy the buildings even with many valuable historical documents still inside are stark reminders of how authority and resistance operate in both memory making and place making.

Exploring archives, archiving, and other forms of memory work provides insight into how the local knows itself.³⁴ In other words, we examine public memory as part of a more complex epistemology of self, community, space, and place that inhabits the local. The narratives we tell about this process do not therefore simply make room for local voices; we want to know how the local speaks as well as why and how people give voice to the past that dwells within and among them as individuals and as communities.³⁵ Like High, Patrizia Gentile turns to oral interviews in her chapter, “Capital Queers: Social Memory and Queer Place(s) in Cold War Ottawa.” And as with McAllister, the queer spaces she analyses are both traumatic sites of surveillance and places of community formation. Gentile’s work, however, provides an even more extensive consideration of the cartographies of memory that intersect and disrupt the Royal Canadian Mounted Police’s own intensive mapping of a perceived security threat. Memory is especially significant for Gentile in light of the particular nature of Ottawa’s queer spaces, which were entwined within the city’s elite sites of political power and were therefore largely invisible to outsiders. Retrieving this hidden past requires a reconsideration of the “geographies of vulnerability,” a recovery of local places and the networks that sustained the gay and lesbian communities during the Cold War and beyond. In these chapters, and indeed throughout this book, we are reminded that history does not exist in the past; it makes the past, as public memory, useful for current needs and desires.

From official commemorations to vernacular expressions, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* confronts the politics of public memory by insisting on the significance of the politics of place. In this vein, we are building on a much wider literature, particularly among geographers, that emerged in the mid-1990s. In a series of articles, Doreen Massey emphasizes that every public memory of and in place is always in competition with other memories and suggests that “the past of a place is as open to a multiplicity of readings as is the present.” Place is thus both a site and a subject of struggle,

a “conjunction of many histories and many spaces.”³⁶ For Massey, studies that de-naturalize place memories offer history a politically useful role, one that can reassert the primacy of “place” in any serious consideration of power. For David Harvey, in contrast, place normalizes a history of entitlement and exclusion through the arrangement, regulation, and policing of space, including memorial space. In particular, Harvey worries that the “quest for authenticity” leads only to artificial “invented traditions and a commercialized heritage culture.”³⁷ The fetishization of an a-historical, phenomenological spirit that defines place as it really was, is, and ought to be operates as a mechanism of social exclusion and alienation.³⁸

In Canada, Ian McKay’s important work on the invention of “the folk” in twentieth-century Nova Scotia follows a similar path. Like Harvey, McKay emphasizes the totalizing and exclusionary power that can accompany place memories. The cultural production of tradition constructs a dominant and relentless place memory of Nova Scotia as distinctively Scottish, overwhelming other ethnic and local memories of place.³⁹ The pessimism of Harvey and McKay stems partly from the classic formulations of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in which “tradition” is the by-product of the elite and the powerful using cultural production to normalize and consolidate their socio-political authority.⁴⁰ In contrast, Massey understands “tradition” as being in a constant state of renewal, not just reproduction, and thus as potentially capable of being changed. Massey does not deny the power relationships affected by “tradition” and by other dominant discourses of place memories; instead, she refuses to see such things as iron cages from which there can be no escape.⁴¹

The chapters in this book confront many of the same issues that haunt Harvey and excite Massey. We share both an awareness of and a concern for the politics of place as they involve public memory and tradition, and our interventions suggest that there remains great possibility for politically progressive place memories and memory places. However, in focusing closely on local practices and local understandings, we resist the tendency to frame the productions of place and public memory as simply overarching tools of exclusionary power. Certainly, the authors here recognize that acts of memory and the structuring of place serve particular interests, from Ottawa Valley towns writing out Aboriginal presences to the reworking of the view from Lake Minnewanka. However, the strategies and tools of “placing memory”

and “remembering place” also serve as active points of resistance, from mill workers archiving documents from their former workplace to the oral narratives that re-situate places of danger and community for gays and lesbians in Ottawa to the collection of photographs in Japanese Canadian archives. In each of these instances, the will to archive and the will to be archived are part of a politics of refusal, whether a refusal to accept job loss, to accept being labelled criminals and threats to national security, or to accept dislocation and dissolution as an ethnic community.

The fluidity and uncertainty that characterize the remakings of place and memory offer spaces of disruption that are often visible only when set within a deeply localized context. Landscape photographs of the foothills offer very different meanings when situated within local spaces and local memories. Monuments built with much care and purpose by political authorities and tourist promoters can seemingly disappear or be forgotten when they are encountered and experienced as elements of a lived-in, everyday local landscape. As a resident of St. Catharines, Ontario, told Johnston and Ripmeester about the city and Niagara Region’s commemorative landscape, “I know where the big things are, but really know them? I notice more when I am travelling.” Within this volume, “the local” is not simply a convenient scale for our case studies but rather a fundamental aspect of addressing the nuances and slip-pages between the politics of place and the politics of memory.

At the same time, we argue that in order to take “the local” seriously as an important category of analysis, we need to engage with the empirical richness that we face in the narratives, memories, and material traces of place. *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* delves into layers of context and detail, not to avoid theorizing but to make the study of “local” memory and place meaningful in acknowledging the lived experiences of those who inhabit or traverse or remember these places. The contributors to this volume have not shied away from telling these stories with a strong narrative voice; in coming to terms with their own “place” in this process, several authors insist on being a part of the history being recovered, analyzed, and narrated. In the afterword, Schwartz also follows this strategy by locating herself within the narrative, but in drawing on her personal recollections of place, she complicates the very division of public and private memory.

These stories show the high costs involved if our place memories and memory places do not accommodate difference, acknowledge injustice, and

demonstrate a willingness to share authority over “the past.” To this end, we must accept that places and memories are always in a state of becoming, of being worked on, struggled over, celebrated, mourned, and even, it bears repeating, ignored. Such a future can emerge, however, only from an increased understanding of our collective pasts, one that might inspire us to look again and anew at our own placing of memory and remembering of place. To return to the epigraph from Marlene Creates at the beginning of this introduction, “The land is not an abstract physical location but a *place*, charged with personal significance, shaping the images we have of ourselves.” If we are to reflect on and remake ourselves, it is vital that we reconsider our own memories of place and the emplacement of memory.

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NOTES

- 1 Joan M. Schwartz, “Constituting *Places of Presence*: Landscape, Identity and the Geographical Imagination,” in Marlene Creates, *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991* (St. John’s, NL: Killick’s Press, 1997), 11.
- 2 See the syntheses in Tim Creswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); and Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007).
- 3 On “memory fatigue,” see Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 3. The popularization of the notion of a “memory crisis” comes from Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

- 4 Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 3 vols., rev. ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1997); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006).
- 5 Notable examples include H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory and Meaning in the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Cecilia Morgan and Colin Coates, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
- 6 Hue-Tam Ho Tai points out that "the French nation of *Realms of Memory* is a given rather than a problem or project. The contests and conflicts that are so amply documented in the collection are not about France per se but about the nature of its national identity." See her "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *American Historical Review* 106, 3 (June 2001): 910.
- 7 Huysen, *Present Pasts*, 4.
- 8 Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter, originally published in 1950 as *La Mémoire collective* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 140. A four-volume translation of *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, divided thematically, is currently being published by the University of Chicago Press, and not surprisingly, the second volume is dedicated to "space." See Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 2, *Space*, trans. David P. Jordan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- 9 A useful critique of Nora along these lines is offered by Steven Legg, "Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation, and Nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23 (2005): 481-504.
- 10 This understanding of place is provided by Cliff Hague, "Planning and Place Identity," in *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*, ed. Cliff Hague and Paul Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 2005), 4. Also cited in Brian Osborne, "From Patriotic Pines to Diasporic Geese: Emplacing Culture, Setting Our Sights, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada," *Canadian Journal of Communications* 31, 1 (2006): 154.
- 11 Gaston R. Gordillo, *Landscapes of Devils: Tension of Place and Memory in the Argentinian Chaco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 4.
- 12 Osborne, "From Patriotic Pines," 154. Also see by Brian Osborne, "Figuring Space, Marking Time: Contested Identities in Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, 1-2 (1996): 23-40; "Constructing Landscapes of Power: The George Etienne Cartier Monument, Montreal, 1910-1996," *Journal of Historical Geography* 24, 4 (1998): 431-58; "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, 3 (2001): 39-77; "Moose Jaw's 'Great Escape': Constructing Tunnels, Deconstructing Heritage, Marketing Places," *Material History Review* 54 (2002):

- 16-28; and with David L.A. Gordon, "Constructing National Identity in Canada's Capital, 1900-2000: Confederation Square and the National Monument," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004): 618-41.
- 13 In this respect, we share interests with Steven High and David W. Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007); Martha Norkunas, *Monuments and Memory: History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); and Gerald Pocius, *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
- 14 Arturo Escobar, "Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization," *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 139-74. See also Roxann Prazniak and Arif Dirlik, eds., *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001); Geert De Neve and Henrike Donner, eds., *The Meaning of the Local: Politics of Place in Urban India* (London: Routledge, 2006); Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," in *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 146-56; and Steven Hoelscher and Derek H. Alderman, "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship," *Social and Cultural Geography* 5, 3 (2004): 347-55.
- 15 Escobar, "Culture Sits in Places," 147-48.
- 16 Lucy Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* (New York: New Press, 1998). For a rather different perspective, see Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright, eds., *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).
- 17 We have focused our discussion on major monographs in the field but are aware of the wider, growing interest in exploring the historical depths of place and memory from a local perspective in Canada. See, for example, recent articles by Robert Summerby-Murray, "Interpreting Personalized Industrial Heritage in the Mining Towns of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia: Landscape Examples from Springhill and River Hebert," *Urban History Review* 35, 2 (2007): 51-59; and Paul B. Williams, "A Local Sense of Place: Halifax's Little Dutch Church," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31 (2006): 59-83. Less focused on commemoration, Joy Parr and her colleagues are producing some innovative work in their examinations of place memories and high-modern technological megaprojects; see <http://megaprojects.uwo.ca> and Joy Parr, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953-2003* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010). Tina Loo develops important arguments about high-modern technological megaprojects, place memories, and environmental justice in her "People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes," *BC Studies* 142-43 (2004-5): 161-91; and "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007): 895-919.

- 18 William J. Turkel, *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
- 19 Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 3.
- 20 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (1974, 1984; reprint, London: Blackwell, 1991), 116.
- 21 Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 337.
- 22 For a case study of the exclusionary power of some “local” historical representations, see Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999). Tim Cresswell offers some important insight into peoples and practices being identified as “out-of-place” in his *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
- 23 John Bodnar defines public memory as “a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication its future. It is fashioned ideally in a public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views. The major focus of this communicative and cognitive process is not the past, however, but serious matters in the present such as the nature of power.” See his *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.
- 24 Alan Radley, “Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past,” in *Collective Remembering*, ed. David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London: Sage, 1990), 57. See also Marius Kwint et al., eds., *Material Memories* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); and Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister, eds., *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts* (New York: Bergahn Books, 2006).
- 25 See, among others, Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, eds., *Archaeologies of Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern, eds., *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 2003); G.J. Ashworth, Brian Graham, and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007); “Special Issue: Sense of Place: New Media, Cultural Heritage and Place Making,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, 3 (2008).
- 26 Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, “Introduction: Contested Pasts,” in *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London: Routledge, 2003), 11.
- 27 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 40-46.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 29 Tim Cresswell and Gareth Hoskins, “Place, Persistence, and Practice: Evaluating Historical Significance at Angel Island, San Francisco, and Maxwell Street, Chicago,” *Annals*

- of the *Association of American Geographers* 98, 2 (2008): 395. Bob Jessop, Neil Brenner, and Martin Jones develop a complex model for researching and writing about space and social relationships in their “Theorizing Sociospatial Relations,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26 (2008): 389-401. Although their article emerged after this book’s first draft was written, there is a shared theoretical sensibility about the need for multidimensional paths of analysis. Their “TPSN” model-building, however, seems to be inconsistent with their strong emphasis on the overlapping and intersecting elements (e.g., territory, place, scale, networks) of telling place stories.
- 30 Here, we are inspired by some rich thinking from postcolonial studies, including Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Anu Pamarao, “Affect, Memory, and Materiality: A Review Essay on Archival Mediation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, 2 (2008): 559-67. The literature on archives is voluminous, but on the question of archives and memory, a good starting point is Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, eds., *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). Joan M. Schwartz cautions that despite the proliferation of scholarly work on “the archive,” much of it ignores the social practices and theoretical foundations of actual archives; see her “‘Having New Eyes’: Spaces of Archives, Landscapes of Power,” *Archivaria* 61 (Spring 2006): 1-25.
- 31 Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- 32 Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 13.
- 33 Kerwin Lee Klein provides the most sustained critique of both Nora and the wider field of memory studies on this point, lamenting that “memory” is often imbued with essentialist notions, “re-enchanted” by Freudian or mystical language. Klein is also critical of the “materialization” of memory, whereby “any cultural practice or artifact that Hegel might have excluded from History seems to qualify as Memory.” See his “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 135-36.
- 34 Anthropologists have provided some invaluable understanding of this process by emphasizing the roles played by storytellers and oral tradition among different Aboriginal cultures. Two important examples, dealing with two different cultures and places, are Julie Cruickshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); and Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). For more of an approach one might call “historical epistemology”

- or “historical ontology,” see Joy Parr, “Local Water Diversely Known: Walkerton, Ontario, 2000 and After,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, 2 (2005): 251-71.
- 35 For a similar claim about how scholars ought to understand life stories as “evidence,” see Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- 36 Doreen Massey, “Places and Their Pasts,” *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995): 184-85, 191. Many of the ideas in this article are developed more fully in Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). More recent directions in Massey’s work can be seen in her *For Space* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005); and her *World City* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007).
- 37 David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again,” in *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 302.
- 38 As he explains in “From Space to Place and Back Again,” Harvey is especially concerned about literatures that, at least in purpose, follow Martin Heidegger’s emphasis on the pressing need for the authenticity of “dwelling” in a modern world. See Martin Heidegger, “Building, Dwelling, Thinking,” in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). See also Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History* (London and New York: Continuum, 2001), 8-28; and Jeff Malpas, “New Media, Cultural Heritage and the Sense of Place: Mapping the Conceptual Ground,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, 3 (May 2008): 197-209.
- 39 Ian McKay, *Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 275. Alan Gordon’s contribution to this book builds on but also moves away from McKay’s pioneering work.
- 40 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983). For an updated reflection on tradition, see Mark Salber Phillips and Gordon Schochet, eds., *Questions of Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
- 41 Writing in the mid-1990s, Massey was especially influenced by postcolonial studies of “tradition” and cultural practices in Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Black Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Although Harvey also speaks of place and memory as potential sites of struggle, it is difficult to escape the despair that haunts his understanding of these issues and the inevitability of their historical trajectories.