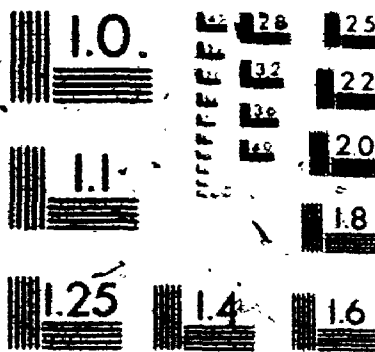


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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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National Historic Parks and Sites, 1880-1951:
The Biography of a Federal Cultural Program

by

Christopher James Taylor, B.A., M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April, 1986

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to determine the features of the site, or to preserve the actual house; the work as a rule must be done promptly or it can never be done.¹⁰

But it will be argued here that preservation and commemoration are distinct functions stemming from different concerns and devoted to different ends. Both are bound together in the same program and the lines which separate these activities are often blurred: Properties acquired for preservation, for instance, are usually first acquired as historic sites. But the interests each serve as distinct enough to be important factors in the politics of historic sites.

In the activity of commemoration an historic site derives significance through association with a larger historical context. Such a place does not need tangible remains but is linked through its connection with a past event or person to a sequence of historical development. Thus sites associated with landings of European explorers, battles in wars of national defense and great men all relate to the present reality of nation through a unifying structure of historical narrative. It is this narrative sequence rather than the physical setting which gives the place its meaning. In this context national significance usually stems from the fact that the narrative sequence to which the site relates is national rather than provincial or local history. This criterion leads to a particular kind of treatment. Since the site's significance derives more from intellectual associations than physical remains, acquisition of property is not a priority. Instead, the site is usually commemorated, that is formally identified, by a simple plaque or more

10. Massey Commission, Report, p. 346. More recently, the American historian Robin Winks has linked commemoration and preservation in a similar way, arguing that the first serves objects of commemoration, education and pride. The second serves these as well as objects of preservation and promoting an aesthetic environment. Robin Winks, "Conservation in America: national character as revealed by preservation", in The Future of the Past, edited by Jane Fawcett (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 143.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the involvement of the Canadian government in the interpretation and preservation of historic sites between 1880 and 1950. It focusses on the activities of the government's historic sites program which was initiated in 1919.

Following Confederation, a number of factors led to a growing awareness of historic sites as national resources to be exploited for public benefit. Through its gradual involvement in support of various sites and in response to public pressure, the government of Canada was led to establish a program for the identification and treatment of national historic sites. In 1919, it created the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and gave responsibility for the administration of an historic sites program to the Dominion Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior. The thesis argues that commemoration and preservation evolved as distinct activities within this program with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board concentrating on the erection of commemorative markers and the parks service concentrating on preserving a few properties as national historic parks. In 1950 these activities were investigated by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission).

This study examines the forces between 1880 and 1919 which led the government to initiate an historic sites program and then traces subsequent attempts to define a policy and implement a program until 1950. It ends with a discussion of the findings of the Massey Commission. In the process it examines the attitudes of the various members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and government officials toward the commemoration of Canadian history and heritage preservation in the context of prevailing opinion. The thesis explores the problems inherent in interpreting the history of a heterogeneous country from a homogeneous national viewpoint and examines conflicting regional and ethnic perspectives on historical issues such as the discovery of Canada and the development of the west.

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I was fortunate in having Professor H.B. Neatby as my thesis advisor. His door was always open and he never tired of my stupid questions. He steered me through many tricky areas and was especially helpful in structuring a mass of detail into a coherent narrative.

INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

In 1951 the Massey Commission tabled its now famous report on national development in the arts, letters and sciences. One of its principal areas of enquiry was the administration of federal cultural programs of which historic sites formed a minor but still significant component. The Massey Commission held public hearings, commissioned studies and conducted its own analysis before submitting its appraisal. Its report provided the first comprehensive review of Canadian cultural policy and continues to shape the way in which we regard government involvement in the promotion of a national culture.

The Massey Commission report consists of two sections, the first containing a brief analysis of areas of government activity prior to 1950 and the second systematically recommending improvements in each of these areas. Its examination of the historic sites program thus began with a description of the achievements of the program. It noted that the responsibility for national historic sites and monuments¹ rested with the national parks service advised by an honorary body of historians called the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The board reviewed potential sites and recommended those to be designated for reasons of national historic significance. The caring for designated sites was the responsibility of the parks service. The commission noted that the Board and the parks service treated historic sites in two distinct ways: by erecting a commemorative marker describing the historical significance of the site or by preserving buildings or ruins on the site. The main activities of the program, then, were the selection, preservation and commemoration of national historic sites. Since 1923 the government had commemorated 388 national historic sites and acquired 22 historic properties for preservation.

The Massey Commission judged this accomplishment against criticisms presented at the hearings and ideals held by its members and found the historic sites program wanting. It determined that sites were unevenly

¹ Monuments in this context means antique remains.

distributed across the land, that they reflected too few historical themes and that not enough effort was being made for the preservation of historic architecture. The commission noted, for example, that 119 out of 388 designated sites were in Ontario while Saskatchewan had only eight.² In the area of preservation the commission complained that too much emphasis had been placed on military sites and that most of the restoration projects involved forts. The recommendations presented in the second part of the report were aimed at correcting these deficiencies. Principal among these was "[t]hat the Historic Sites and Monuments Board undertake a much more comprehensive programme in the future and that it be provided with funds adequate for its important responsibilities" and "[t]hat greater emphasis be placed on the restoration and preservation of historic sites and buildings including those buildings of purely architectural significance."³

While the criticisms of the Massey Commission report reflected views passed along by concerned interest groups, they were shaped by general ideals about the role of culture and the state and the meaning of historic sites. The commission assumed, for instance, that a unifying cultural heritage existed in Canada and that it was the role of the federal government to develop society's awareness of this heritage. The preamble of the report stated: "That it is desirable that the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their national life and common achievements; that it is in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban."⁴ The Massey Commission did not question the assumption that the federal government should play a central part in fostering this awareness.

2. Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Report [hereafter cited as Massey Commission Report], p. 124.

3. Massey Commission Report, p. 347.

4. Massey Commission Report, p. 4.

The Massey Commission's approach to historic sites was shaped by these presuppositions. It assumed there were places of distinct national historic significance which "recall in a vivid picturesque manner not only the great and heroic moments of the past, but the thoughts and doings of other days, so different from our own, and yet so much a part of all that we are."⁵ The commission saw historic sites functioning as educational tools to bring a common heritage to the people. "We conceive that, without neglecting the important material consideration of attracting the tourist, the principal object of the Board should be to instruct Canadians about their history through the emotional and imaginative appeal of associated objects... We do not ignore the entertainment value; but we consider the enjoyment of national history to be a form of entertainment not sufficiently familiar to Canadians."⁶ As the commission assumed government intervention to be critical to the achievement of this object, faults in the program could be corrected by reforming its administration. More money and better organization therefore form the basis of many of the Massey Commission's recommendations.

Yet, while the commission's analysis of particular problems of the historic sites program was accurate in detail, its general approach was flawed by the inherent biases of its presuppositions. A basic fallacy of its analysis was in assuming that there was a single objective for national historic sites and that there could be a single agent for carrying out this purpose. In fact, as this paper will argue, there were a number of forces concerned with implementing the historic sites program, each with distinct objectives. The government, which was viewed by the Massey Commission as an individual entity, was not a monolithic force behind the implementation of a cultural policy. In the historic sites program it had three discrete parts: the executive, the civil service and the advisory body. Each related in its own way to the historic sites program, bringing its own perspectives and larger priorities.

5 Massey Commission Report, p. 123.

6 Massey Commission Report, p. 346.

Strictly speaking, the government is the executive, that is, the cabinet which is made up of ministers of the crown. Its task is to administer broad government policy but this is influenced by the party system so that members of parliament, who formally comprise the legislature, can bring regional and local concerns into the process of executive decision making. Regional representation is further enhanced through the participation of senators who also have access to the executive. The executive viewed the heritage program from this political perspective. While it saw historic sites as fostering national unity, it also saw heritage developments as tourist attractions providing economic benefit to regions where votes were important. Larger economic policies also affected the executive's commitment to the historic sites program. Budgetary limitations were a persistent factor retarding the implementation of a coherent heritage policy yet midway during the Depression larger priorities of economic development influenced the initiation of costly projects.

Subordinate to the executive, but nevertheless an important agent in implementing the historic sites program is the national parks service. Comprised of experts and career civil servants, it provides the detailed knowledge upon which decision making depends. It is closely tied to the executive through the minister who has final responsibility for its activities, but with the mandate to manage the day to day affairs of an array of ongoing government programs, the parks service has considerable autonomy and possesses sufficient independence to have its own stated policies regarding these programs. It is further removed from executive control by virtue of the fact that it forms merely a part of a government department. Until 1936 the national parks service was a branch of the massive Department of the Interior and subsequent to that it was buried even deeper in the Department of Mines and Resources. Its day to day workings were therefore far from the lofty gaze of the minister who sat at the head of these departments. Left alone to develop in this manner the national parks service brought its own priorities to the administration of historic sites. Charged with the preservation and development of natural landscape, it tended to regard historic parks and

sites as an extension of this mandate. Always the needs of the historic sites program had to fit into these larger concerns of the parks service and its department.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board is the third agent in the administration of the federal historic sites program. Formally appointed to advise the minister concerned on the designation and development of national historic sites, it in fact works closer with the parks service which is charged with implementing its recommendations. The board itself is not a homogeneous entity as its members are drawn from regional constituencies. So, while it is part of a cultural agency endeavouring to apply national criteria to the selection of historic sites, it introduces regional and provincial perspectives through the representation of its members. In this way competing views about the nature of a national history interacted in a single forum. As well, some members lobbied outside of the board for implementation of pet projects and so participated in the program on a personal level.

With diverse concerns deciding government policy, there could be no single dynamic for the development of historic sites. The federal heritage program was not operated by a machine-like government, which could be re-tooled or re-programmed to produce pre-determined results. It depended upon the interaction of various players: cabinet, the parks service and the advisory board. Each brought different concerns to the historic sites program - economic and cultural development, conservation of physical resources, and commemoration of a national heritage - which together influenced its direction. This process of interaction, which is the real determinant of the program, can be termed the politics of national historic sites.

There was another factor which complicated the politics of historic sites: they lack an objective reality. Unlike other phenomena in the natural world, historic sites do not have a reality separate from society's recognition of them as historic places. True, they often possess objectively verifiable features such as physical association

with an event, person or activity from the past and sometimes have tangible remains in the form of a ruin, building or midden, but in order to be deemed an historic site a property must subsequently be recognized as having historical significance.⁷ A heritage place derives its meaning not only from past activity and antique memorials but from later structures of understanding.⁸ This parallels the nature of history itself which is not just the record of past events but an interpretive sequence formed at a subsequent time and place.⁹ An historic site, then, is defined both by past associations and later historical understanding. It follows that a national historic site is a place identified as having national historic significance.

There are two principal ways of determining national significance each with different objectives. One is by applying criteria for the selection and treatment of sites for commemorative purposes. The other involves criteria for the selection and treatment of sites for preservation. The Massey Commission assumed that preservation was merely an extension of commemoration:

We believe that the marking of sites, important as it is, has received undue attention in relation to restoration and maintenance. Restoration of course is much more costly, but it is more informative and it offers its information in a much more striking fashion. Moreover it may be urgent.

The site of a battle, or of a treaty, or the location of the house of an eminent Canadian, if known, can be marked just as effectively now or in fifty years time; but if it is possible

7 C.J. Taylor, "Historic Sites", The Canadian Encyclopedia (Edmonton: Hartig Publishing Co., 1985).

8 This follows Cassirer's argument that the nature of objective reality cannot be separated from the subjective understanding of that reality. It is the action of knowing that defines the object, not the thing itself. Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, vol. 1 Language (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 90.

9 See E.H. Carr, What is History? (London: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 55.

to determine the features of the site, or to preserve the actual house, the work as a rule must be done promptly or it can never be done.¹⁰

But it will be argued here that preservation and commemoration are distinct functions stemming from different concerns and devoted to different ends. Both are bound together in the same program and the lines which separate these activities are often blurred. Properties acquired for preservation, for instance, are usually first acquired as historic sites. But the interests each serve as distinct enough to be important factors in the politics of historic sites.

In the activity of commemoration an historic site derives significance through association with a larger historical context. Such a place does not need tangible remains but is linked through its connection with a past event or person to a sequence of historical development. Thus sites associated with landings of European explorers, battles in wars of national defense and great men all relate to the present reality of nation through a unifying structure of historical narrative. It is this narrative sequence rather than the physical setting which gives the place its meaning. In this context national significance usually stems from the fact that the narrative sequence to which the site relates is national rather than provincial or local history. This criterion leads to a particular kind of treatment. Since the site's significance derives more from intellectual associations than physical remains, acquisition of property is not a priority. Instead, the site is usually commemorated, that is formally identified, by a simple plaque or more

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elaborate monument.¹¹ It is the inscription on the plaque that is important for providing an indication of the historic context of the site. Only in exceptional cases, as with a battlefield for example, where a site may be acquired and landscaped, is preservation a factor in commemoration.

Preservation, on the other hand, brings a different set of criteria and objectives to the selection and development of historic sites. Here it is the physical rather than the abstract associations of the site which are important. A site attracting recognition through preservation is usually intrinsically interesting, having a setting, ruin or preserved structure that attracts popular sentiment over a period of time. Where the attraction is particularly unusual, by virtue of size, antiquity or state of preservation, it may merit attention as a national treasure. In the context of the federal heritage program such a place is usually termed a national historic park. The aim of preservation is not to explain the significance of a site within a sequence of historical development but to preserve and develop its potential as an artifact from the past: ruins can be stabilized and decaying structures preserved. Sometimes development can include more radical intervention to exploit historical potential: vanished structural elements, sometimes entire buildings, can be replicated by modern additions. Museums and visitor reception centres are regularly included in larger heritage developments to further enhance their attraction to the casual visitor. Interpretive displays, however, do not focus on the meaning of the property in a didactic way, rather they interpret significance in the context of a past way of life.

The distinction made here between commemoration and preservation is not intended to be hard and fast. There are instances where the two functions overlap, as in the preservation of a prime minister's residence, for example; but the distinction is made to indicate two main approaches

¹¹ Monuments in this case has another meaning from that given above. Here it is used to describe a modern commemorative structure.

to the historical landscape, each with its own set of concerns and problems. In glossing over the differences between commemoration and preservation the Massey Commission failed to come to terms with some critical problems facing the historic sites program such as how could national historic significance be defined and what kind of sites were suitable for development as national historic parks.

The divergent aims of commemoration and preservation further complicated the politics of historic sites because different agents in the process stressed particular components of the heritage program. The national parks service, tied so strongly to conservation, tended to be more concerned with preservation. The Historic Site and Monuments Board had a more intellectual outlook that favoured commemoration. Other factors encouraged this separation of interests. A scarcity of funds severely curtailed the ability of the program to develop a comprehensive policy of preservation and the board was left almost by default to concentrate on commemoration. This bifurcation of interests led to problems that the Massey Commission only dimly perceived. Preservation had little to do with the advisory body as it was motivated by other reasons besides a desire to commemorate a national history.

The preservation side of the program assumed a separate existence. The Historic Sites and Monuments board concentrated as a unit on commemoration, selecting sites and preparing inscriptions for the plaques left the parks branch to assume responsibility for developing the few heritage properties already within the system. Fort Anne, Louisbourg, Fort Beauséjour, Fort Chambly and Fort Lennox. Although the board took little formal notice of these projects, the Maritime members were actively involved in developments at Louisbourg, Fort Beauséjour and, later, Port Royal Habitation. Their involvement in this area, however, was on a personal level and they acted through the parks service instead of through the board. At Fort Anne, the superintendent and local historical society took an active part in developing the site while promoting the acquisition of the Habitation property. In Quebec, the superintendent at Fort Chambly enjoyed wide powers to interpret and

restore the site according to his own ideals so that by the 1920s the property was more a shrine to traditional Québécois culture than military history. The alienation of the board from the preservation side of the program increased during the 1930s when a number of key decisions were made without its participation. The decision to reconstruct Port Royal Habitation was made against its express recommendation although the New Brunswick member favoured it. Normally preservation developments occurred at places already identified as national historic sites, but in 1938 the government proceeded to acquire the birthplace of Wilfrid Laurier before formally consulting the board.

In failing to understand the particular forces behind preservation, the Massey Commission was poorly armed to assess the achievement and problems of this part of the program. Linking it with commemoration, it complained of the few historical themes which were reflected in preservation developments, noting the great emphasis placed on military sites. But it failed to appreciate the reasons for this situation. Old forts made very good historic parks due to their size and association with national endeavour. The Massey Commission ignored the fact that some of these had been developed by the government as historic museums exhibiting general aspects of life in bygone times. Yet, while passing along the recommendations from other interest groups that the federal heritage program preserve examples of domestic architecture, it tacitly recognized the suitability of old forts as historic parks by recommending preservation of the citadels at Halifax and Quebec. Confused in this way, the Massey Commission ignored important issues of preservation. To what extent, for example, should a site be developed for the visitor given that such development usually threatens the historical integrity of the site? Should reconstruction be considered a part of preservation? Were federal historic parks a suitable way to preserve historic architecture or should other measures such as cost-sharing programs be developed? These and other issues were ignored by the commission and yet the heritage program had grappled with them for many years and would continue to do so long after the publication of the Massey Commission report.

The problem of commemorating a heterogeneous national history from a homogeneous point of view was another aspect not appreciated by the Massey Commission and yet it too was fundamental to understanding the historic sites program. The question of national significance was never really resolved. Because it depended on the interpretation of a site within an historical narrative, the significance could vary according to the nature of the historical sequence. Different segments of the population could, at different times and places, explain the development of the Canadian nation in different ways according to their view of the present. There was no single authorized version of Canadian history so the question of national significance was open to debate. Who discovered Canada? Who were the "good guys" in the French-Indian wars? What was the significance of the Northwest Rebellion? Such questions continue to evoke different responses from different groups and regions. These perspectives are reflected in the different types of historic sites commemorated in the various regions of the country. Ontario tended to choose sites commemorating the loyalists and the War of 1812; historic sites in Quebec favour events from the French regime; the west includes a large proportion of sites commemorating exploration and the fur trade. Distinctions emerge over time as well as space. Earlier in the century there was a greater predilection to choose sites associated with explorers and battles. Later, national politics became important while more recently social movements and minority groups have attracted attention. These differences do not mean that criteria were wrongly applied. Since there is no consensus on national identity the recognition of any site as having national significance depends on variables of time and place.

This rather arbitrary nature of national significance contributed greatly to the politics of historic sites. Through much of its early history the Historic Sites, and Monuments Board was dominated by conservative-minded Ontarians, especially Brigadier-General E.A. Cruikshank, who served as chairman from 1919 until his death in 1939. Cruikshank believed that the arrival of the loyalists introduced a distinctive Canadian outlook and that their descendents played a

critical role in defending Canadian culture against American aggression. Ontario sites were therefore often expressive of a defensive nationalism commemorating instances of successful resistance against this onslaught. The loyalist myth also influenced the selection of sites in New Brunswick although here there were other subjects, such as the Acadian presence, influencing a distinctive regional outlook. Quebec sites resembled Ontario's in expressing a similar form of defensive nationalism although here the protagonists were not British loyalists but defenders of a traditional French-Canadian culture.

So long as commemorations remained confined to their respective regions there was little conflict. Members of the Board were responsible for dealing with commemorations in their respective regions and the Board as a whole came to respect their priorities. The Quebec and Maritime members, for instance, accepted that their regions attributed the discovery of Canada to different people, with the Maritimes crediting Cabot and Quebec recognizing Cartier, so did not press this issue. Even Cruikshank could accept the defensive nationalism of Quebec by giving a broader meaning to the name "canadiens" than meant by his Quebec colleague.

Difficulties surfaced, however, when different regional outlooks competed to impose their view on the history of a third region. Such a case arose with the commemoration of sites associated with the Northwest Rebellion which were interpreted as victories over reactionary forces in a sort of westward expansion of empire. But some Quebec interests did not see the episode in this context; instead they sided with the Métis, with whom they shared a common language, in viewing the episode as a valiant defence against an imperial aggressor. Nascent western nationalism and native aspirations mixed in with this controversy to further complicate matters.

Other problems arose from ideological conflict. Cruikshank and the conservative-minded Maritime members viewed the rebellions of 1837-38 in terms of the loyalist myth. What was significant to them was the

successful defence of British principles against godless republicanism. Early sites marking sites associated with this episode therefore commemorated victories over the insurgents while rebel leaders such as William Lyon Mackenzie were virtually ignored. Gradually, however, another point of view gathered strength on the board which saw the rebellions as a progressive episode in Canadian history. According to this liberal perspective the rebellions brought the Durham Report which led to responsible government and eventually Confederation. By the 1940s, therefore, the board was willing to recognize the rebellions in a more positive light.

Other changes occurred gradually over time as the board struggled to broaden the range of its topics. Social and commercial themes were gradually introduced into the pantheon of national historic sites and eventually the board would recognize the contribution of minority groups. But change was slow to be reflected in the canon of designated sites. For one thing a large proportion of sites had been commemorated during the 1920s when older ideas about national significance dominated the work of the board. With only a few commemorations being made each year it took time for newer attitudes to achieve suitable representation. Practical difficulties also made it difficult to translate newer historical concerns into historic sites. The board consciously strove to keep the criteria for national significance on a different plane from the merely local or provincial. It was therefore difficult to interpret social movements or economic development in a purely national context. Although the board early recognized the national importance of transportation routes and justified commemorating some commercial endeavour using the criterion of first things, it had difficulty in coming to terms with topics such as education, immigration (other than French and British), and industry. Even political development posed problems for the board because important themes often had a local or partisan implication. New topics raised the possibility for regional conflict as different places had different priorities. It was much easier to restrict the number of potential sites by imposing strict standards of national significance even if this criterion was vague. Military sites,

then, continued to be well represented in later designations because they had clear national associations, because they could easily be tied to a particular site and because they were safe choices. But the Massey Commission failed to consider these nuances when criticizing the work of the board. Instead it assumed that a simple change in policy would effect a change in the history commemorated by national historic sites.

In understanding the politics of historic sites we realize that the historic sites program could never function as the Massey Commission hoped it would, as some kind of agent of government propaganda for the indoctrination of a disparate population with the unifying values of the cultural elite. The forces behind the program and the nature of historic sites were too diverse for that. The program also reflected an inherent contradiction in the Canadian outlook: its national identity is founded on regional loyalties. While these regional perspectives endow an immediacy to national identity, they deter the presentation of a common and unifying heritage. Nationalism is therefore both strengthened and weakened by regional loyalties.

The heritage program had to accommodate a number of concerns represented by the government, the parks service and the advisory body and historic sites served purposes as different as preservation and commemoration. Moreover in commemorating a national history it was evident that a number of points of view had to be reflected in the selection of historic sites. The program, then, reflected, far more than it could ever affect, the attitudes of a diverse and changing society.

CHAPTER I: LEGACY

In which the diverse motives for the establishment of a national historic sites program are examined.

The Government of Canada was persuaded to initiate its historic sites program largely as the result of two broad intellectual movements influential in Canada in the decades prior to World War I. They can be loosely termed as the heritage movement, formed of a cluster of individuals and organizations concerned with the celebration of Canadian history, and the conservation movement which was primarily concerned with the conservation of primary resources but which also extended its interest to the preservation of heritage areas. Pressures from within these two movements led Ottawa to acquire individual historic sites and establish a program to rationalize their development. Yet, while these pressures led to a single program, they brought different notions about the ends which this program should serve. The background of these two overlapping areas of concern, then, provides the key to understanding the contradictory nature of the government's heritage program.

The heritage movement helped instill the notion that historic sites were a national responsibility in two ways. First, by championing nationalist ideals for the promotion of a common past, it presented some sites as the symbols of a recognized national history. Secondly, the movement itself took on a national dimension through the efforts of organizations such as the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association. Historic sites promoted by these organizations were ipso facto nationally significant. While these organizations partly supported the nationalist aims of some of its members, it gave credence to the idea that historic sites could be national treasures worthy of preservation as a public trust. The heritage movement was joined by government agencies already committed to the preservation of a common heritage such as the Dominion Archives which further promoted government involvement in this area.

Parallel with the heritage movement was the conservation movement spanning the period 1880-1914. It was part of a larger intellectual trend characterized in the United States as the Progressive Movement. In this context it argued for the necessity for government intervention and large scale planning to conserve rapidly dwindling natural resources for future generations. Like the heritage movement, the conservation movement also had nationalist aims. It sought to co-ordinate resource development on a national scale in order to optimize the economic and social development of the nation. It approached historic sites through its concern for the preservation of wilderness areas. In Canada wilderness conservation was largely the responsibility of the national parks service of the Department of the Interior.¹ Gradually this agency came to regard the preservation of other types of landscape besides wilderness as its legitimate concern. Historic sites, then, were simply a form of heritage landscape.

Both the heritage and conservation movements brought competing aims to the heritage program. Those who wished to use historic sites as symbols of national history were more interested in advertising their significance through commemorative monuments than in the preservation of in situ resources. Those interested in historic sites as national treasures or as heritage landscape tended to be more concerned with their physical preservation than in their interpretation as part of a national history. There were further divisions within these two groups. Among the nationalists there were different regional, ethnic and ideological perspectives governing their view of national history. Thus there was not one, but several versions of a national history, each with its own pantheon of national historic sites. Among the preservationists there were conflicting views of treatment as well as selection. Should a ruin be preserved as it was as a romantic reminder of a vaguely apprehended past, or should it be developed into a more

¹ Throughout its history the agency responsible for national parks has had a number of names, from the Dominion Park Branch to Parks Canada. To avoid confusion, it will be referred to here as the national parks service, the branch or the bureau.

popular attraction, made more useful for ends of tourism and education? Preservation and development, as the parks service was aware in respect to wilderness conservation, were not always compatible concepts.

All of these perspectives interacted in the formation of national historic sites, sometimes in competition, sometimes in harmony. Commingling in such a narrow field, they are not always easily distinguished. Some individuals prominent in the development of the historic sites program could appear in a number of camps. Still, the divergent aims would push the program in two progressively separate directions so the background of the different interests is important to the understanding of future development.

I The Formation of a National Heritage Movement 1890-1919

One Sunday afternoon in July 1895 a large crowd gathered in a grassy park near Niagara to hear speeches at the unveiling of a monument honouring the memory of soldiers who died at Lundy's Lane. The audience heard speeches from the Lieutenant Governor, a local member of the provincial parliament and Colonel George Taylor Denison, patriot, police magistrate and military historian. Among the listeners sat a young army officer, Captain Ernest Cruikshank, also a military historian, who had commanded the honour guard which had re-interred the bones. In a fiery speech Denison defended those impulses which sought to preserve the memory of those who died in defence of their country and described Lundy's Lane as an important part of the national heritage. A newspaper item recounts the conclusion of the speech: "Lt.-Col. Denison then argued that every great nation which has ever existed has shown itself ready to acknowledge the deeds of those who have fought for it and he cited Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome in ancient history, and Switzerland in more modern times, as proof of this assertion. The erection of such monuments, he said, taught the youth of the land to venerate the memory of the past and encouraged the sentiment of nationality which was throbbing now so strongly in Canada. (Applause)"²

2 The Globe, Toronto, 26 July 1895.

Episodes such as the erection of the monument at Lundy's Lane which reflected the notion that events from the past, and the landscape on which they occurred, were important to the nation's culture and therefore a national responsibility. This in turn helped encourage greater concern for the preservation of historic sites by individuals, organizations and the federal government. To the extent that these individuals pulled together for a common objective they can be seen as forming a heritage movement. Emerging from the hopeful nationalism of the 1880s, it culminated in the establishment in 1919 of a federal government program to identify and administer national historic sites.

But there was also considerable disagreement about the significance of the Canadian past. Society at the turn of the century was far from being a cohesive entity fractured as it was by language, region and religion. Immigration, urbanization and industrialization were bringing rapid changes to the old colonial societies which had been brought somewhat artificially together by Confederation. It was partly this change and division which inspired nationalist expression, driven by what Gerald Killan had described by "a quest for a cohesive national heritage."³ But in a country such as Canada at the turn of the century, agreement over the nature of this heritage was almost impossible to obtain. The search for national identity in history was not the search for an abstraction but the understanding of larger reality from particular human perspectives. Views of national history therefore differed according to a number of variables: ethnicity, ideology, politics and religion. As a result, ideologies containing unifying explanations of the nation's past, present and future - which is what nationalism entails - were rooted in different sections of the Canadian community. Historic sites like Lundy's Lane were peculiar to Ontario where the loyalist cult was a dominant part of the nationalism of that

3 Gerald Killan / Preserving Ontario's Heritage: a history of the Ontario Historical Society (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1976), p. 25.

community.⁴ Other concerns, reflecting different nationalist perspectives, governed the choice of historic sites in the Maritimes and Quebec. There was not one but several nationalisms.

The heritage movement in Canada was largely the manifestation of the work of local organizations which promoted their sites as national resources and coalesced at a national level through umbrella agencies such as the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association. In some respects these groups were remarkably disparate, including patriotic societies such as local chapters of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the St. Jean Baptiste Society, regular historical societies and more broadly based cultural organizations. Based in local contexts they were particularly prone to regional biases. Yet they also shared some remarkable similarities. They tended to be dominated by members of the local elite and included well-educated members of propertied class. Dominated by the establishment, they were often concerned with promoting cultural ideals, ideals which looked beyond local differences and sought national cohesion.

In Ontario, history and nationalist ideology were joined through a cluster of beliefs generally referred to as the loyalist tradition. One of the greatest exponents of this tradition in the writing of Canadian history at the turn of the century was George Taylor Denison. His views on the importance of loyalists and their ancestors in the formation of a distinctive Canadian society were expounded in his 1904 presidential address to the Royal Society of Canada. Entitled "The United Empire Loyalists and their influence upon the History of the Continent", his paper began by describing the loyalists as the respectable element of American society driven north by lawless agitators revolting against the

4 "...[U]nderlying the appearance of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society in 1887, and the Wentworth Historical Society a year later, was a determination to thwart the dreaded continentalists. Through all their activities, these groups sought to build up a national history illustrating that imperial federation, not annexation, was the logical end towards which Canada had been evolving since 1783." Gerald Killan, p. 16.

British crown,⁵ In British North America they provided a firm basis on which Canada could emerge as an independent state in North America loyal to the British crown. Denison described them as a homogeneous mass, possessing varying degrees of wealth but tied together by their doctrine of "Fear God and Honour the King".⁶ Thanks to their influence Canadian society was distinguished by being more law abiding than the United States for "the pious, God-fearing men who had made such sacrifices for their principles, were a community almost free from crime".⁷ More importantly, they had consistently led the defense of Canada against American aggression. Loyalists and their children saved the day for Upper Canada during the War of 1812, taking a leading part in the local militia units. Again loyalist descendents had been quick to come out in support of the civil authority against the republican rebels in 1837. Similarly they had staunchly defended the crown during the Fenton raids and the Trent affair. And, more recently, they had led the fight against the insidious movement for commercial union with the United States. The loyalists, in sum, embodied a distinctive heroic tradition which all Canadians could revere. "Canadians may well be proud of the founders of this country, and all classes should combine to perpetuate the principles which have guided us so well in the past."⁸

More recently, Carl Berger has elaborated on this notion of a loyalist tradition to show how history was employed by a political elite in the late nineteenth century to justify its larger view of imperial unity. "Not all historical work during these years derived from the loyalist cult. But history was the chief vehicle in which the loyalist tradition depended for its credibility upon the assumption that the past contained

5 G.T. Denison, "The United Empire Loyalists and their Influence upon the history of this continent," Royal Society of Canada [hereafter RSC], Proceedings and Transactions, 1904, p. xxvii.

6 - Ibid., p. xxxi.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid. p. xxxix.

principles to which the present must adhere if the continuity of national life was to be preserved."⁹ This was a defensive form of nationalism, based on a fear of absorption by the United States. It inspired a faction of contemporary politics which was militantly against free trade with the U.S. with examples from the past of patriotic stands against the Yankee invader. The importance of the past to the conservative elite in Ontario meant that history was promoted with missionary zeal. As a result, interest in history transcended partisan lines. Gerald Killan, in his history of the Ontario Historical Society, has noted that membership in local historical societies had an extremely broad base, including more than followers of the conservative elite.¹⁰ Nevertheless, he also points to the popularity of the loyalist tradition: "nineteenth century Ontarians embraced history to promote a variety of causes, the chief of which was to cultivate a British Canadian nationalism."¹¹

This nationalist ideology was used to gain federal support for a number of Ontario historic sites. A local heritage activist who followed this route was Canon George Bull who helped organize the Lundy's Lane Historical Society in 1887 with the immediate aim of developing the Lundy's Lane Battlefield but also to help spread the loyalist doctrine. The Battle of Lundy's Lane had taken place in 1814 when a large American force had attempted to invade Canada across the Niagara River. British regulars and Canadian militia units under the command of General Drummond repulsed the Americans after some bitter hand to hand combat.¹² Although it was a decisive victory, the Americans had

9 Carl Berger, The Sense of Power, studies in the ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 89.

10 Gerald Killan, Preserving Ontario's Heritage, p. 32.

11 Ibid., p. 4.

12 J. Mackay Hitsman, The Incredible War of 1812 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 198-199.

managed to inflict heavy casualties and then retreat in order. A more significant victory had taken place the previous year when Canadian Indians surrounded and captured some 300 Americans at the Battle of the Beaver dam. But Lundy's Lane was significant for the honour it gave the Canadian militia, including the York volunteers who had fought with distinction. Hence it was a prominent event in the lore of the loyalist and the militia myth.¹³

Canon Bull wished to re-inter the remains of the Canadian dead from the battlefield in a large common grave and mark it with a fitting monument. Although initial attempts to raise sufficient funds by public subscription failed, the federal government was persuaded to lend a hand to complete the project. Ottawa commissioned E.E. Taché to design a monument that would be erected on War of 1812 battlefields and in 1895 40-foot granite pillars were unveiled at Chateauguay, Crysler's Farm, Lundy's Lane and later at Stoney Creek.¹⁴ The government contributed \$5,000 to the building of each of these which was disbursed through the Department of Militia and Defence. Although the Department oversaw the spending of the money, local historical societies were still actively involved and in the case of the Lundy's Lane monument the site became the responsibility of the Queen Victoria Niagara Parks Commission, an agency of the provincial government founded in 1893. The inscription for the monument represents the view of history promoted by Canadian imperialists and was likely composed by Canon Bull or George Taylor Denison.¹⁵ It reads:

13 "One of the most durable of our legends is what I may call the Militia Legend of 1812. By that I mean the idea that during the war the country was defended by 'the Militia' with only a little help from regular troops." C.P. Stacey, "The War of 1812 in Canadian History," Ontario History, L, 3 (summer 1958), p. 154.

14 Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC], RG 84, vol. 1305, HS 8, pt. 2, "Grants for Monuments etc. through the Department of Finance," n.d.

15 There is a draft of an inscription in the Denison papers which suggests that he had a hand in its composition. PAC, MG 29, E29 (George Taylor Denison III), vol. 5.

Erected by the Canadian Parliament in Honour of the Victory
Gained by the British Canadian Forces on this Field on the
25th of July 1814, And in Grateful remembrance of the Brave
Men who died that Day fighting for the Unity of the Empire.

1895

Although the emphasis on imperial unity is peculiar to monuments of this region, the Lundy's battlefield is in many ways an archetypal national historic site and the implication of the interpretation - that the event affected the future development and outlook of the nation - is common to other sites commemorated at the turn of the century.

But the imperialists' view of history did not go unchallenged in Ontario. Tied so strongly to Tory ideology of no truck nor trade with the Yankee, it was natural that Liberal opinion would try to modify it, especially at this time, when the reciprocity treaty was being hotly debated. One of the chief proponents of this revisionist ideology was Goldwin Smith who argued for the development of Canada as an independent state in harmonious co-operation with its continental neighbour. Smith was a former Oxford University professor who enjoyed considerable prestige in Canada, particularly in Toronto intellectual circles. Consequently, when he argued that the Lundy's Lane memorial should honour the dead of both sides, not just the loyal Canadians, he posed a considerable threat to Bull and his acolytes. Goldwin Smith's proposal was supported by the Liberal Toronto Globe in an editorial of July 1895 which noted in part: "Now, much as we cherish our dead, revere the memory of Lundy's Lane and rejoice in our Canadianism, was there anything discreditable in Mr. Goldwin Smith's actions? Was his an ignoble thought? On the heights of Abraham the Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm stands, a lesson in reconciliation to all the world. Is it a vain hope that Lundy's have may read the same lesson to generations that follow?"¹⁶ But this proposal would have found little support with the

16 The Globe, Toronto, 29 July 1895.

presiding Conservatives at Ottawa. It smacked too much of Liberal continentalism.

Despite the influence of revisionists like Goldwin Smith there were a number of patriotic and historical societies like the Lundy's Lane Historical Society formed to promote specific heritage issues. Another example was at Hamilton where an organization dominated by women members of the local elite brought about the purchase of the Gage homestead. The property was important as being the site of the Battle of Stony Creek in the the War 1812 but also included a pioneer building which was to be restored by the women's committee.¹⁷ Elsewhere in southern Ontario there were a number of militarily non-strategic sites administered by the Department of Militia and Defence which became heritage issues as local historical societies adopted them as preservation causes. Many of these forts dated back to the War of 1812 and some had subsequently seen action during the Rebellions and the Fenian Raids. By the time the British army left them in 1870 they were quite useless as defensive establishments yet their history made them shrines for local historical and patriotic groups. When, therefore, early in this century, the government took steps to divest itself of some of this real estate, it met strong opposition from local societies and members of parliament. Typical of these properties was Fort Malden in Amherstburg.

Fort Malden had been built by the British army during the War of 1812 and was later garrisoned by local militia units. In 1875, following its transfer to the Canadian government, the property was put up for sale. Many local citizens still considered the property to be a government responsibility and in 1904 the residents of Amherstburg petitioned the minister of Militia and Defence to re-acquire the property as a national

¹⁷ RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1900, p. viii.

historic park.¹⁸ No definite action followed this petition and in 1909, when the land was threatened with subdivision, the newly-formed Amherstburg chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire petitioned the governor general to nationalize the property.¹⁹ Again in 1912, the centenary of the fort, pressure was put on the government to acquire the site and a delegation met with Prime Minister Borden. Although Borden was sympathetic, further discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of war.

While many sites such as Lundy's Lane and Stoney Creek were promoted for ideological ends, there was also concern for the preservation of an historic landscape. At the turn of the century the city of Hamilton purchased the home of Alag McNab, a palatial residence called Dundurn Castle splendidly situated on park-like grounds overlooking Lake Ontario. The plan was to turn the building into "a museum for the preservation of historic relics and scientific specimens, and the exhibition of art treasures."²⁰ These groups sponsored historic sites for both patriotic and aesthetic reasons. At the opening of Dundurn Park noted Canadian historian J.A. Bourinot pointed to the meaning which history gives to the landscape. "The various human forces that have exercised such potent influence on the development of Canada, have at one time and another met on this historic height, or by the side of the beautiful bay below."²¹

Other organizations promoted an interest in the past for scientific reasons. The Canadian Institute was a small organization of academics,

18 Dennis Carter-Edwards, "Fort Malden: A Structural Narrative History 1796-1976," Manuscript Report Series No. 401 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), p. 290.

19 Ibid., p. 291.

20 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1900, p. viii.

21 John E. Bourinot, "Some Memories of Dundurn and Burlington Heights", RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1900, section II, p. 2.

professionals and others who met regularly in Toronto to discuss scientific subjects. History and archaeology were included in their curriculum and one of their members, David Boyle, undertook to form a small museum at the Institute's headquarters. In 1887 he was given a small salary through the provincial ministry of education and assumed quasi-official status as provincial archaeologist.²² He undertook a number of investigations of prehistoric sites across southern Ontario and preserved and catalogued hundreds of artifacts for the Institute's museum. His approach to the past was avowedly empirical. He argued that primitive societies should be studied scientifically and systematically, not to demonstrate the superiority of contemporary society, but to discover empirical truths. "The myths and superstitions of primitive folk," he wrote in his first annual report, "their social organization, their germs of constitutional government, their daily occupations, their farms, ceremonies, games and amusements, the mechanical methods and devices they employed, and the examples of their handicraft - all these must ever possess an increasing interest to thoughtful persons generally, but more especially to those whose desire it is to study civilization 'in its wide ethnographic sense'."²³ Boyle helped to popularize a widespread interest in Ontario prehistory and drew attention to a number of important archaeological sites.

One of the best known of these sites was the Southwold Earthworks near St. Thomas, Ontario. It became the concern of the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, whose members viewed it not only as an important scientific subject but a local landmark. Nobody was certain of the history of these mounds of earth although it was correctly assumed that they were the remains of a prehistoric (that is, pre-contact) fortified village. James Coyne, local historian and president of the institute, wrote in 1895: "In the part of the Township of Southwold included in

22. Gerald Killan, David Boyle: from Artisan to Archaeologist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 99.

23. David Boyle, "Archaeological Report", in Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1891 (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1892), p. 8.

the peninsula between Talbot Creek and the most westerly bend of Kettle Creek there were until a comparatively recent date several Indian earthworks, which were well-known to the pioneers of the Talbot Settlement. What the tooth of time had spared for more than two centuries yielded however to the settler's plough and harrow, and but one or two reminders of an almost forgotten race remain to gratify the curiosity of the archaeologist or the historian."²⁴ Coyne's remarks introduce yet another motivation for the heritage movement, the concern for a landscape that was being rapidly transformed by settlement and other aspects of the modern world.

After 1899 the efforts of local heritage groups were co-ordinated at the provincial level by the Ontario Historical Society. It became involved in a big preservation issue in 1905 when it took on the City of Toronto to save old Fort York. The fort, situated on the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition, was threatened with destruction to make way for a street railway line but the historical society, in conjunction with local preservation groups, successfully battled various levels of government to have the structure preserved. During the struggle the society formed an Historic Sites and Monuments Committee to co-ordinate the save Fort York campaign and subsequently came up with a development plan for the site. Later, this committee also promoted other preservation issues.²⁵

Quebec had its own nationalist perspectives which influenced the selection of historic sites in that province. Jacques Monnet in The Last Cannon Shot has described one strain of French Canadian nationalism emerging in the mid-nineteenth century. This is epitomized by the words of Etienne-Pascal Taché in the Legislative Assembly proclaiming Quebec's loyalty to the crown: "Be satisfied we will never forget our allegiance

24 James H. Coyne, The Country of the Neutrals (St. Thomas, Ont.: Times Printing Co., 1895), p. 1.

25 Gerald Killan, Preserving Ontario's Heritage, p. 139.

till the last cannon which is shot on this continent in defence of Great Britain is fired by the hands of a French Canadian."²⁶ This attitude can be found in the philosophies of political leaders such as George-Etienne Cartier²⁷ and Wilfrid Laurier who embraced the federal system as the only practical way to guarantee the survival of French Canada.²⁸ In the 1890s it led some French Canadians, including the historian Benjamin Sulte, to proclaim their imperial sentiments. Sulte, who had been a political secretary to Cartier, even translated "God Save the King". But even in its most imperial forms, this attitude still clung to its distinctive French heritage.

This strain of nationalism had its own military tradition to rival that of the loyalists. It was encouraged by a succession of governors general who were sympathetic to the old world traditions of Quebec and intent on enmeshing this heritage in mainstream Canadian culture. Thus in 1827 Dalhousie sponsored the construction of a large monument in

38 Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot, a study of French-Canadian Nationalism 1837-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 3.

39 "As early as 1843 Cartier had rejected strident French-Canadian nationalism as well as Durham's argument for the assimilation of French Canada. Canada, he argued was in a happy 'situation' and 'blessed by providence' to have two great civilizations within its bosom. Both ethnic groups could benefit from the philosophy, history, and literature of the other. English-speaking Montrealers were assured that French-Canadians had British hearts and were committed to the happiness and prosperity of Canada." Brian Young, George-Etienne Cartier, Montreal Bourgeois (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), pp. 61-62.

40 "We have learned to love British institutions because in British institutions we have found more freedom than we would ever had, had we remained the subjects of France...." Speech of Wilfrid Laurier, Toronto, 10 December 1886. Reprinted in Wilfrid Laurier on the Platform. Ulric Barthe, compiler (Quebec: Turcotte and Menard, 1890), p. 309.

Quebec City to honour both Wolfe and Montcalm.²⁹ French Canadians themselves were inclined to take a more exclusive view of their heroes. In 1860 the St. Jean Baptiste Society erected a column designed by architect Charles Baillargé to mark the centenary of the last French victory on North American soil and inter the bones of soldiers subsequently unearthed at Lévis. But there was also interest in commemorating battles fought by Quebecers on the side of the English. The Quebec Literary and Historical Society erected plaques to honour the defence of Quebec against American troops during the Revolutionary War.³⁰ And there was widespread interest in commemorating the Battle of Chateauguay and its hero de Salaberry.

The Battle of the Chateauguay has meaning on more than one historical level. There is what happened and then there is the introduction of secondary layers of meaning as the event was interpreted in the context of later historical periods. In fact the battle was characterized by a mixture of ineptitude, indecision and courage often found in real life. In the fall 1813 a large American force was poised to invade the Canadas. In the east an army of about 3000 men gathered on the border of Lower Canada under the command of General Wade Hampton.³¹ About two thirds of this force, organized into two brigades then proceeded north with the objective of taking Montreal. As the Americans neared the Chateauguay River, Lt.-Colonel Charles Michel de Salaberry gathered together a small force on the banks of the river to block invasion route. Although a French Canadian by birth, de Salaberry had been serving as a regular officer with the British army since 1794 and had

41 Pierre-Georges Roy, Les Monuments Commémoratifs de la Province de Québec, volume premier (Québec: Imprimeur du Roi, 1923), p. 13.

30 Two bronze shields, towards which Ottawa had contributed \$1,250, were erected in 1904. RCS, Proceedings and Transactions, 1906, p. ciii.

31 Michelle Guitard, The Militia of the Battle of the Chateauguay, a social history (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983), p. 83.

fought in the Napoleonic Wars. Returning to Canada in 1810, he had formed a French Canadian militia unit called the Canadian Voltigeurs. It was the Voltigeurs, along with other militia and Indian allies - about 300 men altogether - that comprised de Salaberry's command at the Chateauguay. The men dug in and awaited what they believed to be a major attack. Sometime before the arrival of Americans, however, de Salaberry's men were reinforced by some 1,400 men led by Lt.-Colonel George Macdonell. Comprised in part of English speaking militia units, the reinforcements did not man the line but instead took a supporting position behind de Salaberry's troops. Hampton, meanwhile, deployed one of his brigades against de Salaberry's position while sending the other under cover of darkness in a flanking manoeuvre. The first brigade was stopped by the river and by de Salaberry's well-defended position while the second brigade got lost in the dark and fog and failed to take the required objective. While this was happening the Americans suddenly became aware of Macdonell's larger force and beat a tactical retreat. The actual engagement lasted about four hours and did not result in many casualties on either side.³²

For the Canadians it was an important victory because the Americans did not again attempt to attack Montreal. For French Canadians in particular, however, it was important in demonstrating that they were at least the equal of English Canadians in defending their homeland. Thus subsequent accounts tended to focus on the valiant stand of de Salaberry and his three hundred and overlook the support of Macdonell's men.³³ Sulte, in his Histoire des Canadiens Francais, portrayed the battle as a

32 "The main body of Americans had hardly been involved and their casualties were about 50 officers and men; De Salaberry lost 5 killed, 16 wounded and reported 4 missing." J. Mackay Hitsman, The Incredible War of 1812, p. 166.

33 Michelle Guitard. The Militia of the Battle of the Chateauguay, p. 88.

modern Thermopylae, ranging 300 brave men against seven thousand attackers. "L'antique bravoure de la race ne leur a pas fait défaut."³⁴

Here again, however, public opinion about the significance of the site was not unanimous. In the case of Chateauguay a revisionist view was advanced by a local anglophone historical society which contended that English Canadians under Macdonell had played a leading role in the battle. Some members even argued that de Salaberry had not been present in the action. Since it was the Chateauguay Literary and Historical Society which petitioned Ottawa in 1888 for a monument, its views had to be respected.³⁵ But it was Benjamin Sulte, then a senior official in the Department of Militia and Defence, who was put in charge of the monument and he found himself in a difficult position. Although he wished to prepare an inscription honouring the memory of de Salaberry and his men, he was instructed by the Minister to compose a more innocuous text.³⁶ Hence the inscription that appeared on the monument declared feebly: "Here the invasion of Lower Canada was repulsed, and the enemy routed by the Militia of the Province."

Elsewhere in Quebec the French Canadian historical viewpoint was more successfully expressed. Perhaps the most prominent victory was at Fort Chambly where local enthusiasts managed to transform what was essentially a British fort into a shrine to the pre-conquest heritage. Fort Chambly is situated on the Richelieu River not far from Montreal on the site of a previous fort that had been built in 1665 to block the Iroquois invasion route from New York. The original fort was burned by

34 Benjamin Sulte, Histoire des Canadiens - Français 1608-1880, Tome VIII (Montréal: Société de publication historique du Canada, 1884), p. 93.

35 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1242, pt. 1.

36 In 1921, Sulte recalled, "In 1876 [sic] the Privy Council refused to approve a more detailed inscription and I wrote the one now inscribed on the column". PAC, RG 84, vol. 952, HS 7-10, pt. 1.

the Indians in 1702 and rebuilt in stone. Following the capitulation of new France in 1760 the fort was taken over by a British garrison which greatly altered the stone structure during the American Revolution. The garrison departed about 1850 after which it served as a military depot but by the 1860s it was falling into decrepitude. In 1870 when it was transferred to the Department of Militia and Defence the future of the fort, no longer strategically useful, was extremely doubtful.

By this time Fort Chambly had been discovered as an historic site and a strong movement was building to develop it as a cultural resource. In 1865 Benjamin Sulte wrote a commemorative poem which appeared in Canadian and European journals and the following year a Chambly journalist and antiquarian by the name of Joseph-Octave Dion (1838-1916) publicized a plan to restore the fort in recognition of the bicentennial of the original wooden structure.³⁷ The fort attracted wide attention and in 1875 the organ of the largely anglophone Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Society noted: "We believe that few could gaze at this time honoured ruin without feelings of emotion, and therefore deem it within the compass of our magazine to place on record a few notes especially as there has recently been shown some interest with a view of saving the ruins from oblivion."³⁸ The interest referred to was stimulated by J.O. Dion and reflected efforts to develop what was considered to be an important local resource.

But Dion did not wish merely to save the fort. He wished to interpret its significance within a particular context of French Canadian nationalist thought. Dion's nationalism was much narrower than the federalism of Sulte, Cartier and Laurier. Instead of looking ahead to the salvation of French Canada within the federation of Canadian

37 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", Parcs Canada, Travail inédit, No. 377, 1979, p. 10.

38 Henry Mott, "The 'Old Fort' at Chambly", in The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, III, 3 (January 1875); cited in Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", p. 10.

provinces, it looked back to an ideal society which it saw in pre-conquest Quebec. Conservative in character, Dion was closely tied to ultramontane thought of the 1870s and 1880s and so may be termed a clerical nationalist. His form of nationalism sought to promote traditional ideals of agriculture, language and faith and was deeply wary of the modern trends being introduced by English-speaking Protestants. Like Ontario imperialism, then, clerical nationalism adopted a defensive stance toward the present and looked to the past for examples of heroic and patriotic resistance. Dion, as editor of the ultramontane Nouveau-Monde was at the centre of this emerging nationalist ideology. Recently a Parks Canada historian described his belief in the following terms: "Il s'accroche au modèle de la chrétienté rurale en terre laurentienne. Influencé par les courants de pensée ultramontain et agriculturiste d'Europe, il est un des défenseurs de cette nouvelle idéologie. Ce nationalisme des ultramontains, dont Dion fait partie, est réduit à sa dimension culturelle; défense de la religion, de la langue et des institutions."³⁹ In this context, forts suited conservative Quebec nationalism just as they suited its Ontario counterpart. Here, though, Dion was looking at the past selectively, ignoring the British history of the fort while focussing on its pre-conquest significance.

Ironically Dion got some of his initial ideas for the fort from contemporary France where he had been involved in preservation causes. And in 1873 he launched a campaign there in an attempt to raise funds for the restoration of Fort Chambly.⁴⁰ But this effort came to naught. He had greater success with an 1879 campaign in Quebec to raise funds for a statue to de Salaberry, the hero of the Battle of the Chateauguay. He was then able to capitalize on the enthusiasm surrounding the investment of this monument to inaugurate another drive for the restoration of the

39 Pierre Thibodeau, *La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940*, p. 11. cf. Michel Brunet, "Trois dominantes de la pensée canadienne-française l'agriculturisme, l'anti-étatisme et le messianisme", in M. Brunet, *La présence anglaise et les canadiens* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1958), p. 119; and Denis Monière, *Le Développement des idéologies au Québec, des origines à nos jours* (Montréal: Éditions Québec (Amérique), 1977), p. 224.

40 Ibid., p. 15.

fort. This time he approached the Canadian government through his local member of parliament.⁴¹ Ottawa responded favourably to his proposal, making him honorary curator and directing the Department of Public Works to prepare preliminary estimates for the stabilization of the structure. In its report presented in November 1881 the chief architect's branch stipulated that \$1,000 was necessary to carry out vital repairs.⁴²

The estimates received the necessary approval and the repairs were carried out under the supervision of Dion who strove to keep the work compatible with the original design. The work could not be completed within the allotted budget, however, and in 1883, through Dion's urging, Parliament approved the spending of an additional \$1,000. Dion then increased his minimum requirements and by 1884 almost \$5,000 had been spent on restoring the walls and building new structures. Among the latter was a small residence in the parade ground which Dion later developed into a museum to display curios, not only from the Fort's history, but reminiscent of traditional Quebec life. A rebuilt archway to the fort was inscribed with the names of battles and wars associated with the forts on the site. In 1887 the property was transferred to the Department of the Interior, and placed under the care of the Department of Public Works with help from the Department of Militia and Defence. That year a memorandum from the Minister of the Interior stated that the "Old fort" ... [had] been placed in a fair state of repair, with a view to its preservation as a very interesting memorial of early Canadian History."⁴³ Dion, it seems, had assumed total control for the interpretation of the fort's significance. He and his successor L.J.N. Blanchot who replaced him in 1916 looked upon their charge as a

41 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", p. 19.

42 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", p. 19.

43 PAC, RG 84, vol: 1061, file FC 2, pt. 1, memorandum, 20 May 1887.

sacred trust from the French Canadian past. They encouraged pilgrimages by religious and nationalist organizations who came to regard the fort as a shrine to traditional Quebec culture.⁴⁴

There were also large heritage developments that were inspired by other concerns besides nationalism. Fort Lennox, located on the 210 acre Ile-aux-Noix a few miles up the river from Chambly, was a natural tourist attraction whose historic potential was developed for commercial rather than ideological ends. It was used by French troops during the seventeenth-century French-Indian wars and by British troops during the American Revolution and during the War of 1812. The British army established Fort Lennox here in the 1820s when a group of fine ashlar stone buildings was constructed surrounded by an earthwork wall and moat. Obsolete as a defensive structure almost as soon as it was built and inconvenient to road transportation, its function as a military depot was gradually assumed by the establishment at St. Jean so that by the 1860s it was virtually abandoned. But useless as it was to the military, the fort and meadows of Ile-aux-Noix formed a natural attraction for tourists who came by boat in ever increasing numbers from the United States and Montreal. While aware of this new function, the Department of Militia and Defence, which had inherited the island from the British, seemed reluctant to dispose of it permanently and instead leased it to private entrepreneurs who effectively turned it into an historic park.

The Richelieu River Navigation Company obtained the first lease in 1899 but failed to exploit the potential of the island and two years later the lease passed to B.V. Naylor who ran a cruise boat along the river between Lake Champlain and St. Jean. Naylor developed the island as a stopover for excursionists.⁴⁵ He persuaded the military to allocate

44 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", p. 12.

45 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1084, file FLE 2, pt. 2, officer commanding Military District No. 6 to Adjutant General, Department of Militia and Defence, 25 January 1904.

funds for the repair of the fort's buildings and through the first decade of this century he carried out some major renovations: building a bridge over the moat, repairing walls and adding a new roof to one of the buildings. To enhance the attraction of the old fort he installed a museum in the former men's barracks which he gradually expanded over the years. A large part of the museum collection consisted of small articles found on the island such as regimental buttons, coins and arrowheads but it also included other artifacts of a military nature, some of which were obviously American in origin. The collection included a sword taken at the Battle of Chesapeake, Boston, in 1814, a cavalry carbine allegedly used at the Battle of Eccles' Hill in 1860 as well as an assortment of cutlasses, rifles and a flintlock. Two prized items were a 17th-century coin (presumably of European provenance) and a miniature Bible inscribed to George Washington.⁴⁶

As in Ontario, heritage efforts were organized by local historical societies. Some of the most impressive cultural societies were in Quebec and these had more than a passing interest in questions of commemoration and preservation. The premier heritage organization in all of Canada was the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in that city at the instigation of Lord Dalhousie in 1824. The avowed purpose of the society was to locate and preserve old records "which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada",⁴⁷ although it evolved to become a cultural society devoted to more general discussions of artistic and scientific subjects. It merged with a francophone counterpart in 1829 so that it became more or less bilingual although it remained dominated by the city's anglophone elite. During the the union period, when the capital of the Province of Canada was moved between Kingston, Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa, this elite suffered from the concomitant disruption but following Confederation it again emerged as a

46 Ibid., memorandum from A.A. Pihard to J.B. Harkin, 18 October 1921.

47. The Centenary of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1824-1924 (Québec: L'Evenement Press, 1924), p. 29.

cogent force.⁴⁸ By this time "the Lit", as it was known, was largely concerned with heritage matters. In 1866 it acquired the historic Morrin College as its headquarters and installed an impressive library and archives. In 1903 it formed a committee to superintend a program of creating historical plaques in the city and in 1906 pressured the city to assume responsibility for the preservation of a Martello Tower.⁴⁹ Its ultimate success in this field was its involvement in the celebration of the Quebec Tercentenary by promoting the preservation of the Plains of Abraham as a national historic site. "The Lit" was a substantial backer of this proposal and supported national organizations which grew out of this project, the Historic Landmarks Association and the Quebec Battlegrounds Commission.⁵⁰

"The Lit" was the home of leading members of the provincial and national heritage movement. One such figure was James Macpherson LeMoine (1825-1912). LeMoine was a francophone with British ancestry, a lawyer who devoted much of his later life to writing on antiquarian subjects. His interests broadened to include travelogues then, in the 1860s, he began to focus on Quebec history and folklore. In 1863 he published a thin volume of essays entitled Maple Leaves, being a budget of legendary, historical, critical and sporting intelligence. Nine more volumes appeared in the ensuing years until 1894. Maple Leaves are a mine of local historical information and the series had great influence in forming historical opinion. William Kirby borrowed liberally from it in writing his historical novel of Quebec, The Golden Dog. LeMoine also taught an approach to the past that provided meaning to an otherwise

48 Ginette Bernatchez, "La Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec (Literary and Historical Society of Québec), 1824-1890," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 35, 2 (septembre 1981), p. 182.

49 Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions, second series, 1906, pp. ciii-civ.

50 William Wood, Unique Québec (Québec: Literary and Historical Society of Québec, 1924), p. 16.

alien landscape. He described the Chateau Rigot, for example, in properly romantic terms as "an antique and massive ruin, standing in solitary loneliness ..." and explaining, "were it not on account of the associations which surround the time worn pile, few indeed would take the trouble to go and look at the dreary object."⁵¹

As important as "The Cit" in the realm of historic commemoration was the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. Founded in 1862, it resembled its Quebec City counterpart in comprising members of that city's English- and French-speaking elite although it focussed exclusively on historical subjects. As well as publishing a journal consisting of historical articles, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society was involved in specific preservation and commemorative projects. In 1892 a committee was formed to embark on a program of erecting marble tablets designating historic sites in Montreal.⁵² That year the society re-christened Custom House Square as Place Royale to mark the 250th anniversary of the founding of the City.⁵³ Subsequently it set out to acquire and preserve an old building thought to be associated with the French regime, the Chateau de Bamezay. The building was acquired in 1894 and became the society's headquarters and museum.⁵⁴

In the Maritimes at the turn of the century nationalist perspectives were not nearly as well focussed as in Ontario and Quebec. While traces of imperialism and even French Canadian nationalism can be detected in Maritime historiography of this period, there did not appear to be a well defined sense of historical purpose. Nevertheless there was considerable antiquarian interest in the past for its own sake. These

51 J.M. LeMoine, Maple Leaves; a budget of legendary, historical, critical, and sporting intelligence (Quebec, 1863), p. 8.

52 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1892, p. xxii.

53 W.D. Lighthall, Montreal after 250 years (Montreal: F.E. Grafton and Sons, 1892), p. 144.

54 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1895, p. xxxvi.

tendencies shaped a rather loose interpretation of historic sites in the region. Rarely were sites as didactically presented as Lundy's Lane. And the preservation of heritage properties sometimes had rather confused objectives.

This lack of a dominant local nationalist perspective helps to explain the developments at Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia. Here there is a cluster of historic sites. Nearby is the site of Champlain's original 1604 habitation. After the restoration of Acadia to France in 1632, a settlement was established at the site of present day Annapolis Royal and named Port Royal. A wooden fort was built here which finally fell to the British in 1710. At this time the settlement and fort were re-named after Queen Anne of England. New fortifications were constructed and in 1797 a brick officers' quarters was built. For these reasons, Annapolis was important from three perspectives: as the site of one of the earliest European settlements in North America (Habitation Port Royal), as the former chef lieu of French Acadia (Port Royal) and as a British garrison and collection point for American loyalists fleeing the revolution (Fort Anne). Before the 1920s it was usual for these three closely situated sites to be mixed together and Fort Anne was popularly regarded as the birthplace of civilization in North America. The relevance to subsequent Canadian development was ignored.

The fort became the collective symbol of the various historic stages of the place because it alone survived from the past. The fort, then, became the focal point for the local historical community. The British had virtually abandoned the fort in the 1830s but it was not transferred to the Canadian government until 1870 when, as ordnance property, it was placed under control of the Department of Militia and Defence. Strategically unimportant and from the beginning virtually useless to the military, the Department nevertheless made some efforts to preserve the old landmark. In 1899 the property was leased to a local management committee formed under the name of the Garrison Commission and it regularly received allocations for the maintenance of the property which it then supervised. The Garrison Commission was not an agent of the

government but assumed a separate identity and took important initiatives. It advised the government to lease part of the land to farmers and suggested ways in which the fort could be restored. Funds were obtained from the federal government, a municipal appropriation and "the occasional entertainment."⁵⁵ In 1902 it requested F.B. Wade, the local member of Parliament, to approach the government for an increased appropriation.

The Garrison Commission formed, in effect, a nascent local historical society intent on promoting the rich historical associations of the area through the physical resource of the fort. In 1904, in conjunction with the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the commissioners launched a fund raising drive for a monument commemorating the founding of Port Royal. A stone memorial was subsequently erected on the grounds of Fort Anne and inscribed with the following legend:

To the illustrious memory of Lieutenant-General Timothe Pierre du Gaust, Sieur de Monts, the pioneer of civilization of North America, who discovered and explored the adjacent river, A.D. 1604, and found on its banks the first settlement of Europeans north of the Gulf of Mexico.

The Government of Canada reverently dedicates this monument, within sight of that settlement, A.D. 1904.

The federal government was encouraged by the local organization to give a kind of official recognition of the area's history. Parliament approved spending \$3,000 on this project and a further \$2,000 was appropriated in 1904.⁵⁶ Subsequently, however, the Department of Militia and Defence attempted to divest itself of responsibility for the fort. While the Nova Scotian, Frederick Borden, was Minister of Defence the department seemed reasonably sympathetic to the problems of picturesque

55 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1042, file FA 2, pt. 4; undated memorandum on the early development of Fort Anne National Park.

56 PAC, RG 84, Vol: 1041, file FA 2, pt. 4; pt. 3.

old forts in the Maritimes. But after his replacement by Sam Hughes in 1911 the military assumed a more hard-nosed stance. In August 1913 the Military Secretary pencilled a minute on a department memorandum on the question of funds for repaired to Fort Anne. "No! the Minister does not approve of expending Militia Votes on old abandoned fortifications - if these are to be maintained for sentimental or historic reasons, it must be done through special appropriations for the purposes."⁵⁷ And, when the Garrison Commission tried again in 1914 to have the local member of parliament lobby the Department for funds, the Military Secretary indicated that this source of support was no longer available.⁵⁸

Cut adrift in this way, the Garrison Commission cast around for a new sponsor and in February 1916 a joint meeting of the Town Council, Board of Trade and Garrison Commission was held to consider "the best means of having the old historic garrison property in this town taken care of."⁵⁹ The meeting was principally concerned with considering a proposal by L.M. Fortier, a retired official of the Department of the Interior and a leading member of the Garrison Commission, to have Fort Anne taken over by the Dominion Parks Branch as a national park. Fortier argued that this was the only expedient option left as the government already owned the property and national park status would provide a regular appropriation. The development of the fort by strictly local means was out of the question. Fortier's proposal was endorsed by the meeting and, with the co-operation of parks officials in Ottawa, Fort Anne National Park formally came into being. Fortier was named honorary curator and the Garrison Commission, reincarnated as the Annapolis Royal Historical Society with Fortier as president, assumed paternal responsibility for the fort. There was some criticism about having the site taken over as a national park and naming it Fort Anne but generally there was satisfaction over the plan to develop Fort Anne

57. PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1041, file FA 2, pt. 4; Director General of Engineers to Military Secretary, 21 August 1913.

58. Ibid., Military Secretary to A.L. Davidson, M.P., 6 July 1914.

59. Spectator, Annapolis Royal, 17 February 1916.

as a park largely because it would provide a landscape evocative of a range of historic associations and provide a recreational area for local citizens and tourists.

Undefined historical associations also governed the development of Fort Beauséjour in New Brunswick. Begun as a French fort in Acadia about 1750, it was later taken over by the British who rebuilt it and named it Fort Cumberland. Earthworks and a brick powder magazine were the principal remains after the British left and in 1875 the Department of Militia and Defence transferred the property to the Ordnance and Admiralty Lands Branch of the Department of the Interior.⁶⁰ Although in New Brunswick, the site was of interest to a Party Amherst, Nova Scotia, and its preservation was adopted as a cause by the Nova Scotia preservation movement. Both English and French associations were considered to be equally important, however, and local heritage entrepreneurs, eager to develop the site as a tourist attraction, were content to refer to the British-built fortifications as Fort Beauséjour. As it was government property, Ottawa was persuaded to assume responsibility for its preservation as an historic site. In 1902 the Ordnance Lands Branch fenced off the fort. The branch proposed restoring some of the old structure but as special funds were not available the project was let drop. Then in 1913 a military engineer inspected the site on behalf of the branch and drew up a plan for a new fence and the restoration of the powder magazine.⁶¹ Parliament approved spending \$5,000 on the property but the outbreak of war caused the project to be shelved.

A more ambitious attempt to develop an historic property in the Maritimes at the turn of the century took place at Louisbourg, on

60 PAC, RG.84, Vol. 1048, file FB 2, pt. 4; Memorandum from J.P. Dunne, Superintendent of Ordnance, and Admiralty Lands Branch, to F.H.H. Williamson, Canadian National Parks Branch, 26 November 1919.

61 Barbara M. Schmeisser, "The Creation and Development of Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park", manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1979.

Cape Breton. Although not on public property, the sheer scale of the problem led to government involvement. Typically, the significance of the site was interpreted very broadly. The Fortress of Louisbourg had been important for defending the Atlantic approach to New France and its fall in 1758 was an important prelude to the fall of Quebec the following year. Although systematically destroyed by British forces and subsequently abandoned as a settlement, enough of its casemates and ruined walls remained to suggest its former grandeur. Francis Parkman described the romantic setting in his epic history Wolfe and Montcalm. "Here stood Louisbourg; and not all the efforts of its conquerors, nor all the havoc of succeeding times, have availed to efface it. Men in hundreds toiled for months with lever, spade, and gunpowder in the work of destruction, and for more than a century it has served as a stone quarry; but the remains of its vast defences still tell their tale of human valor and human woe."⁶² It was this former glory, not the ignominious defeat, which subsequent preservationists were eager to project. Hence, although the historical significance of the site was justified in terms of its importance to British imperial history, it was the existence of the Fortress prior to its capture that local entrepreneurs wished to recreate.

In 1903 a retired Indian navy captain, D.J. Kennelly, purchased the property on which stood the ancient bomb proofs and casemates - the only extant part of the fortress - and undertook to develop the ruins as a privately-run historic attraction. He propped up the sagging brickwork with timber and patched the mortar where it was crumbling. Apparently he built a restaurant within the ruins and charged twenty-five cents admission to the site.⁶³ In order to finance further plans for

62 Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, vol. II. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898), p. 56.

63 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, file HS 6 (Maritime General), pt. 1, F.H.H. Williamson, "Report on investigation of Historic Sites in Maritime Provinces", December 1919, p. 3. A useful account of early attempts to develop Louisbourg as an historic site is A.J.B. Johnston, "Preserving History: the commemoration of 18th Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940", Acadiensis, XII, 2 (spring 1983), pp. 53-80.

development he organized in 1904 the Louisbourg Memorial Association to receive charitable donations. He canvassed the messes of British regiments present at the second siege of the fortress and even received a \$5,000 grant from the Canadian government. One witness has described him as an eccentric old man⁶⁴ but he obviously possessed some sense and influence because in 1906 he had the government of Nova Scotia pass an Act to incorporate the trustees of the fortress and old burying ground as an "Historic Monument of the Dominion of Canada" and as a public work. As further testimony to his organization's credibility, the trustees included Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, Earl Amherst, Viscount Falmouth, Everett Peperell and Sir Frederick Borden.

The major obstacle to the development of the old fortress as a national shrine was access. The town of Louisbourg was then remote from the rest of Nova Scotia and the site of the old fortress was even more inaccessible. The first project of the Louisbourg Memorial Association was therefore to build a road from the town to the historic property. Previous to this, Kennelly had involved himself in an elaborate and futile scheme to connect Louisbourg with the mainland of Canada by a chain of railways and ferries between Louisbourg and Ontario called the Canadian Atlantic Ferry. The only part of this scheme to be implemented, however, was the acquisition of a railway right of way through part of the fortress site and when Kennelly died in 1912 he left behind a hopeless legal tangle concerning the ownership of the Louisbourg property.

It is clear from the way Kennelly promoted the site by enlisting support from British regiments and the ancestor of the eighteenth century governor of Massachusetts, that he interpreted its significance in terms of imperial history. There was at the turn of the century, however, a mounting body of public opinion concerned with promoting the French Canadian aspect of the site. Men like John Bourinot and Pascal Poirier,

64 F.H.H. Williamson, Ibid.

who had visited Louisbourg in 1902, saw the fortress as a symbol of the former greatness of French Canadian civilization in North America.⁶⁵

Bourinot had reported the significance of Louisbourg in this context to the Royal Society as early as 1891 in a paper entitled "Cape Breton and its memorials of the French regime."⁶⁶ The interpretation of the significance of the site assumed greater local importance with Kennelly's successor in promoting the site.

J.S. McLennan (1853-1939) had come to Sydney from Montreal in the 1880s to work for a coal company and in 1899 presided over the formation of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company, becoming its general manager. Later he resigned from this salaried position and bought a local newspaper. He gradually slipped into semi-retirement and became engrossed in the history of the ancient fortress at Louisbourg. A wealthy and cultivated man - he was a graduate of McGill and Cambridge universities - he was well suited to this task. He visited principal archives in Canada, the United States, France and Britain and amassed a large amount of documents and artifacts relating to Louisbourg. McLennan was not interested in the downfall of the fort but its life and his magnum opus, completed in 1914 but not published until after the war, was entitled Louisbourg, from its foundation to its fall, 1713-1750. In researching its early history, McLennan had uncovered original plans for the fortifications of Louisbourg and as early as 1908 he argued that it would be possible to reconstruct the old fortress. In an address that year to the Nova Scotia Historical Society entitled "Louisbourg as a national charge" he proposed that the site of the ruins

65 For Pascal Poirier, who represented the Acadian viewpoint in the Senate, Louisbourg's greatness derived as much from French as British heroism and in 1895 he rose in parliament to demand: "Let us raise monuments to the dead without discrimination". Canada. Senate, Debates, 1895 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1895), p. 138.

66 J.G. Bourinot, "Cape Breton and its memorials of the French Regime", RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1891, p. 173.

be acquired by the Canadian government and restored as a national monument.⁶⁷ McLennan was undoubtedly influenced by plans, begun that year, for the reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga in New York state by Stephen Pell although he realized that Louisbourg was on such a scale that few individuals could afford to sponsor its restoration.

Nevertheless, in promoting the development of the site as a national monument, it was its French history, not its demolition by the British, that he chose to emphasize.

In the Maritimes the heritage movement was not so well organized as in Ontario and Quebec but it was still an emerging force. The Nova Scotia Historical Society had been active since the 1890s, mainly centred in Halifax but managing to promote causes as far afield as Louisbourg. The Nova Scotia Archives was also generally concerned with heritage issues as was the curator of the provincial museum. In New Brunswick the heritage movement was concentrated in loyalist groups which formed to promote the centenary of the province. In the west there were a few fledgling historical societies, most notably the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society. More often, though, it was the provincial librarian who was concerned with provincial historical matters.

The heritage movement assumed a national outlook through the co-ordinating efforts of the Royal Society of Canada. The society had functioned since the 1880s as a national cultural agency promoting scholarship in both the arts and sciences. It was organized into three sections: the first representing French language letters, the second concerned with literature and history in English and section three devoted to science. Each section elected its own members which were limited by a quota. They brought together at the annual meeting and through the published Proceeding and Transactions the representative work of Canadian scholars. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the membership was not dominated by academics as it is today.

67 "Louisbourg as a national charge, splendid lecture before Nova Scotia Historical Society by J.S. McLennan", Halifax Herald, 11 November 1908, p. 1.

Before the 1930s they comprised only a small fraction, especially in the first two sections. But the society brought leading amateur scholars together in a forum devoted to promoting higher learning in the country.

As its membership included many prominent members from local historical societies, as well as many local historical societies as corresponding members, the Royal Society came to devote more and more attention to heritage issues. The 1891 Proceedings and Transactions contained a report by J.G. Bourinot on "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Regime" and a plea for the preservation of the Chateau de Ramezay in Montreal. That year the Council of the Royal Society, on the prompting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, proposed that the Chateau de Ramezay be made "a national repository of those memorials and archives, which will illustrate the history of Montreal generally ...".⁶⁸ The Royal Society pointed to efforts being made to preserve nationally significant buildings in the United States as further reason for Canada to recognize its own nationally significant heritage.

In 1901 the Royal Society was contacted by the British organization "The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty" soliciting aid for the development of antique places in the country. The National Trust had at that time existed for five years with the object of acquiring property from individuals and then administering this real estate for the benefit of the British public. A quasi-public institution, it lacked a regular income from the government and relied on an endowment and public subscriptions. In an effort to broaden this financial base it hit upon the idea of tapping expatriate Britons overseas and endeavoured to form associate societies in the United States, Canada and elsewhere in the Empire. This campaign, led in North America by C.R. Ashbee, met with some success, but it also stimulated preservation activities in this country by inspiring the Royal Society to try and emulate in Canada what the National Trust was doing in Britain. So, in reply to Ashbee's communication asking for support, the council of

68 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1891, p. xiii.

the society passed the following resolution: "The council believes that the best way in which the Royal Society can assist the very desirable object aimed at by the National Trust is to form a Canadian Committee for the preservation of places, of scenic and historic interest within the Canadian Dominion as a part of the British Empire."⁶⁹ The Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places in Canada was formed in 1901 as a consequence of the resolution.

From the beginning the committee was concerned with the preservation of historic rather than natural landscape. This is evident in the background of its members which included Sir James LeMoine, Benjamin Sulte, Mr. Deville, Hon. Pascal Poirier, John S. Willison, Lt.-Colonel George T. Denison and John Bourinot. These members already had between them considerable experience in the heritage movement. LeMoine was president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and had written extensively on landmarks in that city, Sulte was a noted Quebec historian, active in preservation issues in the province but especially in the Trois Rivières area. Senator Pascal Poirier from New Brunswick was interested in historic Acadia, particularly Louisbourg. Denison was interested in the history of the loyalists and had been involved in the commemoration of the battlefields at Chrysler's Farm and Lundy's Lane.

The committee was able to use the prestige of its members both in the national cultural community and among local heritage groups to bring hitherto local concerns into a national sphere. It therefore became a driving force in the heritage movement, inspiring new efforts among local groups and raising the expectations of well-established societies. Further, it was well positioned to influence greater government involvement. The committee soon began to live up to its potential. In 1902 it sent Pascal Poirier to Louisbourg to report on the condition of the ruined French fortress there. This led to Poirier's involvement in the cause to restore Louisbourg and the committee as a whole to consider the problem of preserving historic

69. RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1901, p. xxi.

bulky. Following Poirier's address to the Royal Society that year, that body passed a motion introduced by the senator: "That the Royal Society should respectfully memorialize the Dominion Government to take steps for the acquisition and preservation of historic sites, buildings and places of interest which have a national importance."⁷⁰ The following year the committee asked the Royal Society to pass a resolution drawing the attention of various governments in Canada "to the importance of preserving historical monuments, sites, buildings, archives and relics throughout Canada in view of the constant and increasing danger of their disappearance."⁷¹

By 1907 the activities of this committee and local historical societies in promoting historic sites had risen to a level sufficient to warrant the formation of a separate national body. Although this widespread, public interest was the culmination of a fairly long process, enthusiasm was further sparked that year by the publicity surrounding the plans to develop the Plains of Abraham. This event aroused considerable interest across the country for it pointed to the potential of historic landmarks as scenic and cultural attractions. For these reasons the time was ripe for the creation of a national heritage body and it was with this objective that in May 1907 the Royal Society sponsored a convention in Ottawa attended by members of the society and various historical organizations. Among those present were Colonel Wood, past president of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, who chaired the meeting and was subsequently elected president of the new society; Colonel Ernest Cruikshank of the Ontario Historical Society who was elected vice-president; as well as Dr. Robert Bell, Rev. F.G. Scott, Benjamin Sulte, W.W. Campbell, James H. Coyne, George Drummond, W.D. Le Sueur, W.D. Lighthall and Mrs. J.H. Thompson.

Called the Historic Landmarks Association, it had as its first priority the development of the Plains of Abraham as a national historic site.

70 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1902, p. x/iv.

71 RSC, Proceedings and Transactions, 1903, p. xxxvii.

But following the establishment of the Quebec Battlefields Commission early in 1908 it changed focus and set out to be a clearing-house for information about historic sites across the country. At this point it had little, if any, capacity to implement projects itself. Its strength remained in the local societies which were willing to participate in a master plan which it devised and in its ability to lobby government agencies for money. For this reason the Historic Landmarks Association declined to become involved in costly preservation projects, and instead merely set out to recognize significant sites across the country by means of a national inventory. Its procedure was to get local societies to nominate the most significant sites in their jurisdictions and then publish them in an annual report. Its criteria for historic sites were deliberately loose, allowing grass roots organisations considerable latitude in their selection.

What is a landmark? A landmark is anything preservable which is essentially connected with the great thoughts and deeds that once stirred our life and still stir our memory. It may be a monument set up by pious hands; a building, a ruin, or a site; a battlefield or fort; a rostrum or a poet's walk; any natural object; any handiwork of man; or even the mere local habitation of a legend or a man.⁷²

Such a site would assume national significance merely through the sponsorship of the Historic Landmarks Association. There was no prerequisite for significance to a national history. Nationalist ends, then, were being deliberately downplayed. The capacity of the association for action was so limited that it could not even publish an annual report until 1915. But the introduction to the 1915 report made it clear that the Historic Landmarks Association had greater ambitions than merely collecting information and that it aspired to become an agency through which official recognition could be bestowed on worthy sites. But to effect such a program it needed the co-operation of the federal government to actually buy and put up the commemorative markers which it envisaged.

72 Historic Landmarks Association, Appeal for Membership (pamphlet in the Public Archives Library, 1908), p. 3.

This Association desires to gather from all parts of the Dominion of Canada, all the knowledge available regarding each site or case it is proposed to mark - obtain verification of the same from documents in the Dominion Archives and other reliable sources, submit reports from each province to the Council, which will then consider the merits of each application and, when desired, recommend to the Government for approval.⁷³

In effect, the Historic Landmarks Association saw itself acting as an advisory board to the government, screening applications from local organizations for a commemorative marker. It is likely, too, based on subsequent events, that the association envisaged the enactment of some kind of heritage legislation to protect these sites from destruction. For a while it appeared as if the government would collaborate with this objective. The Commissioner of the National Parks Branch was a member of the association, an inventory of historic sites being undertaken by his office shared information with the association, and in 1920 the branch subsidized the publication of the HLA report. But the Historic Landmarks Association was a dead end. When in 1919 the government appointed its own advisory body to advise on historic sites much of the raison d'être of the association was lost and in 1922, following the election of Lawrence Burpee as president, the association transformed itself into the Canadian Historical Association and adopted a new set of objectives.

An interesting facet of the work of the Historic Landmarks Association was its studious avoidance of nationalist criteria. Given the importance of nationalist sentiment in promoting sites such as Lundy's Lane and the prominence of figures such as George Denison in the Royal Society, it is remarkable that the association did not justify historic landmarks as symbols of a unifying Canadian heritage and instead placed so much emphasis on local significance. The explanation for this behaviour was not difficult to find in 1908, however, for by this time there were numerous examples of conflicting nationalist views revealed in the process of selecting and interpreting historic sites. It is ironic, then, that as a national body the Historic Landmarks Association

73 The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, Annual Report, 1915, p. 9.

Had to avoid nationalist ideology in order to avoid conflict. Yet such nationalism was difficult to avoid as many local groups promoted historic sites on the basis of their significance to a national history. Competing nationalisms, then, while central to the development of a national heritage movement, presented problems for a national program commemorating historic sites. Such was the case with the first federal agency charged with the development of a national historic site, the National Battlefields Commission.

II The Quebec Tercentenary and the National Battlefields Commission

As long as local historic sites remained the charge of a single group, even sites promoted from a particular nationalist perspective usually caused little offense among other sections of Canadian society. Difficulties arose when a particular site was promoted by rival interest groups for different nationalist ends. This could happen when a place was acquired by the Canadian government for development as an historic site. It could then lead to some quite remarkable compromises. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the chequered history of the Plains of Abraham in Quebec. A tourist, uninitiated in the problems of Canadian historiography, might expect the Plains of Abraham to be developed as one of the country's leading historical monuments, akin to Hastings in England or Bunker Hill in the United States. Instead, as he descends from the Citadel toward the legislative buildings he finds remarkably little to mark its history. There is a monument to some Indians burned during the French-Iroquois Wars and mention made of the attack on the city by Montgomery during the Revolutionary War. There are acres of lawns traversed by stately avenues but of Wolfe and Montcalm there is precious little. The development of the Plains of Abraham, while marking the apotheosis of the heritage movement before the war, also reflects one of its principal weaknesses.

The development of the Plains of Abraham by the National Battlefields Commission in 1908 really began as two distinct projects. The governors general, first Minto and then Grey, had been interested in having the

government acquire the Plains of Abraham as an historic site commemorating the beginning of the new British Empire. They were joined in this ambition by members of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society and Ontario nationalists. There had been mounting concern in the latter decades of the nineteenth century following the construction of the city jail and the Ross Rifle factory on portions of the property. Then, when in 1899 the Ursulines put their share of the Plains up for sale, the Sons of England petitioned Ottawa to take steps to preserve the remaining public space.⁷⁴ Parallel to this campaign, a number of prominent French Canadians began a co-ordinated effort to promote Quebec as Canada's premier city. At the turn of the century a campaign was underway to undertake a celebration in honour of the tercentenary of the founding of the city by Champlain in 1608. Mayor Carneau convened a committee of prominent citizens in 1905 to work toward this end while others lobbied for federal support. Needless to say, this second group did not view the conquest of 1759 as cause for celebration.

Apparently, it was the governor general, Lord Grey, who brought these two groups together, persuading them that the only way for them to gain national support was to combine forces.⁷⁵ To Grey the inherent contradiction of jointly celebrating the founding of Quebec and its capture was not a serious obstacle. Grey was able to encompass the diverse aims within his own vision of imperial federation. He saw the Plains of Abraham not as a symbol of British triumph but as representing a fusion of the best attributes of both races.

It was there that British and French parentage give birth to the Canadian nation. To-day the inhabitants of the Dominion are neither English nor French. They stand before the world, not as English or French, but as Canadians. It is from the inspiring standpoint of Canadian nationality that the proposal to celebrate the three hundredth birthday of Canada, by the

74 Canada. House of Commons, Journal, 1899, p. 166.

75 Mary E. Halleit, "The 4th Earl Grey as Governor-General of Canada 1904-1911", Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1969.

nationalization of the famous battlefields of Quebec, should win the enthusiastic support of every patriotic Canadian.⁷⁶

Incredibly, Grey's proposal won widespread support.⁷⁶ The three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Quebec had somehow been transformed into a celebration of its conquest! In 1906 Mayor Garneau established the Quebec Landmarks Commission to work with Grey in planning the development of the plans of the tercentenary celebrations. For their part, those who had been pumping for the nationalization of the plains accepted the reality that both British and French points of view had to be accommodated. A British victory needed to be balanced by a French victory. Accordingly, the landmark commission recommended balancing the site of Wolfe's victory with the acquisition of the Battlefield of Ste. Foy along the river where Lévis had won the last battle for France in North America. Further, it recommended the construction of a museum on the Plains, not to interpret the scene of Wolfe's victory, but "to show the development of an history of Canada from that of Quebec."⁷⁷

While the Commission was preparing its report Grey was busy urging Laurier to get the government to sponsor the costly project. He estimated that two million dollars would be needed of which he wanted Ottawa to provide one quarter.⁷⁸ At the same time that he was in communication with Laurier, Grey was approaching provincial governments, business leaders and government leaders across the Empire for support. At first Laurier was extremely wary about the political risks of a joint celebration of British and French Canadian historical events. In a temporizing reply to Grey he noted ominously: "The horizon is full of electricity: there are numerous explosions which may be followed by a

76 Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1908, ed. J. Gastell Hopkins (Toronto 1908), p. 239.

77 PAC, RG 90, National Battlefields Commission, "First Report of the Quebec Landmark Commission", 1907, p. 48.

78 PAC, MG 27; II B 2 (Grey Papers), vol. 1, p. 510, Grey to Laurier, 20 September, 1907.

terrible crash."⁷⁹ But Grey's determination proved irresistible. Somehow he persuaded the governments of Quebec and Ontario to contribute \$100,000 each, the other provinces promised to contribute \$10,000 apiece, and this demonstration of national unity at last convinced Laurier officially to lend his support. As a result the prime minister introduced the Quebec Battlefields bill in February 1908 to provide for a federal grant of \$300,000 and to establish the Quebec (subsequently renamed the National) Battlefields Commission to oversee development of the property.⁸⁰ The membership of this commission reflected the dual concerns that had lobbied for the tercentenary and the nationalization of the Plains. It included Mayor George Garneau, chairman, Sir Adelard Turgeon from Quebec, Sir George Drummond from Montreal and Byron E. Walker and Colonel George T. Denison from Toronto. Ex officio members included Colonel Hanbury-Williams, representing the governor general, and Sir Arther Doughty, the Dominion Archivist.

The first objective of the commission was to help prepare for the tercentenary celebration to be held that summer. Having to appease the differing ethnic concerns was rather like keeping oil and vinegar in solution but the planners did their best to have something for everyone. Attended by the Prince of Wales, the Atlantic fleet of the Royal Navy and Canadian Militia regiments, the celebration became a huge imperial pageant. Great care, however, was taken to protect the sensibilities of the local French Canadian population. A pamphlet was distributed in April advertising the Plans of Abraham as "a field of honour which could be held in proud memory by French and English Canadian alike."⁸¹ So flattered, public opinion in Quebec seems to have been largely in favour of the attention being lavished on the battlefield. An almost insurmountable problem arose from the expectations of many English-Canadians that there would be a re-enactment of

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 565, Laurier to Grey, 23 October 1907.

⁸⁰ Canada. Laws and Statutes, 1908, 7-8 Ed. VII, cap. 57, "An Act Respecting National Battlefields at Quebec".

⁸¹ Mary E. Hallett. "The 4th Earl Grey as Government General of Canada 1904-1911", p. 167.

the famous battle. Militia units were outfitted in the uniforms of British and French troops in readiness for this phase of the pageant. In the end, however, national harmony prevailed. Instead of fighting, the troops representing the opposing sides marched side by side across the plains, with no victor and no loser.

The tercentenary celebration was typical of the subsequent work of the National Battlefields Commission. In attempting to appease conflicting viewpoints and avoid giving offence, it avoided detailed references to the past. Instead it concentrated on creating an abstract monument along modern lines that could be interpreted in different ways by different groups. In 1909 it hired Montreal landscape architect Frederick G. Todd who, drew up a detailed proposal for the development of an historic park. He called for a grand boulevard to link the two battlefields, acres of lawn and garden along with walks dotted with statues and other appropriate memorials.⁸² In 1911 the commission requested that parliament broaden its mandate to allow for the acquisition of property other than that described in the original act. Consequently, it became almost a municipal body.⁸³ It appropriated a Martello Tower, erected various monuments around the town and placed commemorative plaques on historic buildings in the old quarter of the city. In this way the commission was kept innocuously busy for many years. It soon became apparent to imperialists such as Denison, however, that the military significance of the Plans of Abraham was being quietly suppressed. He became more and more frustrated at the commission's inability to commemorate what he took to be the central event associated with the battlefields until 1918 when he finally resigned in disgust.

⁸² Canada. House of Commons, Sessional Papers, 1911 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1911), 58A, "Report from the National Battlefields Commission".

⁸³ Ibid.

III. Federal Cultural Agencies and the Heritage Movement

By the time Borden's Conservatives assumed power in 1911 there was growing pressure for a federal heritage program. Already a number of local historic monuments had received federal aid and organizations continued to lobby Ottawa to support other heritage projects. The establishment of the National Battlefields Commission encouraged demands for the government to expand the activities of that body to include the care of historic sites in other regions of the country. At the national level, the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association were pressing for some kind of comprehensive policy. Moreover both the Department of Militia and Defence and the Ordnance Lands Branch were concerned about the fate of a number of old forts in their care. They could not all be preserved yet some rational approach was needed to save the best examples for posterity.

A number of options were available to the government for implementing such a program. It could delegate the work to the Historic Landmarks Association, it could expand the powers of the National Battlefields Commission or it could allocate responsibility directly to the bureaucracy. In the end it chose to make the Dominion Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior responsible for this new program, to be advised by a newly created Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. In establishing a formal heritage program, the government joined historic preservation with the broader concerns of other federal cultural agencies, particularly those of the new Dominion Parks Branch. Like the interests of the larger heritage movement, these bureaucratic concerns would play a significant role in shaping future policy.

The idea of co-operation with the Historic Landmarks Association seems to have been dismissed out of hand, but serious consideration was given to the possibility of enlarging the mandate of the National Battlefields Commission. One of the chief promoters of this option was Arthur Doughty, the Dominion Archivist. Since his appointment in 1904 he had transformed the archives into an important cultural institution. He was

a member of the Battellefields Commission and he became a close advisor to Borden on general matters of cultural policy. After 1907 the archives was aided in its task of selecting documents for conservation by an honorary committee called the Historic Landmarks Association which comprised six historians from Ontario and Quebec as well as Doughty. It was through the work of this commission that Doughty formed a close working relationship with Adam Shortt, one of the Ontario members of the commission and a former Queen's University professor. Together these men undertook to promote the preservation of the past as a national responsibility, believing that a national policy should have a historical perspective. Adam Shortt believed he had a mission to participate in the dissemination of national history for he once referred "to the necessity for a thorough presentation of the facts of history which would give at once unity and inspiration to the people of Canada."⁸⁴

The activities of Doughty's staff further generated official interest in historic sites. Archivists were working on behalf of the Canadian government in France, Britain and various parts of Canada and in the process became aware of historic objects other than documents. The Dominion Archives assumed the aspect of a museum as Doughty collected paintings and artifacts relative to Canadian history. Moreover, he and his staff became concerned about saving buildings. Doughty advised the prime minister on the possibilities of acquiring the former home of General Wolfe in Westerham, England,⁸⁵ while the archives' representative in Atlantic Canada, W.C. Milner, became deeply committed to the cause of preserving historic sites. Milner, a former newspaperman, had become aware of the precarious condition of a number of old structures while travelling through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in search of old documents. In 1913 he reported to the premier of Nova Scotia on the

84 Ian E. Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: the cultural role of the Public Archives of Canada, 1904-1935", The Canadian Archivist/L'Archiviste Canadien, II, 4 (1983), p. 10.

85 PAC, MG 26 H I(c), Borden Papers, vol. 27, p. 16253, A.G. Doughty to R.L. Borden, 20 February 1914.

urgent need to take steps to preserve the historic remains at Louisbourg, Fort Cumberland, Fort Edward and Annapolis Royal. He passed along these concerns to the Minister of Fisheries, the Ministers of Militia and Defence and his superior in Ottawa, Arthur Doughty. Soon he became a Maritime expert on historic sites and was Nova Scotia correspondent in the report of the Historic Landmarks Association. Doughty passed along his employee's concerns to the prime minister and in 1914 wrote Borden suggesting that the government might "wish to take some action immediately to provide for the urgent requirements of the Maritime Provinces."⁸⁶

At this point Borden, who was beset by the heritage lobby, asked Doughty to prepare a policy paper for the advice of cabinet. Doughty's reply was quick, detailed and authoritative. His "Memorandum on preservation of historical sites in Canada", presented early in 1914 provided a brief inventory of important historic sites across the country.⁸⁷ It divided this list into two groups, the first included sites that could be adequately treated by the erection of a marker or inscription. A second, shorter group, included sites such as Louisbourg that required restoration on a comparatively larger scale. Finally, Doughty proposed that these sites should be developed and administered by an enlarged National Battlefields Commission operating with an annual budget of \$10,000. This proposal had widespread popular support and had the cabinet support of Sam Hughes. It is likely, then, that Borden would have approved it had not the war intervened to postpone a decision.

When a decision was finally made, however, in the spring of 1919, Doughty's proposal was rejected. There were a number of good reasons for not enlarging the powers of the National Battlefields Commission. A major problem was that it was virtually autonomous from government

⁸⁶ Ibid., vol. 163, p. 88355, W.C. Milner to Minister Marine and Fisheries, 4 February 1914.

⁸⁷ Ibid., vol. 163, p. 88362, A.G. Doughty to R.L. Borden, 23 February 1914.

control; it had its own funds and did not report to Parliament through a minister. The fact that by 1911 it had overspent its budget and was petitioning parliament for more money and greater power must have been a cause of concern to members of cabinet. Further, it had little operational capacity and a sizeable bureaucracy would have to be created to administer historic property across the country. But an immediate reason for the rejection of Doughty's proposal was that the commissioner of national parks had proposed what seemed to be a better alternative.

IV. The Conservation Movement and the National Parks Service

In 1919 James B. Harkin, the commissioner of national parks, was one of Ottawa's more promising civil servants. A former newspaperman and then political secretary to Clifford Sifton while he was Minister of the Interior, Harkin had been handed the task of forming a national parks service in 1911. This he undertook with characteristic energy and by the outbreak of war had made it into an important branch of the Department of the Interior. To understand how historic sites became a part of Harkin's mandate we need to first know something of the nature of his program and the larger conservation concerns which supported it.

The national parks service was just one manifestation of the conservation movement, an important intellectual undercurrent in pre-war Canada that had close ties with the heritage movement. Although the conservation movement embodied a number of ideas that were often contradictory, it was defined by some overall attitudes. First, was the growing acceptance in North America that the wilderness and with it its natural resources were no longer in limitless supply. This belief was tied to the notion that these resources could be effectively managed to provide eternal benefits to society as a whole. The revolution in scientific thought in the second half of the nineteenth century gave man new confidence in his ability to manipulate nature to his own advantage. Hence people no longer tended to view the future as being pre-determined by divine plan but realized that they could influence the way in which society could develop. This attitude helped bring about the supremacy

of the expert - the specialist trained to make decisions on a non-partisan and rational basis. Further, it enhanced the role of big government as the only agency capable of implementing global policies.⁸⁸ Although these intellectual leanings were slow to be realized in action and concepts of large scale social and economic planning would only be fully accepted by a later generation of politicians and bureaucrats, conservation of natural resources became an early concern of Ottawa.

One of the first areas of conservation in which the federal government became involved was in the scientific management of its western crown lands. A Dominion Forest Commissioner was appointed in 1884 and in 1899 a forestry branch was established in the Department of the Interior, the principal agency of the national policy in the west.⁸⁹ In 1906 a Dominion Forest Reserves Act was passed which gave the government the power to preserve forests on undeveloped crown land. Following this legislation and a subsequent bill in 1911, thousands of acres of forest were set aside from development in the four western provinces.

But even as far back as the Laurier administration the federal government had indicated a willingness to become involved in conservation on a broader scale. In part this reflected a fledgling interest in managing economic development on a national scale, in part it reflected a new nationalism. In a debate on conservation in parliament in 1909, the leader of the opposition, Robert Borden, argued: "Conservation does not mean non use, on the contrary it is consistent with that reasonable use of the great resources which is absolutely necessary for their development."⁹⁰ The acceptance of these wider principles of conserva-

88 Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 2.

89 Janet Foster, Working for Wildlife, the Beginning of preservation in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 34.

90 Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1909, p. 356; cited in David Mikel Calnan, "Businessmen, Forestry and the Gospel of Efficiency, the Canadian Conservation Commission: 1909-1921", M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, 1975, p. 7.

tion - expert advice and co-ordinated government regulation - led the Laurier administration to establish the Commission of Conservation in 1909. The commission was organized as a non-partisan advisory body, financed by Ottawa, but including provincial as well as federal representation since resource development was largely a provincial responsibility. It was chaired by the former Liberal Minister of the Interior, Cliford Sifton, and included a number of experts such as the dean of the University of Toronto school of forestry, a former Ontario medical health officer and a leading British town planning specialist. The commission published detailed studies on subjects such as water pollution, forest fire prevention, land drainage, mining techniques, soil fertility and sewage systems. Its investigation of wild life and birds influenced the passage of the 1917 Migratory Birds Convention Act. Sifton resigned in 1918 and the commission was abolished in 1921 but it fulfilled many of its objectives by encouraging the government to undertake the regulation of resource exploitation on a more systematic basis.⁹¹

Ottawa's commitment to national parks grew out of these earlier conservation initiatives. The national forest reserves were viewed as having other assets than the commercial value of their trees. There was a wide body of opinion, well represented in the United States by John Muir, but well-articulated in Canada by nature writers such as Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G.D. Roberts, that the wilderness forest should be protected for recreational areas. At the turn of the century urban dwellers demonstrated an unparalleled enthusiasm for nature, founding outdoor clubs and birdwatching societies. Moreover the urban middle class popularized such outdoor pursuits as hiking, camping and canoeing, activities that an earlier generation would have considered mere hard work. While idealists such as John Muir and his acolytes in the American Sierra Club promoted wilderness parks for their moral and scientific value, even philistines in the government could be convinced of the commercial potential of parks as tourist attractions.

91. David Mikel Colman, "Businessmen, Forestry and the Gospel of Efficiency", pp. 34-38.

In Canada, wilderness reserves were almost entirely concentrated in the Rockies, inspired by both the practical and aesthetic streams of the conservation movement. The completion of the transcontinental railway made many aware that wilderness areas were in imminent danger of being alienated from public use. At the same time there was growing awareness of the tourist potential of natural scenery. The C.P.R. was therefore only too happy to have the Department of the Interior assume control of a few acres of land surrounding a hot spring near present day Banff.⁹² Canada's first national park became a mecca for outdoor enthusiasts and a boon to the railway which transported them there. By 1911 a number of other park reserves had been established in the Rockies along with large areas of forest administered by the forestry branch. That year the Minister of the Interior set out to provide for the better administration of park and forest reserves by proposing a new act. Legislation identified large areas of crown land as Forest Reserve "for the maintenance, protection and reproduction of the timber...., for the conservation of the minerals and the protection of the animals, birds and fish therein, and for the maintenance of conditions favourable to a continuous water supply....". The Act also authorized the establishment of Dominion Parks, stipulating that they were to "be maintained and ... made use of as public parks and pleasure grounds, for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada."⁹³ The existing parks

92 Sylvia Van Kirk notes, "The commercial tone of early Canadian park policy resulted largely from the influential [sic] role played by the railway companies in developing the first national parks", in Sylvia M. Van Kirk, "The Development of National Park Policy in Canada's Mountain National Parks 1885 to 1930", M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton Alberta, 1969, p. 60. While this statement is correct and reflects contemporary opinion about the nature of national parks at the turn of the century, it perhaps overstates the case for commercial attraction of parks. The original park act for Banff was modeled on the legislation creating Yellowstone National Park in 1872. And as Roderick Nash has argued in "The American Cult of the Primitive" in R. Nash (ed.) The American Environment (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1968); National Parks were early endowed with a moral dimension.

93 Canada. Laws and Statutes, 1911, 1-2 Geo. V cap. 10, "An Act Respecting Forest Reserves and Parks".

were considerably reduced in size, surplus land being transferred to adjacent Forest Reserves, but provision was made for future park expansion from the present reserves.

The Dominion Parks Branch was established following the passage of this act to look after the development of national parks in tandem with the forestry branch which would confine itself to the protection of forest reserves. James Bernard Harkin (1875-1955) then a senior official in the department was invited by the outgoing Liberal minister to head up the new branch. At this point the possibilities for park development were severely restricted by the Act. Moreover there were conflicting pressures regarding the direction park development was to take. On the one hand there were those, including the minister, who believed that parks were a natural resource, capable of being exploited like a forest. On the other hand, there were those, including members of the influential Alpine club of Canada, who preferred to see parks kept in their pristine state. In the ensuing years Harkin managed to implement a policy that would largely satisfy both groups. His initial difficulties lay in the huge scope of his task and the limited resources which he had at his disposal. Years later he wrote in a memoir:

My first problem on taking office was the economic one. How was I to get the money for developments that were immediately necessary? To restore the disappearing wild life, an efficient game protective service with a code resembling that of our Mounted Police should be build up ... Hundreds of miles of new trails and forest telephone lines were needed at once ... Motor roads within the parks could not long be denied.

All this would cost money - a great deal of money. How could the hard-headed member of the House of Commons be persuaded to increase park's appropriation?⁹⁴

The crux of his problem was that he needed more money in order to make parks more popular and yet to get this money he needed to make parks popular.

94 - J.B. Harkin, "The History and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada, extracts from the papers of the late Jas. B. Harkin, first commissioner of the National Parks of Canada, comp. by Mabel B. Williams (Saskatoon: H.R. Larson Pub. Co., 1957), p. 7.

He approached the problem by launching a campaign to sell the idea of parks. In press releases, memoranda and in annual reports of the department, Harkin trumpeted the theme that parks were good for the country. The principal strands of his argument developed in the years prior to 1914 were that parks were cost effective because they attracted tourists dollars and were of benefit to the physical and moral health of the nation. He developed the first line of his argument by amassing data demonstrating the economic potential of tourism. The Canadian Pacific Railway collaborated in this endeavour by estimating that "the amount of money attracted to Canada annually by the fame of the Rockies at about \$50,000,000".⁹⁵ Harkin stressed the importance of the national parks to this industry summing up his argument with the quip "nothing attracts tourists like national parks".⁹⁶ Harkin then cited dozens of scholarly studies to show the importance of parks for society's physical and mental well being. "The most important service which the parks render", he wrote, "is in the matter of helping to make the Canadian people physically fit, mentally efficient, and morally elevated".⁹⁷ Embedded in Harkin's sales pitch was the belief that it was the duty of the federal government to develop parks for the economic and social benefit of the nation.

95 Ibid., p. 81.

96 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1914, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, p. 4.

97 Loc. cit. In the same report Harkin presented the case for national parks in a way typical of Progressive thought. "Within recent years there has been a movement, particularly in Europe and the United States, generally referred to as the 'Recreation Movement'. It has had much to do with the wonderful progress that has been made with respect to supervised playgrounds for children, but its field is much greater than that, and concerns play for adults as well. It had its origin through recognition of the fact that modern social and industrial conditions are resulting in a suppression or a perversion of the 'play spirit' and that this spells danger for the nation as well as the individual." Ibid., p. 5.

Harkin was enormously successful as a salesman of the national park idea. This helped him personally for he was able to convince the newly elected Borden government that he was a national expert on the subject rather than just another Liberal placeman. He developed an excellent rapport with the most influential Minister of the Interior in the Borden administration, Arthur Meighen, who held the portfolio between 1917 and 1920. While the parks branch budget was trimmed to allow only minimal operating expenses during the war, the branch received steadily increasing appropriations after 1918. Further, Harkin managed to improve the extremely weak legislation which had tied parks to forest reserves. In 1913 an amendment was passed to the 1911 act which no longer made it a requirement for a park to be created from a forest reserve.⁹⁸ Consequently the branch managed to increase the area of its Rocky Mountain Parks and looked to establishing new parks to the east.

Despite the success of his campaign to sell parks as a national resource, Harkin was vulnerable in being unable to reach the bulk of the Canadian public. The national parks were concentrated in the Rockies, beyond the reach of all but the more affluent Canadian tourist. The parks branch needed a national system of parks in order to establish a national presence and offer the promised recreational facilities for all Canadians. Unfortunately there were a number of major obstacles to establishing such a system. The original national parks had been formed out of undeveloped federal crown land. Such property, offering the requisite scenery, was hard to get in the more populous east. Moreover the whole orientation of both his department and his branch was firmly rooted in the west. Much of Harkin's budget was therefore committed to developing the obvious money making parks in the Rockies and there was little left over for costly acquisitions in the east.

During the early years of his administration, Harkin groped for expedient responses to this problem of creating a greater national presence. In his annual report for 1913 under the heading "New Lines of

98 W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, vol. II (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), p. 12.

Development," he suggested having an official from his office available to give expert advice to cities willing to set up playgrounds.⁹⁹ In this way, he argued, activities could be better co-ordinated along national standards. Another tack was to suggest that municipalities be encouraged to preserve open spaces from surrounding land for camping and other outdoor pursuits. Ideally the parks branch would have been given the mandate for developing these suburban parks but Harkin was unsuccessful in having either of these too obviously municipal or provincial responsibilities handed over to him.

The commissioner was more successful with yet a third proposal for new development presented in 1913. In relation to the campsite proposal, Harkin suggested that some parks might be created at points of historic interest. Perhaps features from human history could be preserved, as focal points and attractions to the suburban park. Like the natural parks, historic properties were rationalized by his doctrine of usefulness. "It would be doubly beneficial if these historic spots were not only properly restored and marked but they should be used as places of resort by Canadian children who, while gaining the benefit of outdoor recreation, would at the same time have opportunities of absorbing historical knowledge under conditions that could not fail to make them better Canadians"¹⁰⁰ This proposal was accompanied by an initiative of the branch in 1914 to make "a general survey of the historic sites of the Dominion with a view to preserving them as national landmarks and monuments".¹⁰¹ That same year the branch acquired Fort Howe in Saint John, New Brunswick as a national park and three years later Fort Anne. In this way the idea of the historic park was born.

Initially these historic resources were viewed from the particular perspective of the parks service. They tied together notions of leisure and scenery with those of education and history. Apparently only

99 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1913, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks", p. 10.

100 "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks", 1914, p. 11.

101 Loc. cit.

marginally interested in the historic ruins for their own sake, Harkin seemed more interested in them as a rationale for a surrounding recreational area. Fort Howe was not a very important historic site yet it was used to justify an acquisition of some otherwise undistinguished property as a park.¹⁰² Fort Anne had better credentials but in Annapolis Royal some local opposition to having the site developed as a park pointed to some potentially contradictory objectives. In a letter published in the local newspaper, the well-known local historian Judge A.W. Savary said: "AND FORT ANNE NATIONAL PARK! What a hybrid combination! A fort with its bastions, ravelins, glacis, moat, and a park with its shade trees, avenues and drives; the two are absolute [sic] incompatible."¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the belief that historic and natural landscapes could be treated together was widely held at this time. Preservation groups in England and the United States regularly combined heritage with scenic conservation¹⁰⁴ and the landscaping of the Plains of Abraham had received widespread approval in Canada.

The association of historic sites with wilderness preservation provided the national parks branch with a relatively easy way to extend the parks system across the country. As early as 1913, therefore, the branch was sending the following request to knowledgeable groups and individuals. "The Commissioner of Dominion Parks is at present very much interested in this matter of having historical monuments, etc., in the Dominion preserved and if you could, without too much trouble to yourself send to him a short resume of the facts in this connection ... which will enumerate places historically worthy of preservation, I think it might

102 Fort Howe, in St. John, N.B., was created a national park under the authority of section 18 of the Dominion Forest Reserves Act in 1914. Although this was the original national historic park, it was never very successful and was declassified and handed over to the municipality in 1930.

103 Annapolis Royal, Spectator, 22 February 1918.

104 For example, the British National Trust for the Preservation of Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. The annual report for 1914 of this second organization is reprinted in R. Nash, (ed.) The American Environment, p. 78 ff.

7

result in their preservation in the future."¹⁰⁵ The war put an end to this scheme but by 1919 the branch was taking steps to preserve the site of Fort Pelly in Manitoba and the burial ground of the men who fell at the Battle of Fish Creek, Saskatchewan "with the intention of sometime establishing them as historical parks or monuments."¹⁰⁶ And so, by this time the branch was in the historic sites business but only tenuously as it had little money with which to develop these newly acquired resources.

The ambitions of the branch to expand the park system through the acquisition of historic sites coincided with the department's growing concern with what to do with some of the heritage properties under its control. In 1919 the Minister of the Interior was particularly concerned with the fate of the old western fur trade posts.¹⁰⁷ Previously a convention of Ontario historical and patriotic societies passed a resolution to petition the Minister of the Interior to develop a forty acre site near Thorold as a national battlefield park commemorating the Battle of the Beaver Dams.¹⁰⁸ These issues led the minister in 1919 to ask Harkin to come up with a proposal for a heritage policy to be administered by the department.

By this time Harkin and his staff had had enough experience with heritage properties to know that they required different treatment than natural parks. While the branch possessed the operational capacity to physically care for sites, it lacked historical expertise to deal with the special problems posed by heritage resources. First of all was the problem of criteria. There were so many well-publicized historic sites

105 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, file HS 6 (Maritimes General), pt. 1, F.H.H. Williamson to H. Piers, curator, Halifax Museum, 3 September 1913.

106 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell, 1 March 1919.

107 Loc. cit.

108 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, file HS 9 (Historic Sites in Western Ontario), pt. 1, Clarence M. Warner, president, Ontario Historical Society to William J. Roches, Minister of the Interior, 3 July 1914.

in the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario that even with an ample budget the branch could not afford to acquire them all. The weakness of Fort Howe as a national historic site must have helped to convince Harkin of the need to set priorities so as to avoid succumbing to short term expediency. Yet with so many local groups lobbying for their own heritage projects who could select the most important sites for preservation? Second was the need for reliable historical advice concerning the commemoration and development of historic sites. Harkin took Judge Savary's barbs about Fort Anne National Park seriously and the branch came to believe that it had been misled by the local historical society in naming the park after the British and not the French establishment.¹⁰⁹

In a memorandum to the Minister written in March 1919 Harkin proposed a scheme for establishing national historic sites across the country that would resolve some of the earlier problems his branch had encountered. "To overcome the difficulty of determining which sites are truly of Dominion-wide concern, I would suggest that an honorary board or committee, following the line of the Wild Life Board, be appointed, composed of men from all parts of the country who are authorities on Canadian history, to advise the Department in the matter of preserving those sites which pre-eminently possess Dominion-wide interest."¹¹⁰ This document provided the basis for a formal government heritage program. Henceforth responsibility for the identification and preservation of national historic sites would rest with the parks branch which would be advised by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. As noted by Harkin, there were precedents for this arrangement. Besides the Wildlife Board, which existed to advise the Minister of the Interior on the regulation of fish and game, there was also the Historic Manuscripts Commission which advised on the preservation of documents. The existence of these advisory bodies reflected the new faith in the role of the expert to provide objective and rational advice for the

109 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, file HS 6, pt. 1, J.B. Hartin to J.G. Mitchell, 28 February 1919.

110 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to J.B. Mitchell, 1 March 1919.

enactment of government policy. Cynics might also point out that these boards could be presented to the public as autonomous agencies whereas in reality they were merely advisors without authority whose advice could easily be disregarded. But in 1919 the nature of the Board's role had scarcely been defined and its true function would only emerge in the ensuing years.

While the national parks service's new responsibilities and the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board resulted from branch ambitions and department concerns, the establishment of this new program by the government was the result of a long series of events involving a number of different groups. Local heritage groups, the agitation of local historical associations and the emergence of a national heritage movement were all reasons for the government becoming involved in the preservation of historic sites. The expectations of these groups combined with those of the parks branch to help define the conflicting nature of the historic sites program in the ensuing decades. Only clear direction from Ottawa in the form of a policy could resolve some of these contradictions but such direction would be a long time coming.

CHAPTER 2: THE SEARCH FOR A POLICY, PART I, 1919-1923

In October 1919 five members of the newly-appointed heritage advisory board met in the office of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks. They were there because the government had decided that a comprehensive program was needed to coordinate what had until then been a fragmentary approach to the selection and treatment of national historic sites. They represented some of the main forces which had led the government to establish this program. Sitting at the head of the group was the commissioner, James Harkin, who had sought to use historic sites in expanding the parks system across the country. He was active in the Historic Landmarks Association and had had his branch finance its first report. His staff had canvassed heritage groups and individuals with the intention of compiling a list of significant properties worthy of preservation. Brigadier-General Ernest Cruikshank, director of the historical section of the army general staff, had long been involved in the heritage movement, in particular the Lundy's Lane Historical Association and the Historic Landmarks Association. Closely associated with him was James Coyne, from St. Thomas, Ontario, who had been instrumental in founding the Ontario Historical Society and was a prominent member of the Royal Society. Representing Quebec was Benjamin Sulte, a well-known French-Canadian historian who had also been active at the national level in efforts to erect the Chateauguay monument. W.C. Milner, from Halifax, had become interested in the preservation of Maritime sites through his work for the Public Archives of Canada and it was partly through his urgings that prime minister Borden had seen the need for a heritage program. Also present as secretary was Harkin's second in command, F.H.H. Williamson who had done much of the preliminary work to involve the branch in historic sites. Together these men had to decide what the government's heritage program should entail and how it would be implemented.¹

¹ A sixth member of the board, W.O. Raymond from New Brunswick, was absent.

This was an enormous task for there was no clear policy, only vague ambitions. The documents which preceded the establishment of the program suggest that both the branch and the board envisaged compiling an inventory of historic properties and then setting about to preserve them.² Such a program - involving the purchase of real estate and upkeep of historic buildings - implied a large budget and extensive powers to appropriate designated sites. But these means were not automatically provided nor did it appear that they would soon be forthcoming.

From 1919 to 1923 the search for a policy was abortive. In order to get money and power the program needed an approved policy yet in order to devise a policy it needed to know what it could expect in terms of formal authority and a budget. Without either it was largely powerless to act. This stage had to be muddled through somehow but the men responsible for implementing the government heritage program were faced with aggravating circumstances. First, in the years following the war fiscal restraint meant that the government was reluctant to commit money to new programs, especially ones not tied to improving the economy, and it gave little encouragement that it would fund an historic sites program on anything but a limited scale. Harkin announced at the first meeting of the board, for instance, that the first year's budget was only \$5,000. Second, the advisory board was itself powerless to implement policy. It was further hobbled by the regional differences represented by its members and by serious conflicts of personality.

From the beginning the board's function was limited to that of an advisory body. Although it could recommend the designation of potential historic sites and advise on their subsequent development, it was really up to the Dominion Parks branch of the Department of the Interior whose

2 For example, Harkins memorandum advising the minister on the need for an advisory board read in part, "I would suggest that an honorary committee be appointed... to advise the Department in the matter of preserving those sites which pre-eminently possess Dominion-wide interest". PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1189, file HS 6, pt. 1, "J.B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell, 1 March 1919.

responsibility it was to carry out this development, to decide what was or was not feasible. Thus the branch could heed or ignore the board depending on its own assessment of the situation. This division was partly offset by having Harkin represent the branch in the board's decision making. Nonetheless, the private members of the board comprised a distinct group. They represented aspects of the heritage movement at the local, regional and national levels and therefore presented particular concerns that had to be dealt with by the heritage program. At the same time, although they shared many common concerns, the private members had among them a number of contradictory perspectives. There were, then, from the outset two levels of possible conflict. The ideals and aspirations of the heritage movement had to be shaped to the capability and will of the branch to implement them. And the priorities of each member had to compete with those of his colleagues. This organizational tension was a dominant theme of the early history of the government's heritage program.

Another complicating factor lay in the dual nature of the task. There were two sides to the heritage program: preservation and commemoration. The first involved the treatment of heritage structures to prevent their destruction and to facilitate their enjoyment by the public. Treatment could range from the mere stabilization of ruins to the renovation of dilapidated buildings. At a more elaborate level it could also include the restoration or replication of vanished elements, or even the reproduction of the entire structure. Another part of preservation was the provision of visitor services. Access roads had to be provided and possibly even an interpretive museum constructed. Commemoration, on the other hand, involved erecting monuments, usually with an explanatory inscription, at sites associated with specific historic events. A commemorative plaque could be erected at a heritage development but usually existed independently from preservation efforts.

Preservation and commemoration each had different implications. The first was obviously more expensive than the second and presented a series of technical and operational problems. Commemoration was rela-

tively inexpensive and the problems it posed were theoretical rather than practical: what were the relevant historical facts and how did they relate to larger themes of national development? Their different natures meant that preservation and commemoration signified different approaches to the past. An historic park, with restored buildings and an interpretive museum, tended to recreate a former way of life. A commemorative inscription concentrated on relating a particular episode from the past. Commemorations therefore tended to be more didactic than preserved historic buildings which were educational in a different way.

Because of the different approaches to the past that preservation and commemoration each implied, they appealed to diverse segments of the heritage movement. Commemorations were most popular with heritage advocates in Québec and Ontario where nationalist history had its strongest roots. Preservation tended to be a priority in the Maritimes where individuals and local groups promoted the development of heritage sites as part of a distinctive regional landscape. These competing regional tendencies came together on the board. The different orientations of the board and the branch also tended to fragment a comprehensive program. The branch was naturally drawn to the practical problems of heritage development; the board to the more intellectual concerns of commemoration. Yet both sides needed to cooperate to implement a balanced treatment of both aspects of the heritage program.

Unfortunately initial developments within the branch and the board worked to prevent this synthesis. First the branch was unable to get itself properly organized to administer a new heritage program and lacked both the legislation and money necessary to effect a comprehensive policy. The board, dominated by the concerns of its Ontario and Québec members, concentrated more and more on the commemorative aspect of the program. This orientation of the board meant that even Maritime commemorations were largely disregarded. Although sites were identified for preservation, the board took little interest in their subsequent development. This left the branch by default to look after the problem of preservation in the Maritimes and elsewhere yet its limited capacity

to act resulted in little being done. Moreover, lacking a definite policy of its own or a comprehensive overview from the board, it was prone to proceed in a desultory and ad hoc fashion. The failure of the program attracted public criticism and forced Harkin to regroup his resources in order to begin anew. But the patterns of behaviour that had emerged in these first years continued to influence the subsequent direction of the program.

I The Branch

By 1919 the Dominion Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior seemed well prepared to undertake a heritage policy. A survey of historic sites had been started before the war and by 1919 the branch was in contact with numerous organizations and individuals compiling suggestions for national historic sites across the country. Two historic properties, Fort Anne and Fort Howe, had been acquired as national parks and the branch was in the process of acquiring others in the west. Following correspondence with Judge Savary in Annapolis Royal, Harkin formed the opinion that historic sites needed a separate definition in the Dominion Parks and Forests Act and his staff began preparing language governing historic sites for the new national parks bill then being contemplated.³ In 1919 formal responsibility for historic sites in the branch rested with Williamson but by the end of 1920 a new man, A.A. Pinard, was hired to be solely responsible for historic sites. Subsequently it became Pinard's task to cope with the array of potential sites needing assistance and to come up with a workable policy. In 1921 he replaced Williamson as secretary to the board and also endeavoured to facilitate the activities of that body.

The heritage section of the new parks bill was the first attempt by the branch to get a firm basis for an historic sites policy. In June 1920 Harkin prepared a memorandum for the deputy minister in which he said: "At the end of this year the historical survey should be reasonably

3. Loc. cit.

complete and it will then be possible to formulate more comprehensive and detailed plans with respect to historical sites of national interest and importance. It is quite obvious already that special legislation will be necessary if this work is to be carried on efficiently and satisfactorily. A bill has been prepared by this Branch with that object in view.⁴ The bill referred to had been drafted by the branch legal advisor with advice from James Coyne who was also a lawyer and was based on the British Ancient Monuments Act. More precisely, it had been prepared as section II of a new parks bill entitled "The Dominion Parks and Historic Sites Act". It would have granted sweeping powers to the branch to acquire historic property and even provide for a temporary preservation order to seize control of heritage structures that were in imminent danger of destruction.⁵ But this bill never reached Parliament.

There were a number of reasons for its failure. Surprisingly, the most obvious reason, that it might have contravened the B.N.A. Act which gave jurisdiction over property to the provinces, does not seem to have been raised as an issue. Although the bill was drafted by lawyers, neither they nor other department officials concerned with getting it passed raised the question of it being ruled ultra vires. Moreover, parallel attempts to have a new national parks bill enacted managed successfully to establish the principle that parks could remain a national responsibility. This was at a time when it was generally conceded in Ottawa that western resources were properly in the domain of the province in which they were found. As a consequence there was a movement to trans-

4 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1329, file HS 9, pt. 1; J.B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell, 21 June 1920.

5 One section of the proposed legislation read: "If the Governor in Council is of the opinion that any site, situate partly or wholly within the lands of any private person, which is deemed to be of national historic interest and importance is in danger of destruction, damage or removal in whole or in part, he may make an order to be known as a 'preservation order', placing such site for the time being under the protection and control of the minister." PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1434, file HS 12, pt. 4; 9 Feb. 1920.

fer federal crown land to the provinces culminating in the Dominion-provincial agreements of 1930 which formally transferred jurisdiction of natural resources to the provinces. Throughout this process Harkin managed to convince the government that national parks were properly a federal responsibility because they benefitted the population of the country as a whole and their tourist revenue was spread over a number of regions. Thus Meighen, who was Minister of the Interior in 1920, was able to speak of the national purpose of parks in defending the increased appropriation of the branch.

The Dominion of Canada - not federally speaking - that is, not speaking from the standpoint of the treasury, but the people of the Dominion - derive great advantage not only in having recreation grounds for the whole Dominion, but in the tourist traffic, the returns per acre being figured by the officers of the department as being more for the rocks and waste lands of our parks than even for our wheat fields. Undoubtedly; speaking from the whole national standpoint, it is good public business to maintain these parks.⁶

The government could easily have extended this agreement to include historic sites. It also had the precedent of the National Battlefields Act. And with the government willing to spend money in order to develop property for its tourist potential, why should provinces or individuals object?

But the government was not eager to spend money; it wanted to cut the deficit, and only determined action at the ministerial level could extract more dollars for programs. And more dollars is what the heritage bill would have required. The Department of the Interior was oriented to the western parks. They formed part of its traditional domain, having been concerned with the development of western crown lands as part of the national policy since the 1880s. The western parks assumed greater importance within the department as it gradually lost other responsibilities. They were important to western M.P.s, too, and following the emergence of the Progressive party, spending in the west

6. Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1920, p. 3283.

was closely watched by that region's representatives. Historic sites legislation that would have committed the department to significant spending in other regions was probably therefore not a priority with senior officials and the minister of the Department of the Interior.

A practical problem facing the enactment of historic sites legislation was that in its initial phases it was tied to the new national parks bill. Because of the protracted negotiations with the provinces, this bill was held up and not passed until 1930.⁷ Meanwhile the whole issue of historic sites was overshadowed by other larger concerns at both the branch and departmental level.

In 1919 the branch allocated a budget of \$5,000 for historic sites. In 1920 the budget was increased to \$10,000. Subsequently it was Pinard's job to enlarge the position of historic sites within the branch. As it soon became evident that the heritage legislation would not receive quick passage, it was incumbent on Pinard to get the department to commit itself to historic sites projects on an individual basis. Only in this way could his budget be increased sufficiently to implement a workable policy.

In embarking on this difficult task, Pinard had a number of potential resources. First was his own competence. While possessing no background in the heritage field, he had a number of qualifications that made him an effective government official in this area. He was one of the few francophone officers in the department and was able to develop good relations with the historical community of Quebec and the Quebec representative on the board. As a former army officer he had a good rapport with the Department of Militia and Defence, still important as the custodian of a number of historic forts, and with Brigadier General E.A. Cruikshank, chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. Both of his superiors were personally interested in his work. The commissioner of national parks, Harkin, continued to be involved through

⁷ W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, Vol. II (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), p. 17.

his membership in the board. The assistant commissioner, Williamson, had been instrumental in early efforts to establish the historic sites program and remained closely tied to efforts at devising a policy. While Pinard had virtually no staff of his own in these early years, he could call on help from other divisions in the branch. The engineering division, the largest component of the branch, could be expected to provide the necessary field work as well as technical advice. Following the appointment of a town planner in 1921, who subsequently formed the nucleus of the architectural division, another source of technical expertise became available. Even the migratory bird officers of the wildlife division could be called upon to inspect sites from time to time. Elsewhere in the department was the research capacity of the Natural Resources Intelligence Branch. In 1922 Ernest Voorhis prepared an Historical Account of the territorial expansion of the Dominion of Canada from 1497 to 1920 for the branch.⁸ Later Voorhis would compile a survey of historic forts and trading posts of the French regime and the English for trading companies.⁹ A more regular source of historical advice for Pinard, however, was the Public Archives of Canada whose staff responded to a number of his queries. Archaeologists and anthropologists with the newly-defined national museum were another well of technical knowledge.

Ironically, it was the growing strength of the parks branch that contributed to the weakness of Pinard's situation. Since the war Harkin and Williamson had been moving the branch into a number of areas parallel to park development. They had established wildlife reserves and a wildlife division to preserve vanishing species of game. Through his involvement with the Northwest Territories Game Commission Harkin became concerned with arctic sovereignty. Larger issues of tourism also interested

8 Canada. Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Branch, Historical Account of the Territorial Expansion of the Dominion of Canada from 1497 to 1920 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1922).

9 Canada. Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Branch, Historic forts and trading posts of the French regime and of the English fur trading companies (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1930).

Harkin and by 1923 he had engaged a director of publicity whose office gradually embraced promoting Canadian tourism.¹⁰ As a result of these wider interests, Harkin and Williamson could no longer focus on historic sites and their attention was often elsewhere. Moreover some of the new divisions, particularly the new wildlife division under Hoyes Lloyd, had a legislative basis and were better positioned to get a larger share of the branch budget than the historic sites division.¹¹

What made matters worse was that, while Harkin continued to expand the activities of his branch, he also continued to concentrate his budget on the development of the western parks. This was necessary for a number of reasons. Government spending was largely determined by a program's ability to produce revenue and the growing popularity of the Rocky Mountain parks made them a potential revenue producer.¹² But the post-war tourist trade was undergoing a revolution as the increasing popularity of the automobile changed the character of recreational travel. In order to stay competitive the branch therefore had to undertake an extensive program of road building.¹³ The engineering difficulties

10 According to the Dominion Government Telephone Directory for 1923, the parks branch consisted of the following components: Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Engineers, Historic Sites, Accountant, Law and Lands Clerk, Forest Protection, Director of Publicity, Migratory Birds and Park Animals, Town Planning.

11 The activities of the embryo wildlife division in these period are recounted in Janet Foster, Working for Wildlife, the Beginning of Preservation in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), chapter 7.

12 Harkin's annual report for 1919 noted: "Throughout the year the work in connection with the parks service has been planned and carried out primarily with a view to bringing into Canada a revenue of millions of dollars from foreign tourist traffic". Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1919, "Report of the Commissioner", p. 3.

13 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1921, "Report of the Commissioner", p. 3.

posed by the mountains made this an extremely costly venture and accounted for a large part of the branch budget through the 1920s. Moreover it was a priority of the engineering division and during the summer months most of its staff was busy in the west, unavailable for visits to eastern historic sites.

The reliance on other divisions contributed to the insignificance of the historic sites office. While the engineering division was willing to do the historic sites field work, there was no need for it to develop its own operational capacity. Matters were further complicated by the fact that the largest historic site, Fort Anne, as a regular national park, remained outside of Pinard's jurisdiction. Its budget was separate from the historic sites allocation. For these reasons, the profile of Pinard's office remained extremely low within the branch and the department. During the fiscal year 1922-1923, when expenditures of the branch totalled more than one million dollars, nearly fifteen percent of the department's budget, the expenditures of the historic sites division were under \$12,000, slightly more than one per cent of the branch total (see Appendix 1).

II The Board

Along with the parks branch, the other main component of the government's heritage program was the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, created to advise the minister on the selection, commemoration and preservation of national historic sites. The men of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board were tied to a number of broad concerns: most were members of the Historic Landmarks Association and were committed to preserving Canada's historic landscape. Within this consensus, however, there were particular concerns that tended to inhibit the elucidation of a truly representative national policy. The shared attributes and differences of the members are revealed in their backgrounds.

The commissioner of national parks, James B. Harkin (1875-1955) was an important member of the board because he had helped set it up. To

Harkin the board was an important part of his scheme to make the parks branch responsible for a national system of heritage developments. This larger view meshed with his aim at making the national park system truly national and was based on the same rationale that he proffered for his natural parks: they promoted tourism and helped foster the physical and mental well being of Canadians. Harkin's position on the board was ambiguous. A man of wide reading and strong opinions, he could participate in frank discussions about the designation and interpretation of sites. But he had no pretensions to being an expert as were the other members of the board. Moreover he was a senior department official, leading the program which the board was meant to advise. Unlike the others on the board he had no constituency in the heritage movement. More likely his presence was geared to keeping the board in line with overall branch objectives. He did not propose particular sites for designation but instead made general recommendations about future lines of development.

Along with Harkin, one of the guiding lights on the early board was Brigadier-General E.A. Cruikshank (1853-1939). He had a solid reputation as an historian and was close to the bureaucracy in Ottawa, making him an ideal chairman. He was a leading figure in the Ontario and Canadian heritage movements: he had been elected to the Royal Society in 1906 and had been a member of its preservation committee. He was a founding member and secretary of the Historic Landmarks Association and was to be president of the Ontario Historical Society from 1920-22. Retiring from his post as director of the military historical section in 1921, he continued to reside in Ottawa and, although he suffered from ill-health, was often shy and remote and spent his winters in Jamaica, he remained a leading figure on the board until his death.

Although he had a national reputation, Cruikshank's historical interests were largely focussed on a single area, the War of 1812 in south western Ontario. Much of his earlier career had been spent as a gentleman farmer and part time militia officer in the vicinity of Welland on the Niagara peninsula. In this guise he had combined an interest in the

region's history with the military and undertaken a study of the role of local militia units in the War of 1812. He became active in local historical groups and was a member of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, aiding in that group's effort to have the Lundy's Lane monument erected. Cruikshank's reputation as an historian was largely based on his The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of the Niagara Area (1893) and a nine volume Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1812-14 (1896-1908). He also published numerous pamphlets on military subjects including the battles of Lundy's Lane and Beechwoods. His style was prosaic and Cruikshank belonged to that school of historical writing which believed that the facts could speak for themselves. This approach excused any efforts to improve a naturally arid approach and some of his writing is unbearably dull. Still, his pretensions to writing scientific history gave him a certain cachet among professional historians and he found acceptance with a broad range of readers.¹⁴

But though Cruikshank prided himself on his scientific approach to history and scorned biased nationalist histories, his writing betrayed certain implicit ideals. It is apparent, for instance, that he was an adherent of the loyalist cult which argued for the centrality of loyalist traditions in Canadian life and that he placed considerable importance on this tradition in explaining a series of wars against American aggression. Furthermore, as an Ontario nationalist Cruikshank saw in the past ideals which were instructive for the present. He has been quoted as saying: "All men justly owe a debt of gratitude and remembrance to those who have gone before them, particularly when they have been their benefactors in many ways, especially when blessings of moral, intellectual, social, and political freedom had been won by the

14 "It is on his skillful array of facts that Colonel Cruikshank always depends for his force. Impartial and judicial, he may sometimes fail to interest but he never fails to satisfy". Anonymous Review of Battle of Queenston Heights", Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, IX (1905), pp. 67-68.

endeavours of their ancestors and their kinsmen."¹⁵ This is a key statement to understanding Cruikshank's position on the board, for it not only suggests the elitist view of history to which he subscribed, but points to a sense of mission in bringing history to the people.

Also from Ontario, James H. Coyne (1849-1942) was closely associated with Brigadier Cruikshank. Born in St. Thomas, Coyne had as a teenager served with the local militia during the Fenian raids of 1866. Later he attended the University of Toronto where he won a gold medal for high standing in languages. After a short spell as a teacher he trained as a lawyer, returning to St. Thomas to practice and where he was eventually appointed county registrar. Although law remained his work, his love was history and Coyne became a gifted amateur historian. His particular interests in this sphere were southern Ontario pre-history and the early exploration and settlement of the province. His writings included "The Country of the Neutrals, from Champlain to Talbot (1895)", "Indian Occupation of Southern Ontario" (1916) and a translation of the Sulpician priest Dollier de Casson who, with his colleague de Galinée, explored the Lake Erie region in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Coyne's activities in local history led to his involvement in the larger realm of the heritage movement. In 1897 he was elected president of the Pioneer and Historical Association which he was largely responsible for re-organizing as the Ontario Historical Society. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and served a term as president of its English letters and history section.

A leading member of the Ontario heritage movement, he, like Cruikshank, shared many of its attitudes. He was a friend of George Taylor Denison and shared his views about the rightful development of Canada as a

15 Cited by David McConnell, "E.A. Cruikshank, his life and work", unpublished M.A. thesis, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 125.

16 James H. Coyne, editor and translator, "Exploration of the Great Lakes 1669-1670 by Dollier de Casson and de Brehant de Galinée", in Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, IV (1903).

nation within the British Empire. Speaking to a Victoria Jubilee Day gathering at Port Stanley in 1897, he said: "The genius of the Anglo-Celtic race is towards union, toleration, federation, righteous law and administration. Its instinct for extension of property is ... justified by its extraordinary success in governing inferior races upon principles of justice and equality."¹⁷

Cruikshank and Coyne shared a number of qualities that encouraged the belief that historic sites could play a useful function in contemporary society. While Harkin stressed the commercial dimension of sites as tourist attractions, the two Ontario representatives stressed their moral dimension as helping to civilize a raw and materialist society. They considered themselves part of an educated elite whose duty it was to impart proper values of patriotism, duty, self-sacrifice and spiritual devotion in young and new Canadians and members of the lower orders of society generally.¹⁸ As members of this cultural elite they tended to suspect many of the trends of modern society: its materialism and disregard for abstract values. As Ontario members of this elite, they saw many of these trends emanating from the United States. The past not only evoked images of a better, pre-modern, age, not cheapened by the tastes of popular republicanism, but also provided examples which served to instruct the present. One occasionally catches glimpses of this sense of historical mission in the correspondence of the board. In 1920, for example, Coyne wrote Cruikshank to tell him of his success in Sault Ste. Marie organizing support for the cause. "Immediately after my arrival I saw his Honour Judge Stone, who is greatly interested in historical matters ... I find a great deal of enthusiasm amongst

17 Cited by Hugh Alexander Stevenson, "James H. Coyne: His Life and Contributions to Canadian History", unpublished M.A. thesis, London, Ontario, University of Western Ontario, 1960, p. 147.

18 American historian Henry F. May has described a similar sense of mission existing in the cultural elite in the United States in the decades before the First World War. He coined the term "custodians of culture" to describe the collective attitudes of this group. The End of American Innocence, a study of the first years of our own time, 1912-1917 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 30.

prominent citizens, from which I augur a very successful career of the new society".¹⁹

The writing of historical inscriptions which could relate historical events to larger principles was of course an important way of carrying out this mission. Incidents from the past could be tied to larger historical principles which justified ideals implicit in contemporary society. These larger principles inevitably related to views of nation and as they were elucidated by the Ontario representatives on the board this nationalism took a particular form. For Cruikshank, as for Denison before him, the loyalists and their descendents formed the basis of much of what was good in contemporary Canadian society. They not only legitimized imperialist sentiment but provided a tradition of successful resistance to American hegemony. It is not surprising, then, that many of the sites proposed by Cruikshank reflected this theme. The list of nominations which he submitted at the May 1920 meeting proposed commemorating the foundation of Kingston by loyalists, the foundation of Prescott, by loyalists, the Battle of Windmill Point (1838), the Battle of Crysler's Farm (1818), Glengarry House and the construction of the Rideau Canal. In subsequent years Cruikshank would champion the cause of many local efforts to commemorate sites connected with loyalists and the War of 1812 so that before long there was a veritable palisade of historical markers along the St. Lawrence glorifying episodes of resistance to the American invasion.

The problem with Cruikshank's approach to the past was that it was exceedingly narrow and like the work assailed in Herbert Butterfield's The Whig Interpretation of History was susceptible to fallacies inherent in studying the past for the sake of the present. Like the Whig historians, Cruikshank tended to be selective, recognizing only those incidents from the past which supported the present, and reductionist, explaining the present with constant reference to events in the remote

¹⁹ PAC. RG 84, Vol. 1329, HS 9, pt. 1, James H. Coyne to E.A. Cruikshank, 13 Aug. 1920.

past. While supporting local efforts to promote loyalist sites,²⁰ he resisted initiatives to recognize positive attributes of the rebels of 1837. They were not to be regarded as heroes and the only site specifically associated with them until the 1930s was Montgomery's tavern. William Lyon Mackenzie was repeatedly turned down for commemoration despite the entreaties of the Toronto historical society. In 1928 the secretary of the York Pioneer and Historical Society complained to Harkin about the board's decision that Mackenzie was merely of local significance, pointing out that "there surely should be some memorial for William Lyon Mackenzie, who did more for liberty in Canada than almost any other man in our history."²¹ But Mackenzie was not a national benefactor in Cruikshank's view, and his interpretation of Canadian history had great weight on the board.

Coyne's attitude toward the past was slightly different from that of Cruikshank. For one thing he was more interested in the possibility of preserving an historic landscape for its own particular merits and regarded the Southwold earthworks as being valuable as more for their rarity than as an historic lesson. He saw the spiritual as well as the pragmatic value of heritage and once argued, for example, that it was quite appropriate to "gather up and preserve the traditions and legends of the Ojibwas and Mississagas" with reference to "old forgotten far off

20 A.A. Pinard noted in 1922 that "Gen. Cruikshank advised me over the telephone that the Kingston Historical Soc. intend holding historical ceremonies, on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of Ft. Frontenac and the founding of Kingston, next summer, and the Ontario Historical Soc. will likely assist. He expressed the desire that all the sites along the St. Lawrence front be completed by that time, which would be an opportune occasion for dedication. The sites in mind are: Old Simcoe House, Kingston, Fort Wellington, Prescott, Windmill Point, Prescott, Pointe au Baril, near Prescott, Glengarry House, near Cornwall, Glengarry Cairn, Ernest Shipyard". PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1305, file HS 8, pt. 1, 2 Nov. 1922. These sites commemorate the coming of the loyalists, the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1838.

21 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1330, file HS 9, pt. 6 (Historic Sites in Western Ontario), E.S. Caswell to J.B. Harkin, 21 Nov. 1928.

things, and battles long ago".²² For another, although he remained primarily committed to a program of commemoration for its educational objectives, he took a less defensive view of Canadian national development. He was therefore less concerned with marking battle sites and more interested in sites that marked the stages of Canadian geographical expansion. Coyne's original list of proposed designations therefore included Port Dover, Southwold, Sault Ste. Marie, Port Arthur and the Midland Mission site.

For Coyne the quintessential national historic site was at Port Dover. The commemoration of the seemingly minor historical episode which occurred there reveals much of Coyne's own attitude toward the past and the function of historic sites. The "Cliff Site" at Port Dover honors the spot where Dollier de Casson and de Galinée stood when they claimed the region for New France in 1670. Coyne had a personal stake in this site. He had written a scholarly account of the expedition and translated part of the explorer's journal which had appeared in the publication of the Ontario Historical Society in 1903. It was the first site he proposed and the first one actually to be commemorated in Ontario. He managed to persuade the branch to abandon its plan of erecting a boulder cairn on the site and instead build a more expensive concrete cross, supposedly depicting the original put up by the French explorers. The inscription which he prepared for the monument read:

Near this spot, March 23, 1670, was erected a cross with arms of France and inscription claiming sovereignty in the name of King Louis XIV over the Lake Erie region, as shown in the procès-verbal reproduced on his memorial placed here in 1922. Canada was ceded by France to Great Britain in 1763.²³

Coyne was suggesting here a kind of titular succession from God to France to Britain and, perhaps, to Canada. Cruikshank, who shared this view, explained to Harkin: "In a sense, the act of possession in the name of Louis XIV may be said to be the beginning of the title of the

22 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1329, HS 9, pt. 2, J.H. Coyne to J.B. Harkin, 2 March 1922.

23 PAC, RG 84, acc. 83-84/280, vol. 1015, file HS 9-4, pt. 2.

British Empire, and of Canada in particular, to the Lake Erie basin."²⁴ Such an interpretation was not shared by Raymond who, in a rare communication, argued: "The action of the missionaries and their compatriots was to a large extent a political action and, as Ontario is now a British province, there is no sufficient reason for repeating the ceremony performed in 1669 (two centuries and a half ago) by erecting a cross and affixing thereto the arms of a foreign potentate in token of his sovereignty".²⁵ But with Raymond's absence from the meetings, the board could overlook this objection and Coyne's enthusiasm prompted the designation of a second commemoration, "The Wintering Site", to the French expedition in Port Dover.

The importance of geography to Coyne's evolutionary view of history led Coyne to promote sites at the Sault and the lakehead on Lake Superior. Of the first site he wrote Cruikshank in 1920:

It has been suggested that on account of the great importance of the Sault in connection with discovery and exploration, not merely of the Upper Lakes but of the Rocky Mountains, Mackenzie River and Arctic Ocean an elaborate monument might be erected at some point along the canal, on which might be recorded the names of all the conspicuous characters commencing with Brulé, Nicolet, Radisson ... and down to La Verendrie, prominent explorers of the Canadian fur companies and of the arctic expeditions.²⁶

The implication was that the Sault was the gateway through which French and later British explorers had established the geographical limits of contemporary Canada. Consequently the May 1921 meeting of the board recommended acquiring a site on the Sault Ste. Marie ship canal to commemorate western explorers and the 300th anniversary of Brulé's discovery of the Sault in 1621.²⁷

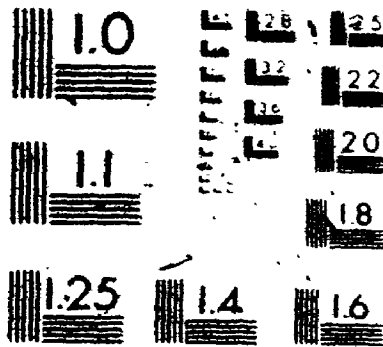
24 Ibid., HS 9-4, pt. 1, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 26 Jan. 1921.

25 Ibid., W.O. Raymond to J.B. Harkin, 18 Jan. 1921.

26 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, HS 9, pt. 1, James H. Coyne to E.A. Cruikshank, 13 Aug. 1920.

27 HSMBC, Minutes, 21 May 1921.

2



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010A
ANSI AND ISO TEST CHART

This notion of a gateway to the west was also applied to the lakehead where the importance of Port Arthur was identified in relation to early trading routes and the commencement of the western stretch of the C.P.R. Later Coyne included Fort William, proposing the sites of the Kaministikwia portage and the commencement of the Grand Trunk Pacific. In a speech at the unveiling of the monument commemorating the portage in 1929 Coyne tied two isolated episodes of transportation into an expression of nationhood. The portage route symbolized the importance of the birch bark canoe for the early commercial development of the country; the commencement of the Grand Trunk Pacific epitomized the development of a modern transportation system. He told another board member how he could relate these two images to a single theme.

This afforded me an opportunity to enlarge upon our national indebtedness to the canoe, for giving the French priority of discovery, enabling them to hold the territory north of the lakes and westward with their scattered trading posts, and to retard settlement west ~~of the~~ Ottawa to such a degree that ~~it~~ was practically a virgin territory that was awaiting the U.E. Loyalists when they were forced to leave their homes at the Revolution. That Canada is British to-day is largely due to the birch bark canoe.²⁸

As with the Port Dover inscription, French occupation was, in a convoluted way responsible for the establishment of Canada as part of the British empire.

The Quebec representative on the board, Benjamin Sulte (1841-1923) introduced a distinctive perspective toward national history. Sulte was born and raised in Trois Rivières where he missed many of the advantages useful to an intellectual career. Orphaned at six, he left school at ten to work in a shop and for the next few years held a variety of mentally and financially unrewarding jobs. This bleak career path changed when he joined the militia in 1863, at the time of the Trent Affair between the United States and Great Britain, and became a non-

28 New Brunswick Museum, Saint-John, Archives Section, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer No. 1, item 41, James H. Coyne to J.C. Webster, 1 Feb. 1929.

commissioned officer. This experience encouraged him to pursue the military as a career and he was accepted into the military school run by the British army in Quebec. He received a commission and in 1866 saw active duty along the Canadian-United States border. About this time he began writing and after demobilization worked for a short time as a journalist. He worked as an aide to George-Etienne Cartier and following Confederation worked as a translator and then as a senior official in the Department of Militia and Defence.²⁹

Sulte's reputation is largely based on his poetical and historical writing. He began writing poetry in the 1860s and then became committed to chronicling the history of his people. His major work, Histoire des Canadiens-Français (1882-84), although lacking in scholarly brilliance and at times turgid in style, was, spanning eight volumes, at least epic in scale and helped establish his reputation as an important Quebec intellectual. His other historical writing covered topics ranging from the Quebec militia and local history to the west and Louis Riel. This output helped Sulte gain prominence at the national level and he was a founding member of the Royal Society of Canada, being elected its president in 1902.

Sulte was a particular type of French Canadian nationalist. His imperialism and abiding interest in the militia tied him closely to his Ontario counterparts. He translated "God Save the Queen" into French.³⁰ Yet he did not subscribe to the belief that it was the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race to dominate North America. Like George-Etienne Cartier and Wilfrid Laurier he looked to Canada to bind two nations in the bosom of a single state. Thus, while maintaining imperial sentiments he was also deeply committed to preserving the French Canadian heritage as a fundamental part of Canadian culture. He was an original member of the Cercle des Dix, a group of intellectuals

29 Francis J. Audet, "Benjamin Sulte", Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques", XXXII, 6 (juin 1926), p. 338.

30 Henry James Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, second edition (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 1076.

which modelled its organization after the French Academy and was for a time president of the Ottawa chapter of the St. Jean Baptiste Society. He was also interested in publicizing this heritage to English Canada and in 1897 read a paper to the British Association of Toronto entitled "The Origins of the French Canadian".³¹ But although Sulte joined the board as primus inter pares, he was, at 78, feeling the effects of his age and his lack of vigour considerably diminished his influence.

Sulte's approach to the past was like Cruikshank's in being more pre-occupied with monuments. Both reflected the nationalist uses of history prevalent in their respective provinces. Sulte therefore became closely allied with Cruikshank in promoting the commemorative aspect of the heritage program. Cruikshank's initial submission to the branch for designations in eastern Ontario was compiled with the concurrence of Sulte.³² Sulte's own first slate, while consisting entirely of nominations from his home town of Trois Rivières - the birthplace of La Verendrye, the Battle of Three Rivers and the St. Maurice Forges conformed to Cruikshank's idea of a national historic site. The Battle of Three Rivers, honoring a Canadian victory over American invaders was obviously compatible with Cruikshank's War of 1812 battle sites. Similarly, the inscription for La Verendrye, ending with the claim "His explorations and those of his sons doubled the size of Canada,"³³ had broad national significance. The forge site was important for being the site of one of Canada's first industries.

Sulte's approach to the St. Maurice Forges demonstrated his predilection for commemoration over preservation. Although the site comprised a sizeable ruin, he was not particularly concerned with its preservation or development. He wrote to Harkin in 1919: "All that can be done in

31 Henry James Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, first edition (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 986.

32 PAC, RG 84, 83-84/280, Vol. 1305, HS 8, pt. 1, E.A. Cruikshank to F.H.H. Williamson, 13 Oct. 1920.

33 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1234, HS 7, pt. 1, n.d.

our days is to clear away the heap of stones, in order to reach the foundation walls and plant a sign in the centre of the square thus uncovered."³⁴ The following year he told Williamson that "it is needless to think of the ruins of the old Forge because what remains of them is really three or four heaps of broken stones."³⁵ Sulte concentrated instead on the monument which was to have incorporated a bas relief design. Eventually limited funds permitted only the erection of a standard bronze tablet.

While Sulte's nationalism resembled Cruikshank's in its defensive form, it has a distinct French flavour which contrasted with Cruikshank's imperialism. Although the two could agree on the importance of post-conquest struggles against American domination, earlier battles were viewed from different sides. Their contradictory perspective are revealed in the commemoration of episodes of the seventeenth century French-Indian wars. Here there is considerable ambiguity for Canadians about who were the protagonists. For Sulte it was clearly the French defending their homeland against the English aggressor. For Cruikshank it should have been an episode leading up to the conquest of New France but he was willing to bend this view to accommodate the the views of his Quebec colleague. By calling the invaders Americans and the defenders Canadians he was able to bring the Quebec view in line with his own. Still, this accommodation merely concealed rather than resolved opposing views toward the past.

The particularity of Sulte's nationalism is evident in his promotion in 1920 of the site at Laprairie. This became one of the most important sites in Sulte's pantheon when it was augmented by the commemoration of the Second Battle of Laprairie. These sites derived added importance in Quebec by being sponsored by a powerful lobby of Montreal historians. They seemed to have a relevance only to Québec and yet the form of the

34 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1238, HS 7-1, pt. 1, Benjamin Sulte to J.B. Harkin, 14 Nov. 1919.

35 Ibid., B. Sulte to F.H.H. Williamson, 19 June 1920.

commemorations, reflecting a defensive nationalism, similar to that of Cruijshank's sites inspired the General to support these designations as well.

Although two distinct sites, Fort Laprairie and the Second Battle of Laprairie proposed by Sulte in 1920 commemorate a single historical event. In the seventeenth century the farming community of Laprairie formed an outpost of Montreal against American and Indian invasion. There was never an actual fort but a palisade had been erected around some of the houses. In 1691 the governor of Montreal, having received word of an impending invasion, dispatched a large force of soldiers and native allies to Laprairie to prevent a crossing of the river. What arrived was not an invasion force but rather a raiding party of about 270 Albany militia and Indians led by Major Peter Schuyler. The attackers canoed up the Richelieu River to the rapids below Chambly then followed a trail through the forest to Laprairie. Their attack at night caught the defenders by surprise but the superior members of the French caused the Americans to retreat along the trail toward their canoes. So ended the first battle of Laprairie. They were not pursued but a picket of French soldiers and Indians led by Captain Valrennes intercepted the raiding party and attempted to block their retreat along the trail. What followed was an intense encounter known as the Second Battle of Laprairie to distinguish it from the defence of the town. In the end Schuyler and his men managed to get by the blockade and flee in their canoes.

Statements about the significance of the events at Laprairie appeared soon after the attack with the French and Americans each producing their own version. The original American account of the battle is "Major Peter Schuyler's Journal of his Expedition to Canada"³⁶ while the basis for the French interpretation is M. Bénac's "Relation des actions qu'il y a eu cette campagne entre les français et les sauvages anglais",³⁷

36 Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. 3 (Albany, 1853), pp. 800ff.

37 PAC, MG 1, series C 11 A, Vol. 11, p. 558ff.

written in September 1691. F.X. Charlevoix's eighteenth century Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France adhered to Bénac's interpretation in attributing the defence of Laprairie to the salvation of the colony and added that the double victory over the Americans dissuaded them making further attacks on the colony. Sulte's historical narratives followed Charlevoix's version.³⁸ Some English Canadians of the time also praised the heroism of both sides. W.D. Lighthall, in his poem "The Battle of Laprairie", published in 1922, wrote "Were those not brave old races?/Well here they still abide."³⁹

But in French Canada after the First World War there was a growing feeling that a more exclusive heritage be celebrated. Victor Morin, president of the Société Historique de Montréal, wrote Williamson in 1920 complaining about what he perceived to be an English bias in the heritage program. "It seems that in the minds of some people, the history of our country has only commenced with the English Conquest, and any event previous to that is not of national importance and should not be commemorated. Contrarily to that, we are of the opinion that the foundation and development of this country under the French Régime are of sufficient interest to be recorded by the erection of monuments."⁴⁰ The branch responded to this concern by sending Pinard to Montreal to interview members of the society and by soliciting their advice on Sulte's proposed designations and inscriptions. Subsequently Sulte and the Montreal group worked in harmony to produce a series of commemorations. The monument to the Second Battle of Laprairie was one result of their collaboration.

38 Benjamin Sulte, Mélanges Historiques, vol. 1 (Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1918), p. 133.

39 W.D. Lighthall, Old Measures: Collected Verse (Montreal: A.T. Chapman, 1922), p. 39.

40 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1237, file HS 7, pt. 1, Victor Morin to F.R.H. Williamson, 3 Nov. 1920.

Valrennes' determined defence against Schuyler's raid had particular significance to French Canadian nationalists. In form the story resembles other episodes from the history of New France that were also revered in a quasi religious way: the defence of a fort against marauding Indians by Madeleine de Verchères and the defence at the Long Sault against a Iroquois raiding party intent on taking Montreal. These episodes have a common theme, - the heroic defence, involving personal sacrifice, against the superior numbers of an alien invader - a theme that was relevant to twentieth century Québec where the traditional values of Catholic, rural French Canada were being invaded by modern industrial society with its concomitant godless materialism and alien language.⁴¹ In this context, the inscription of a memorial erected to mark the Second Battle of Laprairie in the 1890s had a contemporary significance. After giving the names of the French soldiers slain on the field of honour, it concluded "un souvenir d'un fait d'armes entre le Français et les Sauvages chrétiens d'un côté et les Anglais et les Sauvages infidèles de l'autre, le 11 août 1691."⁴² Here a whole cluster of images comes into play. On the one side there are les Anglais, Americans and infidels; on the other there are French, Canadiens and Christians. This was a clear message for continued struggle.

Cruikshank was supportive of the effort to commemorate the Second Battle of Laprairie. He was sympathetic because the nationalism that inspired it, conservative and defensive in form, was so similar to his own. He

41. These sites had particular relevance to the Action Française which flourished under the leadership of Lionel Groulx in the 1920s. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff has noted the contemporary significance of Dollard's sacrifice at the Long Sault to this group. "Dollard belonged less to history than to the Action Française. For its Dollard portrayed all the traits that the Action Française advocated for young French Canadians: he was religious, strong, brave, dominant, patriotic, and self-sacrificing". Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 43. The same attributes could be applied to Valrennes at Laprairie.

42. PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1240, file HS 7-4-1, pt. 1.

insisted on its designation at the 1921 meeting of the board from which Sulte was absent and where other members wondered whether it was not a duplication of the Fort Laprairie commemoration.⁴³ Cruikshank's only quibble with Sulte's second inscription, which portrayed the combat as a struggle between French and English, was that he should substitute the word Canadian for French.⁴⁴ For Cruikshank, the long history of French Canada's defence against American aggression was perfectly compatible with the loyalist tradition. Even Denison had accorded an important role to French Canada in helping Canada develop as an independent British state in North America.⁴⁵ Cruikshank's ideology was therefore sufficiently broad to encompass French participation in the formation of the Canadian nation. Nonetheless there were still important differences between it and Quebec nationalism.

The two members from the Maritimes were well connected to heritage groups in their respective provinces. As a loyalist, William Odler Raymond (1853-1923), venerable Archdeacon of Saint John, had much in common with his Ontario colleagues. He was also interested in the militia, being an honorary captain in the Third New Brunswick Regiment, and was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.⁴⁶ But Raymond's influence on the board was practically negligible as he never attended a meeting and lived after 1919 in Toronto where he was being treated for the illness from which he eventually died.

His colleague from Nova Scotia, on the other hand, made a considerably greater impression. William C. Milner (1846-?) was originally from Sackville, N.B. He received a B.Sc. from Mount Allison and later

43 HSMBC, Minutes, 21 May 1921.

44 PAC, RG 85, Vol. 1240, HS 7-4-1, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 11 Jan. 1920.

45 G.T. Denison, "The United Empire Loyalists and their influence upon the history of this continent", Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, p. XXXIII.

46 Henry James Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, second edition (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 809.

founded the Chignecto Post. Although not a prolific writer, he apparently wrote newspaper articles on historical subjects. It was probably this activity which led to his appointment as Maritime representative of the Dominion Archives. This job took him around the region scouting possible historic manuscripts and in the process he became interested in the problem of protecting historic sites.⁴⁷ He penned a report in 1916 to the premier of Nova Scotia on the plight of some of his province's heritage properties and subsequently lobbied the federal government as well.⁴⁸ He had the support of his superior, the Dominion Archivist Arthur Doughty, who had recommended his appointment to an expanded National Battlefields Commission in 1914.⁴⁹ Milner differed from his colleagues in a number of key respects. He was interested in Maritime historic sites as resources to be preserved and developed. He was not interested in using sites as expressions of local nationalism. Of all the members, then, his approach to the past was the least concerned with commemoration and the most concerned with preservation. Moreover, as a Maritimer his approach to the past differed from that of his colleagues from Quebec and Ontario in being less deliberately anti-American in its nationalism.

But Milner's chief characteristic was his inability to work in a group situation. This tendency minimized the degree to which the particular concerns of the Maritimes, which Milner represented, affected the general orientation of the board. One candid observer who met him in 1920 stated that he seemed "to be sore about things generally, perhaps it is chronic with him, appearances point that way."⁵⁰ Master of the

47 Donald Macleod, "Our Man in the Maritimes: 'Down East' with the Public Archives of Canada, 1872-1932", Archivaria, 17 (winter 1983-84), p. 90.

48 PAC, MG 26, H 1(c), (Borden Papers), Vol. 163; W.C. Milner to J.D. Hazen, 14 Feb. 1914.

49 Ibid., A.G. Doughty to R.L. Borden, 23 Feb. 1914.

50 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1048, file FB 2, Vol. 1, Captain Harry J. Knight to F.H.H. Williamson, 30 Aug. 1920.

angry letter, he soon directed his invective to his colleagues on the board and once wrote to Williamson: "If any of the said members imagine that the Maritime Provinces is a sort of buffalo range, and I am a keeper, it is not my business to undeceive him any more than it would be necessary for me to enter into controversy with any long legged, ugly mugged, yelping cur that thinks he owns the sidewalk."⁵¹ He referred to Cruikshank and Harkin as "clerks in the Public Service, who show indications either from travel or reading of no fitness for the service."⁵² Such extreme language made it very difficult for the gentlemen on the board to tolerate his company. Even his Maritime colleague cited Milner's difficult personality as a reason for wanting to resign.⁵³ So, while representing a particular regional viewpoint, Milner's effectiveness was virtually nullified by his having alienated the rest of the board.⁵⁴

While the members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board brought individual and regional concerns into the federal heritage program, together they formed a separate corporate identity contiguous with that of the historic sites branch. It was not merely a forum for individual expression but an advisory body which sanctioned the creation of national historic sites. The nature of its identity, however, was ambiguous. At one level the government was willing to credit the board with the whole heritage program. On commemorative monuments and in

51 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1089, HS 6, pt. 2, W.H. Milner to F.H.H. Williamson, 30 Aug. 1920.

52 PAC, MG 26, I (Meighen Papers), Vol. 29, W.C. Milner to Robert Borden, 29 Oct. 1920.

53 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1089, file HS 6, pt. 1, W.O. Raymond to F.H.H. Williamson, 2 Aug. 1920.

54 Milner lived to a great old age and continued to beset the board and the parks branch into the 1930s. A later board member related the following story: "He has just lost two sisters at a very advanced age. One of them left instructions that her dear brother Bill was not to be notified of her death, as she did not wish him to attend her funeral." Ibid., Vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 6, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 8 Dec. 1930.

speeches in parliament it was the board, not the branch, that was identified with national historic sites.⁵⁵ At the same time the board had no formal powers. It depended on the branch for implementing its ideas and so was subject to the same constraints of inadequate funds and legislation. And for its part, the branch had its own objectives for a heritage program. It was up to the board as a whole, to locate its position between the two poles of absolute dependence on or total independence from the branch. It had to accommodate the regional and individual perspectives of its members in a practical agenda that could be carried out by the division. The formative years of the board, then, were taken up with defining its relations with the branch and endeavouring to set objectives and implement a program over which it could exercise a modicum of control. During this period the strengths and weaknesses of its members played a significant part in determining the eventual character of the board.

The particular concerns of the members emerged at the first meeting of the board held in Harkin's office in October 1919. Harkin tabled an agenda and those present elected Cruikshank chairman. An array of objective and subjective criteria was then introduced for designating national historic sites. The principal decision made at this meeting was that only sites deemed to possess national significance should be recommended as national historic sites. When the General asked James Coyne to set forth the kinds of sites that the board should be concerned with Coyne replied by defining five categories of national historic sites: aboriginal forts, French memorials, loyalist landing

55: Responding to a suggestion in parliament that the heritage program be transferred to the National Battlefields Commission, Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior said: "I have not very much information with respect to the Quebec Battlefields Commission, but I do know that the Historic Sites Commission have been sitting for some time, and taking into consideration the merits of the various historic sites throughout Canada with a view to preserving them and keeping them in repair." Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1923, p. 3406.

places and landmarks of immigration from the British isles.⁵⁶ Then Cruikshank tabled a long list of potential designations (Appendix II). Analyzed thematically, these places suggest similar but slightly different categories to those identified by Coyne. These are Indian settlement, French exploration and settlement, the loyalist tradition and the War of 1812, and British exploration and settlement. Military events had a higher priority for Cruikshank than for other members of the board. The members also agreed that the board should confine itself to identifying sites of national significance.⁵⁷ This implied the existence of a graduated hierarchy of sites having local, provincial or national historical meaning. It also assumed a finite number of sites that could be objectively determined.

The board deciding on the abstract principle of national significance was one thing, agreeing on its application posed serious problems. Given the diverse attitudes of the members toward historic sites, such consensus proved almost impossible to achieve. Conflict was only avoided by each member confining his own standards to his particular area of responsibility.

While the members agreed with this criteria, believing that national historic sites should reflect the stages by which Canada evolved from unexplored wilderness to nation, they also raised individual concerns that pointed to future conflict. Sulte said that his priorities were to mark the birthplace of La Verendrye and the site of the Battle of Three Rivers. Coyne added that "the most important works to undertake immediately in Ontario, which would appeal most to the popular imagination"⁵⁸ were the site of a former camp of two seventeenth century French explorers and the old Indian earthworks at Southwold.

56 Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada [HSMBC], Minutes, 28 Oct. 1919.

57 PAC, MG 30, EG 6 (Cruikshank Papers), Vol. 31, "A Memorandum of the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada since its formation", 1939.

58 HSMBC, Minutes, 28 Oct. 1919.

Here personal agendas were being introduced into the discussion because the specific sites proposed as priorities by Sulte and Coyne were near the home towns of the two individuals. Milner gave his own report in which he identified Louisbourg, Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour), Fort La Tour, Fort Charnisay and Indian trails as places worthy of preservation in the Maritimes. For his part Harkin "in a few remarks emphasized the importance of the commercial side of the tourist traffic" and added that "this point should not be lost sight of in considering the value to the country of the Historic Sites."⁵⁹ It was probably Harkin as well who got the board to agree that "sites and monuments which should come under the purview of the Board should include, not only military forts, etc., but also such historic things as roads, railways, canals, postal service and sites connected with the economic and industrial life of the Dominion."⁶⁰ These agreements and private concerns would govern the work of the board through the 1920s.

Besides establishing a selection standard, the first meeting of the board also set out a procedure by which sites could be selected for national designation. The members were formed into committees which would survey potential sites in each region and then propose sites to the whole board for final approval. Initially these committees comprised Milner and Raymond for the Maritimes, Sulte for Quebec, Harkin and Cruikshank for eastern Ontario, Coyne for western Ontario, Cruikshank for western Canada and Sulte for trails and explorations of western Canada. This allocation of responsibilities reflects the orientation of Cruikshank's list which gave Ontario twenty seven potential sites compared to Quebec's eighteen and which saw potential sites as reflecting either themes of French exploration or exploits of the Canadian militia. Thus, from the beginning the work of the board had a structural imbalance, giving Ontario two full time representatives while the provinces of the east had only one and those to the west had none. Subsequent developments served to aggravate rather than ameliorate this situation.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

Initially it was decided that the board should meet only once a year in the spring, its meeting to coincide with the Ottawa meeting of the Royal Society. To help keep it functioning in the interim months an executive committee was formed to attend to questions relating to the implementation of the program in Ottawa. In 1919 Cruikshank, Harkin and Sulte met with the Minister of Militia and Defence to discuss the transfer of heritage forts to the parks branch.⁶¹ And in January 1920 Cruikshank, Sulte, Harkin and Williamson met with Major Ernest Fosbery, a member of the Royal Canadian Academy, to commission the design of a plaque which could be erected at all national historic sites.⁶² This committee increased Cruikshank's power immensely by giving him influence on branch policy. Moreover it undermined Milner's position as a board member by delegating Williamson to inspect and report on Maritime sites.⁶³

Milner saw the actions of this committee in undertaking work in his region as a personal affront and he complained to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Harkin's superior.⁶⁴ In justifying this action, Harkin pointed out that Milner had been given an opportunity (albeit an extremely limited one) to report on Maritime sites but that he had not acted in time. In any case, he added, "it was never intended that the Board should have administrative functions or that the free action of the Department should be trammelled or prejudiced by any recommendations

61 - HSMBC, Minutes, 29 October 1919.

62 - HSMBC, Minutes, 9 January 1920.

63 At a meeting of 24 November 1919 attended by Cruikshank, Sulte, Harkin and Williamson, it was resolved "That the Secretary be instructed to visit Louisbourg, Fort Edward, Fort Cumberland and other such sites as may be directed and report upon the necessary repairs which should be undertaken". HSMBC, Minutes.

64 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 1, W.C. Milner to W.W. Cory, 24 Dec. 1919. He also expressed his concern at the next full meeting of the board where it was recorded that "Mr. Milner, asked for the privilege of having the powers and status of the Board defined." HSMBC, Minutes, 18 May 1920.

the Board might make ...".⁶⁵ Relations between Milner and Harkin deteriorated rapidly after this point, with Milner assuming the role of a spiteful troublemaker and Harkin studiously ignoring the Nova Scotia member. In June Milner wrote the prime minister complaining about the board and threatening to resign if better representation was not accorded the east.⁶⁶ He enlisted the support of Arthur Doughty who also wrote Borden to support Milner and reiterate his proposal that the heritage program be administered by an expanded National Battlefields Commission. Harkin countered these attacks by seeking the support of his minister, Arthur Meighen, to defend his administration and by preparing coolly reasoned rebuttals. In a confidential note to Borden's private secretary, Harkin placed the blame on Milner for the board's incapacity to function.

In passing I may say that apparently the only mistake made was in the nomination of Mr. W.C. Milner as a member. With the exception of the first meeting of the Board his presence at the meeting has been productive of nothing but delay and trouble. In fact conditions had become such that some weeks ago it became clear to me that it would be utterly impossible to retain any of the other members of the Board if Mr. Milner was to continue a member and I am recommending to the Minister that Mr. Milner be removed.⁶⁷

Harkin won out and Milner was ignored and eventually replaced, but such a situation did little to advance the cause of Maritime historic sites or enhance the reputation of the government of Canada in eastern heritage circles.

By the second full meeting of the board, in May 1920, the views of Cruikshank emphasizing commemoration in central Canada were unchallenged. Accepting the limited appropriation of the branch for

65 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 1, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 2 January 1920.

66 PAC, MG 26, H, Vol. 163 (Borden Papers), W.C. Milner to Robert Borden, 14 June 1920.

67. PAC, MG 26, I, Vol. 29, J.B. Harkin to G. Buskard, private secretary to the prime minister, 8 Dec. 1920.

historic sites work, the board agreed to scale down its objectives and concentrate on the selection and marking of national historic sites. Williamson was authorized to send a circular letter advising local heritage groups that they could not expect much help in preserving or restoring historic buildings. This read in part:

There appear to be so many sites which are eminently national in character requiring preservation, that you can doubtless readily understand if the Board were to concern itself with every site the work would immediately develop into something so large that it could not be carried out at this time of financial stringency.

For this reason the Board feels that it should not at this time attempt to do too much in the way of restoration or preservation work of sites, except to prevent such sites from deteriorating beyond repair.⁶⁸

Here one can see the influence of the branch through Harkin manoeuvring the board to act as a shield against adverse public criticism. The board was then led to approve the policy of compiling an inventory of historic sites. Cruikshank proposed that this could result in the publication of an illustrated handbook. The board then approved Fosbery's design for a commemorative bronze marker and presented the initial recommendations for commemoration.⁶⁹ Not surprisingly these recommendations were largely from Ontario and Quebec. Subsequently, with the increasing debility of Sulte, the role of Cruikshank and Coyne on the board was enlarged even further. Cruikshank assumed some of the responsibility for designations in western Quebec and Coyne took charge of the survey of western sites. The late summer of 1920 found Coyne on an extended tour of northern Ontario and the western provinces during which he compiled a long list of potential designations.

The dominance of Cruikshank and Coyne had two implications for the board. First, although they were both interested in the larger sphere of Canadian history, their immediate concerns stemmed from their parti-

⁶⁸ PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, file HS 9, pt. 1, F.H.H. Williamson, circular letter to historical societies, 13 Sept. 1920.

⁶⁹ HSMBC, Minutes, 18 May 1920.

cular interests. For Cruikshank this was loyalist settlement and the War of 1812. For Coyne this was Indian settlement and French exploration in western Ontario. Second, both men were primarily interested in commemorative plaques rather than larger developmental projects of preservation or restoration. Partly this concentration on a commemorative program reflected the reality of a minimal budget. But they were not vocal in demanding a greater appropriation or in insisting on the development of heritage buildings. This is because their own approach to the past tended to emphasize the instructive over the visual.

III Program Developments to 1923

The board was not completely preoccupied with commemoration. The May 1920 meeting recommended that steps should be taken to preserve Louisbourg, Fort Beauséjour, Fort Gaspereaux and Ft. Piziquid (Edward) in the Maritimes, Fort Churchill (Prince of Wales) in Manitoba and Fort Pelly in Saskatchewan.⁷⁰ But it was content to leave the details of their treatment to the department. The capacity of the parks branch to act in the area of preservation, however, was pathetically weak. Lacking its own expertise, it was dependent on the abilities of local entrepreneurs and other agencies within the bureaucracy. While these allies helped the cause of heritage preservation, they also influenced the way in which particular sites were developed for they had their own priorities. Local entrepreneurs, for example, wished to build up the importance of their projects as local attractions. Other divisions within the parks branch, influenced by their experience with natural parks, tended to view preservation as an exercise in landscaping. Throughout this process the influence of the board was remarkably absent, preoccupied as it was with commemorations in central Canada.

The two priorities for preservation in the Maritimes were Fort Beauséjour in New Brunswick and Louisbourg in Nova Scotia. There was a considerable amount of public pressure for the government to undertake

⁷⁰ HSMBC, Minutes, 18 May 1920.

preservation and development of these places and the board had also signified their importance. Yet despite the attention they received the branch was unable to implement even the most modest of plans.

Williamson, who was an engineer, visited Fort Beauséjour late in 1919 to report on its condition and propose means by which it could be preserved. He found a simple cluster of ruins in a farmer's field: "The ruins consist of a circular mound with piles of stone, representing the old walls. The old walls of a brick and stone vault are partly standing."⁷¹ He recommended taking steps to have the land, which was still government property, transferred to the jurisdiction of the parks branch, and the property protected by a good fence. Similarly, Cruikshank visited the site in 1921 and the board subsequently advised "that the ruins should be preserved from further deterioration but that no actual restoration be carried on."⁷² But the branch could not even accomplish this simple task.

Unfortunately the branch chose badly in allocating responsibility for the work. In 1920 Harkin obtained the secondment of an army engineer named Captain Harry J. Knight to carry out Williamson's modest scheme for preservation. Knight was employed because of his previous enthusiasm for heritage work but during 1921 and 1922 the captain displayed a remarkable inability to achieve anything concrete. While at first he at least provided eloquent reports to Ottawa, eventually even these stopped coming and the branch was reduced to sending urgent telegrams in a futile attempt to evoke a response. Finally the branch dispatched the regional migratory bird officer to investigate. His report, ending with the remark "I might add that my impressions of this man were unfavourable,"⁷³ caused Harkin to write Knight off as a loss. But

71 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 1, F.H.H. Williamson to J.B. Harkin, Nov. 1919.

72 HSMBC, Minutes, 21 May 1921.

73 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1048, FB 2 (Fort Beauséjour), pt. 1, R.W. Tufts to J.B. Harkin, 24 April 1922.

meantime Knight's inaction stalled the plans scheduled for 1922 and prevented an appropriation for the following year's work. By 1923, therefore, all that had been accomplished was the surveying of the land and its transfer to the parks branch.

Even less was accomplished at Louisbourg. Williamson also inspected this property in 1919 and recommended that steps be taken to survey and acquire the property. The following year a thousand dollars was allocated and Captain Knight detailed to supervise the work. But Captain Knight was even less inclined to work in Cape Breton than in New Brunswick and nothing got done. Meanwhile public criticism of the inactivity of the parks branch in the Maritimes began to mount. Partly this was stirred up by Milner who used his newspaper connections to publicize the follies of the branch. Another thorn was J.S. McLennan at Louisbourg whose influence in Ottawa had increased since his appointment to the senate in 1916. By 1922 the senator had become very critical of the branch's efforts to preserve the site and suggested to a number of well-placed people that the development of Louisbourg should be placed under the jurisdiction of a separate commission.

The parks branch did little better in Quebec where there were two forts already operating as heritage attractions. The local heritage activist J.O. Dion had persuaded the Department of Militia and Defence to agree to the preservation of Fort Chambly as an historic site in the 1890s. Installing himself as honorary curator, he had drawn up a development plan and obtained the help of the Department of Public Works. The outbreak of war suspended these plans and Dion died in 1916 but L.J.N. Blanchet undertook to carry on the curatorial work and it was expected that the Department of Militia and Defence would continue the arrangement after the war. As late as February 1920 even Benjamin Sulte considered this to be the ideal way to manage the fort.⁷⁴ But the military no longer considered the care of obsolete fortifications to be part of its mandate and sought a means of extricating itself from its

74 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1061, FC 2 Fort Chambly, pt. 1, Benjamin Sulte to F.H.R. Williamson, 14 Feb. 1920.

commitment to Fort Chambly. The officer commanding the military district under whose jurisdiction the fort lay recommended that no more funds be spent on restoration, that Blanchet be discharged and that the fort be razed and replaced with a suitable commemorative monument.⁷⁵ But Blanchet was not going to let go without a fight and enlisted the support of contacts in nationalist organizations and political allies mounted a spirited defence of the old fort.

At this juncture the Historic Sites and Monuments Board intervened with a letter recommending the preservation of the fort as a national historic site.⁷⁶ A committee of the board met with the deputy minister of the department to discuss the transfer of a number of old forts, including Fort Chambly, to the department. Seeing an honorable path of retreat, the military approved the transfer and provided \$1,500 from its own budget to finance urgently needed repairs.⁷⁷ Fort Chambly was declared a national historic site and in January 1921 was placed by order-in-council "under the control of the Department of the Interior to be administered and maintained by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board..."⁷⁸

Of course the HSMBC had little to do with the fort other than preparing an inscription for the plaque erected there. Responsibility for its development was in fact assumed by the staff of the parks branch although Blanchet retained a great deal of unofficial power. Back in December 1920 A.A. Pinard had visited the fort and suggested the need for "a comprehensive scheme for restoration and preservation work".⁷⁹

75 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940," *Parcs Canada, Travail inédit no. 3777*, 1979, p. 34.

76 PAC, MG 26, H, Vol. 163 (Borden Papers), W.C. Milner to Robert Borden, 14 June 1920.

77 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to W.W. Coffy, 13 Nov. 1920.

78 Ibid., Order-in-Council, 10 Jan. 1921.

79 Ibid., A.A. Pinard to J.B. Harkin, 13 Dec. 1920.

Again in 1922 the site was inspected by an officer from the Town Planning Division who likewise recommended a long term plan.⁸⁰ But in these dark days memoranda and words were all that the branch could afford.

Like Fort Chambly, Fort Lennox located on Île-aux-Noix up the Richelieu River, had been a heritage development since before the war. R.V. Naylor, who ran a cruise boat along the river between Lake Champlain and St. Jean, developed the site as a stopover for his excursionists. He leased the abandoned fort and surrounding land from the Department of Militia and Defence from whom he also obtained funds for renovation. But, although Naylor apparently did a good business catering to the leisure needs of American tourists, his enterprise declined in the years following the war and by 1920 the military was receiving complaints about the run-down condition of the fort. Faced with reassuming direct control of the property - an option that was contrary to the department's policy of not investing money in non-strategic sites - the Department of Militia and Defence followed up a suggestion made by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board that it transfer the property to the parks branch. As with Fort Chambly, this suggestion was readily acceded to and the order-in-council transferring Île-aux-Noix to the jurisdiction of the parks branch was formally approved in May 1921.⁸¹

But as with Fort Chambly the Historic Sites and Monuments Board had very little to do with the development of the site. Pinard set about negotiating for the acquisition of the museum collection put together by Naylor and parks officials visited the island to devise a development plan. It is clear that from the beginning the parks branch considered Île-aux-Noix as much a recreational area like the Thousand Islands National Park as an historic site. Although Pinard considered enlarging

80 Pierre Thibodeau, *ibid.*, p. 36.

81 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1084, file FLE 2 (Fort Lennox), pt. 2, Report of Committee of Privy Council, 18 May 1921.

Naylor's museum which had been housed in the former officers' quarters, he also suggested that "a very welcome feature of the parks work, which is popular on the St. Lawrence River should be inaugurated, namely: permission to camp on the island, even within the fort boundaries."⁸² As a result of this park approach the initial proposal for developing the site called for the creation of a bird sanctuary, the clearing of campsites and the establishment of picnic grounds and a bathing area. Even Cruikshank, who visited the site on behalf of the branch, was enthusiastic about this concept and noted that the island could "easily be converted into a magnificent park."⁸³ But here again there was no money and apart from hiring a caretaker the branch undertook little work on the site until after 1923.

The branch undertook a number of initiatives in Ontario without success. Acting on Coyne's recommendation to acquire the site of the Southwold earthworks, it approached the farmer whose land it was on. But he asked what was considered to be an unreasonable price and the board agreed that it would be better to wait a new parks act which would grant powers of expropriation.⁸⁴ Another priority was Fort Henry in Kingston which had been identified as an important military remain. The army was approached and seemed sympathetic to proposals to preserve it but insisted that it needed the fort as an ammunition depot.⁸⁵ The two sites of a seventeenth century Jesuit mission in Ontario associated with the martyrs Brebeuf and his brethren, Ste. Marie I and Ste. Marie II had likewise been recommended for preservation and development but here too the branch met with failure. The owner of Ste. Marie I, near Midland, was not eager to part with the land although he was amenable to allowing

82 Ibid., pt. 2, A.A. Pinard to J.B. Harkin, 30 Sept. 1921.

83 Ibid., Gen. E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 22 July 1921.

84 HSMBC, Minutes, 18 May 1920.

85 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1312, HS 8-12, pt. 1, Eugene Fiset, Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, 14 March 1922.

a commemorative plaque to be erected.⁸⁶ The site of Ste. Marie II on nearby Christian Island, which was administered by a local Indian band, presented better prospects. Pinard visited the site in 1920 and drew up a development plan calling for the excavation of the vanished palisade and the erection of a museum.⁸⁷ But although the band was agreeable to this proposal the government was not, probably because the land could not be ceded to the branch. By 1923, therefore, the parks branch had not acquired any historic properties in Ontario for restoration purposes.

It had better luck in Manitoba where it was able to acquire the former important fur trade depot Prince of Wales' Fort in a relatively simple fashion. The fort, situated on Hudson Bay near the mouth of the Churchill River, was among the first sites recommended for designation as a national historic site and even Cruikshank was in favour of its acquisition by the parks branch.⁸⁸ Although the fort had been partially destroyed by the French following Samuel Hearne's capitulation in 1782 it remained one of the oldest extant forts in the country. And though far from any large settlement, the publication of J.B. Tyrell's edition of Hearne's Journey to the Northern Ocean, by the Champlain Society in 1911, awoke considerable interest in the old fort. This interest was enhanced following the establishment of Churchill as the northern terminus of the Hudson Bay Railway. Being already on crown land, it was a relatively simple matter for the parks branch to acquire the necessary fifty acres of land in 1920. But there was no settlement at Churchill at that time and the branch and the board agreed that there was therefore no need to proceed with a development scheme.⁸⁹ The

86 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, HS 9, pt. 1, A.A. Pinard to J.B. Cruikshank, 11 Dec. 1920.

87 Ibid.

88 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, FPW 2, part 1, E.A. Cruikshank to F.H.H. Williamson, 28 June 1920.

89 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 25 June 1920.

local R.C.M.P. constable was delegated to keep an eye on the property and he kept the branch informed of its steadily deteriorating condition and periodically unearthed one of the old cannons.

Further west there were few obvious resources for development into heritage parks. One exception was Fort Pelly in northern Saskatchewan. As early as 1913 the parks branch had sought to reserve this property from settlement, believing it to be the scene of the first Northwest Territorial Council held in 1877.⁹⁰ Subsequently 960 acres was ceded by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Department of the Interior.⁹¹ But there was some confusion about whether it was the right place and few were sure if anything remained of the fort so that the project was eventually abandoned. Elsewhere in the west there was little happening. The branch communicated with the Hudson's Bay Company about acquiring the well preserved Lower Fort Garry near Winnipeg but lost interest when it learned that the site was leased to a local automobile club.⁹² Coyne had proposed the commemoration of Fort Langley, on the lower mainland of British Columbia, in his first list of proposed designations, but although one crumbling building remained from the old fur trade post, the branch did not even take steps to commemorate the site.

While the branch concentrated on preservation, the board was left to direct the work of commemoration. But in this area, too, the achievement was quite dismal. Partly this reflected the uneven composition of the board for during the period 1919 to 1923 only Cruikshank, Coyne and, to a limited extent Sulte, laboured away at their appointed tasks. Of a total of thirty seven sites actually designated, only three were from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, five from Manitoba and none from Alberta and British Columbia while eleven were from Quebec and eighteen were from Ontario. The branch aggravated this lop sided situation by its

90 Ottawa Journal, 11 Dec. 1913.

91 Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1924, p. 101.

92 PAC, RG 84, Vol. 1374, HS 10, pt. 1, A.A. Pinard, memo to file, 30 Nov. 1920.

slowness to act upon the board recommendations. The first plaque was not put up until 1922 and this, at Port Dover, was the only one erected that year. Only twenty four plaques appeared in the following year and of these none was in the western provinces while a total of fifteen were put up in Ontario (see Fig. 7).

The lacklustre record of the government's heritage program attracted widespread criticism. Public opinion in the Maritimes complained about the inability of the government to do anything at Louisbourg or Fort Beauséjour. Questions were asked in the House of Commons about the lack of preservation being undertaken in Ontario.⁹³ Letters were received complaining about the inattention being paid to western sites. One Alberta pioneer who had previously advised Harkin on western sites wrote in 1923: "the reason why I can take no further interest in the 'Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada', or the 'Historic Landmarks Association of Canada', is because neither of them is 'of Canada', but only of Ontario, and other Eastern Provinces: they are practically foreign bodies as far as my old province Alberta, and B.C., are concerned".⁹⁴ But Harkin already knew that reform was necessary.

Harkin realized the deficiencies of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board back in 1920 but held off doing anything hoping that the passage of a historic sites bill would provide a legislative basis for a newly constituted board.⁹⁵ Likewise he hoped that a definite policy approved

93 An implacable critic of the parks branch, Thomas L. Church (Lib. Toronto North) proposed the extension of the mandate of the National Battlefields Commission to include Ontario sites. Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1922, p. 119.

94 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1374, HS 10, pt. 2, Frederick Godsal to F.W. Howay, 14 April 1923.

95 "Our Historic Sites' officers have standing orders to prepare a memorandum looking forward to a reorganization [of the board]. However, through Williamson's sickness and Pinard's repeated absences the memorandum has not yet been prepared but I have reminded them several times if it and no doubt will receive it at an early date". PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, HS 9, pt. 1, J.B. Harkin to E.A. Cruikshank, 19 Nov. 1920.

by Cabinet would justify an expanded branch. But neither the legislation nor the policy was forthcoming and in 1923 events had reached a crisis point calling for some kind of immediate action. Harkin therefore got his minister to appoint a new advisory board by Order-in-Council, thereby signifying a new beginning.

Figure 1

Historic Sites Commemorated by the Parks Branch during 1922-23

Source: Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1928, p. 1773.

1922

"Cliff Site", Port Dover, Ont.

1923

Fort Beauséjour, near Sackville, N.B.

Fort Monckton, near Port Elgin, N.B.

*U.E.L. Landing, Shelburne, N.S.

*U.E.L. Landing, Saint John, N.B.

Fort Lawrence, near Amberst, N.S.

St. Maurice Forges, near Trois Rivières, Qué.

Battle of Three Rivers, Trois Rivières, Qué.

Fort Laprairie, Laprairie, Qué.

Second Battle of Laprairie, Laprairie, Qué.

Old Simcoe House, Kingston, Ont.

First Meeting Place, Executive Council of Upper Canada, Kingston, Ont.

Glengarry House, near Cornwall, Ont.

Battle of the Windmill, near Prescott, Ont.

Battle of Crysler's Farm, near Morrisburg, Ont.

Mission Ste. Marie II, Christian Island, Ont.

Ste. Marie I, near Midland, Ont.

"Wintering Site", Port Dover, Ont.

Battle of Chippawa, near Chippawa, Ont.

Battle of Frenchman's Creek, near Bridgeburg, Ont.

Battle of Cook's Mills, near Welland, Ont.

Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

Beechwoods or Beaver Dams Battlefield, near Thorold, Ont.

"Lock Site", Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

* Designated after the dissolution of the first board in the summer of 1923.

CHAPTER 3: FRESH START, THE SEARCH FOR POLICY CONTINUED, 1923-1930

By the spring of 1923 Harkin and the national parks branch were ready to begin anew the task of implementing a federal heritage policy. Key to this fresh start was a newly-constituted board which convened for the first time in Harkin's office in May of that year. While it included the leading figures from the old board - Cruikshank, who was re-elected chairman, Coyne and Sulte, - the querulous Milner had been dropped and new people added who, it was hoped, would strengthen representation outside central Canada. These were J. Plimsoll Edwards from Halifax, Nova Scotia, J. Clarence Webster from Shediac, New Brunswick and Frederic Howay from New Westminster, British Columbia. The appointment of Webster and Edwards promised a new deal for historic sites in the Maritimes. Harkin wrote both men a letter of welcome to the board in which he said: "I regret that the Maritime provinces have been somewhat neglected in this respect, owing to certain conditions, which I do not wish to recite at present, but now that representation is included in the personnel of the Board, it is hoped that favourable progress will be made."¹ Similar high hopes were pinned to Howay who was expected to represent not just his native province but the entire region west of Ontario.

Concurrent with the reformation of the board, the national parks branch was reorganized to better facilitate the administration of an historic sites program. Pinard's office was elevated to a division within the branch and G.W. Bryan was appointed his assistant. Engineers from the engineering division were seconded to particular historic sites to oversee their development and the town planning division was asked to report on the long term planning of sites. Harkin also managed to double his historic sites budget for the fiscal year 1923/24.

Harkin pressed both the board and the branch to try to resolve their previous difficulties. He recommended that the board broaden the terms

¹ PAC, RG 84, vol: 1173, HS General, pt. 4, J.B. Harkin to J.C. Webster, 5 Jan. 1923; Harkin to J.P. Edwards, 8 Jan. 1923.

of its commemorations to include social and economic history and he rationed the monuments in the four regions - the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the west - to five per year. At the same time the branch continued its attempts to draft an acceptable piece of heritage legislation and redoubled its effort to gain control of historic properties for future development. Harkin meanwhile tried again to get a definite commitment from the minister for a heritage policy and an adequate budget to carry out its aims.

Reorganization of branch and board alleviated many of the problems encountered earlier. The branch was better able to supervise historic sites under its control and the board included stronger representation from the east and west. But these improvements only served to illuminate more profound problems facing the program. There was still no policy. Without this and an accompanying operational budget there was no clear commitment from the government for a comprehensive program. The larger scale planning needed to properly organize a representative heritage program was therefore impossible to achieve. Getting such a commitment would form one of Harkin's principal objectives during the 1920s yet his requests fell on deaf ears. As a result the parks branch proceeded on an ad hoc basis. Sites were acquired where the local lobby was strongest, as in the Maritimes, or where there was least difficulty, as in the case of military sites which were already government property. The result was that the preservation side of the program, which was the activity most closely identified with the branch, became disproportionately loaded with military sites from the Maritimes.

The program was further hampered by a lack of legislation defining the roles of the board and the branch. Without a clear mandate, the board was also encouraged to react rather than lead in the implementation of the heritage program. Influenced by the bleak budgetary forecasts and by Cruikshank's own predilection for commemoration, the board came to focus almost exclusively on that side of the program, usually responding to questions of preservation only at the direction of Harkin. The Maritime members, meanwhile, who were primarily interested in preserva-

tion, began dealing directly with the department instead of acting through the board. The result was a growing fissure in the program that would eventually weaken both the branch and the board.

Despite the addition of stronger representation from the east and west, the board still continued to be marked by structural imbalance. Ontario had twice the representation of the other regions while the provinces to the west had only one member. Representation from Quebec remained weak and the views of that province were barely represented on the board. With Cruikshank as chairman, military sites still continued to receive a great deal of attention, particularly in Ontario. The greatest problem facing the board, however, was that it was still unable to resolve the problem that national significance meant different things to different regions. Hence the Maritime members felt that the board was dominated by a central Canadian bias while in the west, Ontario and Quebec nationalisms came into conflict over the significance of events, from the North - west Rebellion.

I The Branch

A major priority for the branch in this period was to get control of a series of large but obsolete fortifications - the citadela at Halifax and Quebec, Fort Henry in Kingston, and Fort Rodd in Esquimault - and develop them as historic attractions. Added to Fort Anne and Louisbourg in the Maritimes, forts Chambly and Lennox in Quebec and Prince of Wales' Fort in Manitoba, these would have formed a highly visible chain of historic parks across the country. To get these the branch needed a definite policy from the government and a vastly increased budget to develop them. It was unable to achieve either of these objectives.

Harkin enlisted the support of the board on his effort to get a larger appropriation. In 1925 it passed a resolution stating that "the present appropriation for carrying out its work is quite inadequate, and that the importance of the preservation and commemoration of historic sites and the consequent stimulation of interest in our national history

requires a greatly increased grant."² Not getting a reply to this plea, the members pursued it the following year by petitioning the minister in person. But this attempt also failed to get a positive response.

Although the members seemed to be individually lukewarm to the military sites targeted by the branch for development, the board gave its collective support, again in the form of a resolution. "That it is desirable that the fortifications of Quebec and other military posts should be preserved owing to their historic interest and the fact they are an attraction to travellers and the general public, and that their preservation is a stimulus to the growth of a healthy national and patriotic sentiment in our land, and that unless some early action be taken it is apparent that these structures will become dilapidated and fall into ruin."³ At the same time the board expressed doubt about whether the government of Canada should assume total responsibility for developing these sites. Appended to its resolution was the recommendation that "it is the opinion of this board that special commissions should be appointed with powers to take over and preserve such fortifications and other structures, and that the Dominion, Province and City concerned should contribute in due proportion to the upkeep thereof."⁴ Harkin agreed with this position to a limited extent. He was convinced that provincial and municipal governments should contribute to the expenses of potentially lucrative historic properties. But it is also evident that he did not agree with the concept of local commissions, fearing that they would compromise the autonomy of the federal government in

2 HSMBC, minutes, 19 May 1925.

3 HSMBC, minutes, May 1926.

4 Ibid.

general and the branch in particular.⁵ Confused in this way about the best means to proceed with the development of large heritage projects, both the branch and the board lost the opportunity to participate in significant developments in the following decade. The restoration of Fort Henry in the 1930s, for example, undertaken through a cost sharing agreement between the federal government and the Province of Ontario, was carried out independently from the operations of the parks branch.

Meanwhile, however, Harkin had been carrying on his own campaign to get a larger commitment from the government. In 1926 he prepared a memorandum for the deputy minister presenting his case for a heritage policy, a policy that would require a significant increase in the historic sites budget. "Personally I feel that this Department has taken the initiative in this important work and has unquestionably the sympathy and backing of public opinion that we should continue with it and expand our activities for the needs of the case. I would suggest that a definite sum of say \$150,000 be made available each year which in about ten years should restore all the national historic structures to good condition, and that the sum required each year for their maintenance thereafter would be small."⁶ But no decision was forthcoming and by 1929 Harkin expressed his disappointment in a frank memorandum to the deputy minister. "I am afraid that for a good many years the only policy that has been in effect in regard to [these sites] has been one of passing the buck. It seems to me the situation should be definitely faced and a decision reached that either the Government should or should not take

5 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 7, W.W. Cory to J.B. Harkin, 13 Jan. 1930. "The Minister has discussed a number of times with the Minister of National Defence a scheme for the establishment of a Commission to take care of such historic sites as St. Louisbourg [sic], Halifax, Kingston and the Quebec walls." In reply, Pinard advised Harkin (A.A.P. to J.B.H. 16 Jan. 1930); that "as the branch has already successfully dealt with the restoration, preservation, maintenance, and working of a large number of military and other structures, ... I cannot see why it could not handle the new problems quite as readily and efficiently as any other body. Of course, this would necessitate additional money and assistance".

6 Ibid., HS General pt. 5, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 18 Dec. 1926.

action in the matter of preservation."⁷ But by this time Harkin must have realized that the chances of his branch getting a mandate to undertake the development of the citadels, Fort Henry and Fort Rodd were slim indeed. In 1928 he had advised his staff, busy trying to calculate estimates for the ensuing year: "probably we can get best results by dealing with individual cases."⁸

Dealing with individual cases meant concentrating on sites that were already within the system or where the branch had a commitment for future development. But even within this limited sphere it was hamstrung by the lack of a policy. Throughout the early 1920s the branch still hoped to get new legislation which would distinguish between national parks and historic sites. A bill drafted in 1924 defined an historic site as "any monument, structure, building, relic, remain or fossil, the preservation of which the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada considers a matter of national interest."⁹ While this legislation was pending, the branch seemed reluctant to undertake large developments under the authority of the old Act. In the meantime, however, it had a commitment to property already under its control and faced mounting pressure from Maritime interests to establish Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour as national parks like Fort Anne. While circumstances forced the branch to concentrate on the maritimes, it also sought to extend its program of preservation in Quebec, Ontario and the west. With larger resources and a better organization than before, it was able to make some significant progress in these areas. But lacking commitment from above or consistent direction from the board, its activities in this area were characterized by frustration and confusion.

7 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1312, HS 8-12 (Fort Henry), pt. 1, memorandum from J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, acting Deputy Minister of Interior re preservation in Halifax, Quebec and Kingston, 31 May 1929.

8 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 5, J.B. Harkin to A.A. Pinard, 26 Dec. 1928.

9 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1434, HS 12 (legislation), pt. 1, "An Act Respecting National Historic Sites of Canada", 1924.

While the preservation of the ruins at Louisbourg remained a priority for the branch, it gradually realized the enormous problems which this task posed. In 1923 a heritage enthusiast from Sydney, Nova Scotia, Walter Crowe, described to Harkin the legal tangle which ensnared the property. An act of the Nova Scotia legislature was necessary before the government could acquire the central portion of the property, still under the formal jurisdiction of Kennelly's defunct development corporation. A further 70 acres had been sold to a railway company and was then under the control of the Department of Railways and Canals. Other small holdings on the site had been acquired by local residents who had built clapboard houses and grazed their sheep among the ruins. All of these rights - those of the Kennelly Trust, the railway right of way and the small landholdings - had to be alienated before the site could be developed. The first of these difficulties were soon overcome. With Crowe's assistance, the branch got the Nova Scotia government to pass an act in 1924 allowing the transfer of the Kennelly property to the government of Canada so that the surviving ruins at last came under its jurisdiction.¹⁰ At the same time the Department of Railways and Canals agreed to transfer its right of way to the jurisdiction of the parks branch. The remaining property, requiring money to acquire, was not immediately accessible.

Still, by 1924 the parks branch had sufficient property to undertake a heritage development. The question then arose of how to proceed. In 1923 the town planning advisor to the branch, the prestigious British planner Thomas Adams, had visited the site and recommended lines along which it could be developed. Adams' approach to historic sites was essentially visual and he influenced the future direction the town planning division would take, regarding heritage property as something to be preserved in an aesthetically pleasing setting.¹¹ "Many of

10 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1095, FLO 2 (Louisbourg establishment), pt. 4, W. Crowe to Hon. R.E. Harris, 18 May 1923.

11 A major project for Adams at this time was "a skillfully landscaped design for the Jasper National Park headquarters town". Michael Simpson, "Thomas Adams in Canada, 1914-1930", Urban History Review, xl, 2 (Oct. 1982), p. 8. I am grateful to Professor John Taylor of Carleton University for bringing this reference to my attention.

these [historic] sites, even if preserved, might easily lose the national significance that should adhere to them if they were surrounded by ugly and depressing buildings and were destitute of pleasing and impressive approaches."¹² These views reflected Adams' approach to Louisbourg. "The site of the Fort is an impressive one, apart from its exceptional historic interest. There is a certain grandeur and wildness about the harbour of Louisbourg and the surrounding hills, as seen from the site, that makes one feel in a mood to enjoy its romantic character and visualize the historic events that were witnessed from it." Adams "enjoyed witnessing everything on the site - whether in ruins or changed by nature - that belonged to the distant past, and disliked the structures or improvements that had been carried on in recent years."¹³ Consequently he recommended minimal intervention on the site, removing some of Kennelly's additions and doing some landscaping to enhance its natural beauty.

But in 1924 Harkin was unwilling to proceed with even these modest proposals. He was still awaiting funds for further development and heritage legislation that would enable the development of Louisbourg as something other than a national park. Possibly, too, he was aware of just what a sinkhole for expenditures the remote Louisbourg was. In 1926 he wrote with specific reference to the old fortress that "for some years it has been increasingly difficult to secure appropriation, especially if the proposition involves actions which call for annual expenditure practically for all time to come."¹⁴ But in postponing action the branch lost the initiative and when the site did come to be developed it was with the involvement of powerful local forces.

12 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1172, HS General pt. 3, "memo on town planning", ca. 1921.

13 PAC, RG 84, acc. 83-84/280, vol. 340, FLO 2, pt. 4, T.R. Adams to J.B. Harkin, 11 June 1923.

14 Ibid., FLO 2, pt. 6, J.B. Harkin to W. Crowe, 22 Jan. 1926.

Operating independently of both the division and the board and Pinard's division was the curator of Fort Anne in Annapolis Royal. As the fort had been created a national park in 1917 it received a separate budget, from that of historic sites and L.M. Fortier reported to Harkin, not Pinard. His considerable energy made him a third force for heritage development in the Maritimes. He ran Fort Anne as his personal fiefdom and it was Fortier and not the branch who took the credit for its preservation. In this independent role he was often a thorn in the side of the branch. Webster described him in a pamphlet on Maritime sites written just before he joined the board using misinformation Harkin suspected as coming from Fortier.

That the old fort is now, in a small way, beginning to come into its own is due in part to the recent Tercentenaries which have been celebrated there, but, in the main, to the efforts of Mr. L.M. Fortier, who has, after years of work in Ottawa, settled in Annapolis Royal, giving his whole time to the care of the fort and to the development of a historical museum in the officers' barracks. He has had no salary, insufficient and inefficient assistance, a meagre grant doled out with plenty of obstructive criticism by the Parks Commission of the Department of the Interior, in whose care the fort has for some unknown reason been placed.¹⁵

Among the obstacles the department later placed in Fortier's way was a formal reprimand from Harkin for allowing the unauthorized erection of plaques in the park which included ones put up by the Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturalists and the Canadian Pharmaceutical Association.¹⁶ He was also chided for allowing his museum collection to expand beyond local history. Nevertheless, despite this fiction Fortier became an important influence on historic site development as the fort and museum became a model for other sites.

15 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 1, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 22 Jan. 1923. "It is suspected that Mr. Fortier supplies these statements. He has been very persistent in his efforts to obtain a free hand in regard to the park and has complained bitterly against every action of the Department in checking up his work".

16 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1041, FA 2, pt. 4, J.B. Harkin to L.M. Fortier, 25 July 1930.

An example of Fortier's influence on the historic sites program was his involvement in the commemoration of and initial plan for the development of the site of the stronghold built by Sieur de Monts, Champlain and their companions in 1605. It was Fortier who named the site and first proposed it as a national historic site in 1922. "There is a site here that ought to be marked, and I wish very much that you kindly bear it in mind. I mean the site of the first French fort, or 'habitation' of Port Royal."¹⁷ Enthusiasm for this site stemmed from the recently published Biggar edition of Champlain's Works issued by the Champlain Society. Consequently it was also among the first proposed for designation by J. Plimsoll Edwards following his appointment to the board.¹⁸

Fortier's Annapolis Royal Historical Association provided a draft inscription for the plaque and, although Edwards and Webster were deputized to write the plaque text, the final version followed the lines of the one submitted by the local group.

The site of the habitation, then just a farmer's field near Lower Granville, a few miles east of Annapolis Royal, received prompt attention from the parks branch and a cairn and plaque were unveiled in August 1924 attended by a gathering and brass band organized by the Annapolis Royal Historical Association. Fortier's group continued to take a paternal interest in the site. It disapproved of the original caretaker appointed by the department and after a short campaign managed to assume responsibility for the care of the cairn and small plot of land.¹⁹ The local association soon turned it into a model site: its members kept a finely groomed lawn surrounded by a post and chain fence and erected a flag pole from which flew an immaculate Red Ensign.

Fortier should have felt justified in resting on his laurels won at the Lower Granville site. But in 1927 Fortier became involved in a scheme

17 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1805, PR 2 (Port Royal establishment), pt. 1, L.M. Fortier to J.B. Harkin, 18 Dec. 1922.

18 Ibid., J. Plimsoll Edwards to J.B. Harkin, 24 Feb. 1923.

19 Ibid., PR 2, pt. 2, J.B. Harkin to C. Whitman, 29 June 1927.

to develop the site into something far different from a grassy field with a stone cairn and bronze plaque. That year he met Harriet Taber Richardson, a New Englander who, along with others from her country, spent her summers at Lower Granville. No doubt influenced by the detailed descriptions in Champlain's narrative and encouraged by the example of colonial Williamsburg, Richardson and Fortier decided that a replica of Champlain's habitation on the original site was not only feasible but a worthy heritage project.²⁰ Together the two were able to organize considerable support for their idea. The historical artist C.W. Jefferys drew a facsimile of the original building which was widely reproduced. Richardson formed an American affiliate of the Annapolis Royal association which promised to raise \$10,000 for the reconstruction of Champlain's buildings. With this support behind him, Fortier wrote the Minister of the Interior, Charles Stewart, in November 1928 outlining his proposal and requesting a grant to match that promised by the American group and a commitment that the department maintain the development.²¹

In the ensuing discussion between Stewart and his officials in the department, Harkin and his staff were surprisingly warm to Fortier's proposal. Harkin outlined the reasons for his support in a memorandum to the deputy minister: "I may say that when Mr. Fortier outlined the proposal to me it seemed to me that it was one that not only would have a very strong appeal to the French population of Canada but also have a very strong appeal to a very large number of people throughout the continent."²² Although at this time Harkin professed not to want to justify historic sites in terms of revenue producers, he could not help pointing out "that this old Fort reconstructed, and its story as the cradle of literature on the North American continent properly exploited, could be made a real shrine for literary and ~~would-be~~ literary people

20 Charles W. Jefferys, "The Reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation of 1605-13", Canadian Historical Review, xx, 4(Dec. 1939), p. 370.

21 Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1929, p. 3647.

22 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1605, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 26 Nov. 1928.

and that, of course, means tourist dollars."²³ It is noteworthy that both the local enthusiasts and the parks branch wanted to promote the site for its North American, not its Canadian significance. Such an approach would have appealed to American tourists but it is also a comment on the region's approach to history.

In spite of Harkin's rare support for a preservation project along with that of the deputy minister, Stewart decided against it on grounds of cost and the matter was let drop. The advent of the depression which served to distract the American supporters meant that the issue was not raised again for a number of years.

The branch did better in Quebec where it already had two sites under its control more or less functioning as historic attractions. In 1927 it obtained a special appropriation of \$5,000 to carry out much needed shoring up of the river bank at Chambly whose erosion threatened to undermine the walls of the fort. At Fort Lennox on Ile aux Noix there was no curator as at Fort Chambly to act as guide. There the historic sites division was left to initiate its own interpretive scheme. This had three aspects: historical plaques, a pamphlet entitled "Guide to Fort Lennox", and the museum. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board had commemorated both the fort and a naval engagement from the War of 1812 and two plaques were erected at the entrance in 1927. The inscription for the Fort Lennox tablet suggested some of the historical significance of the island beyond that of the fort:

A gateway to Canada and advance post against Iroquois and other invaders. Island fortified by the French before 1759, additional works by the Americans in 1775. The whole place rebuilt by the Imperial Authorities during the period from 1812 to 1827.²⁴

The pamphlet, first issued in 1923 and consisting of twenty-seven pages, explained some of the military history of the island and guided the

23 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior, 28 Feb. 1929.

24 HSMBC, minutes, 26 May 1923.

visitor around the fort and other points of interest such as the cemeteries and the site of the former dry dock.

The museum was the most obvious means of interpretation and yet it was ill-adapted to illustrating the island's history. Although given space in the refurbished interior of the Officers' Quarters and provided with showcase and identifying labels, the exhibit, which was based on the collection of the former proprietor, was badly out of focus. The artifacts in the collection - buttons, swords and muskets - were not there to explain life at the fort but were shown for their inherent antiquity. Drawn from different periods and places, the pieces in the collection did not even illuminate an episode or a period of history but rather existed as a jumble of assorted goods. This situation was aggravated when the branch accepted for display items donated by the War Trophies Commission including German helmets and rifles, an anti-tank gun, six machine guns and one aeroplane.²⁵ Subsequently the military donated forty surplus rifles complete with bayonets and scabbards.

The erratic collection was the result of not having a clear objective for the museum. Gradually one emerged and it is possible to infer from the casual suggestions for the operation of the museum that the historic sites division had in mind more of a local history museum than an interpretive display. A letter to the caretaker written over Harkin's signature in 1924 but drafted by Pinard, attached a photograph of the interior of one of the rooms of the Fort Anne museum as a guide for the exhibit at Fort Lennox. The letter also provided advice on extending the collection: "You will also note in this photograph a number of handicraft articles, no doubt manufactured by the inhabitants of the locality in Nova Scotia, and the Department is very anxious, if at all possible, to secure any of the handicraft work which has been manufactured by the inhabitants of the locality of Fort Lennox, for the purpose of the museum."²⁶ The division also endeavoured to acquire artifacts

25 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1085, FLE 2 (Fort Lennox establishment) pt. 3, G. Lanctot to A.A. Pinard, 22 May 1922.

26 Ibid., FLE 2, pt. 7, J.B. Harkin to C.A. Papineau, 9 April 1924.

associated with the history of the region and sent a car load of memorabilia supposedly connected with the 1838 Battle of Odelltown.

During this same period the parks branch finally managed to acquire heritage property in Ontario for preservation and development. Fort Wellington, in Prescott, consisting of a wooden blockhouse, caretaker's residence and two other minor buildings surrounded by an earth and palisade fence, was acquired from the Department of Militia and Defence in 1924. Although long outdated as a military structure, it had been kept in a fair state of repair by local militia units. Only minor repairs were necessary, therefore, to make it a functional historic park. In 1925 a museum was created and filled with the usual eclectic souvenirs. Situated across the river from New York state, it soon became a popular tourist attraction.²⁷

Elsewhere in Ontario there were few projects for the preservation of historic buildings. Partly this reflected the attitude of Cruikshank who concentrated on a commemorative program and usually disliked large scale heritage developments. In the 1920s his was still a prevalent attitude among members of the Ontario heritage movement. Nevertheless the historic sites division took some small initiatives during this period. A martello tower in Kingston was repaired and the branch acquired Fort St. Joseph on St. Joseph's Island near Sault Ste. Marie.²⁸ It repointed the surviving masonry and cleaned up the site although little else was done to make it operational as a heritage site until a later period. The branch achieved another small objective in the region in 1929 when the property containing the Southwold Earthworks was acquired for \$2,500.²⁹ It was still a rarity for the branch to

27 Canadian National Parks Branch, "Some Historic and Prehistoric Sites of Canada", in Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1925, p. 88.

28 Canadian National Parks Branch, "Some Historic and Pre-historic Sites of Canada", in Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1927, p. 107.

29 HSMBC, minutes, 20 May 1929.

acquire private property and only Coyne's determination brought about this acquisition. Unfortunately, there were few resources here to be developed. Preliminary archaeology uncovered few extant remains and the branch merely erected a fence around the grassy mounds.

West of Ontario even less heritage development was carried out during the 1920s. Prince of Wales' Fort at Churchill, Manitoba remained in limbo awaiting completion of the Hudson Bay Railway. In B.C. the combined efforts of the Native sons of B.C. and a local preservation committee helped the branch to acquire the old fur trade post of Fort Langley on the lower mainland in 1925.³⁰ Initially only the standard plaque was erected but in 1927 the division took some minimal steps to preserve the last remaining building. Logs were chinked, new stairs built and wooden floors laid.

II The Board

The members of the board influenced the direction of the heritage program in two different ways, collectively and as individuals. As a unit the board assumed responsibility for commemorations, by selecting national historic sites and writing inscriptions for the plaques, while giving moral support and occasional guidance to the division in its preservation work. The new members gave it a slightly different orientation from before. Although Cruikshank, the most experienced member was reinstated as chairman and given additional power through his participation with Harkin on the executive committee, the influence of his lieutenants Sulte and Coyne had dwindled considerably. Sulte's handwriting at this time reflected his frail condition and he was to die at the end of the year. Coyne was seventy-four and, although he remained on the board until 1930, his participation in this period was limited. Two of the new members, on the other hand, J. Clarence Webster from New Brunswick and Frederic Howay from British Columbia, were full of vigour and rising stars in the heritage movement. Their concerns became those of the board and the branch as they joined Cruikshank as leading members of the board.

³⁰ Denys Nelson, Fort Langley, 1827-1927 (Vancouver, 1927), p. 29.

While the branch concentrated its energy on devising an historic sites policy and implementing a wider program of preservation, Harkin as the branch representative on the board also looked to improving the program of commemorations. Shortly after the formation of the new board, therefore, he sent a letter to each member recommending that "more attention be given to the social and industrial sites associated with the early history of Canada, and that we must deviate from the military sites more than in the past."³² The board, while agreeing in principle to this ideal, had difficulty making it operational. Coyne noted that "the practical difficulty is in distinguishing between sites of national, provincial and merely local importance."³³ While a national railway obviously met the criteria of national significance, on what basis could an educational institution or a local industry be justified?

In spite of Coyne's apprehension and Cruikshank's continued predilection for things military, the board made a concerted effort to comply with Harkin's request. Commemoration of first things became one way to justify national significance. In 1923 Halifax had been awarded a designation for the site of the first printing press in Canada.³⁴ The 1925 meeting of the board elaborated on this principle, recommending the commemoration of the sites of the first railroad, steamship, paper mill, salt works, petroleum well, and electric telegraph.³⁵ The members

32 Ibid., G.W. Bryan, memorandum to file, 1 Dec. 1923.

33 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1329, file HS 9, pt. 3, J.H. Coyne to J.B. Harkin, 15 Dec. 1923. "For example", he wrote, "how is the line to be drawn in respect to the following:

1. Pioneer settlements, churches, schools, highways, posts, towns, villages
2. Industrial establishments and organizations
3. Agricultural development
4. Social and literary organizations."

34 HSMBC, minutes, 25 May 1923.

35 HSMBC, minutes, 1925. The Board's reference in these selections appears to have been George Johnson, Alphabet of First Things in Canada, PAC, RG 84, vol. 1236, file HS 7, pt. 3, A.A. Pinard to M. McCormack, 23 July 1924.

found other worthy topics. Howay proposed some pioneer mining ventures in B.C. and Alberta.³⁶ Cruikshank proposed marking all government canals.³⁷ Webster proposed marking the site of the first coal mined for export in Canada.³⁸ Traditional topics of fur trade and exploration further augmented this new direction.

While the board on the whole was not particularly interested in preservation, it was willing to support departmental initiatives to acquire military sites. This not only accorded with the interests of the Maritime members, but with the outlook of Cruikshank who was generally well disposed to things military. Military sites were also an obvious choice for preservation. Other categories of building were not easily recognizable for their national significance and military property was usually easily acquired.

In 1924 the board passed a resolution which said that "the preservation of existing martello towers and blockhouses is justified from a national standpoint in view of their significance as a type of military architecture, and that descriptive inscriptions be prepared by the Chairman and Mr. Harkin, plaques to be placed on all such martello towers and blockhouses now existing within the jurisdiction of the Department and elsewhere when permission can be obtained."³⁹ At the same time the board, including Harkin, deliberately excluded other categories of historic

36 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1375, file HS 10, pt. 4, F.W. Howay to J.B. Harkin, 8 March 1927. Three sites proposed for designation that year were: First Coal Mine in Alberta, Barkerville, B.C. and Yukon gold discovery.

37 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1305, file HS 8, pt. 2, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 10 Oct. 1924, "The Construction of the various canals under government control were indisputedly important events in the industrial history of Canada, which it is thought should be commemorated at some convenient future date."

38 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, file HS 6, pt. 5, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 28 July 1928.

39 HSMBC, minutes, 4 June 1924.

architecture. Similarly, it would not consider any church or graveyard as a national historic site.⁴⁰ The reasoning behind this policy seems to have been a desire not to become swamped with requests to which the branch could not accede.⁴¹ But the effect was that all of the properties acquired in this period for preservation were military sites.

The Maritime point of view was much better represented during this period than it had been before 1923 and it reflected far better than other regions except Ontario the aspirations of a regional heritage movement. J. Plimsoll Edwards, from Halifax, was past president of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and a minor but respected writer on historical subjects. Still, there were limitations to his representation. Edwards, it seems was not attuned to his region's concern with preservation, placing what was considered to be inappropriate emphasis on commemoration. An opposition M.P. from Nova Scotia rose in parliament to say, "I know Dr. Edwards very well indeed; he is one of the most important officials of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. But the way they proceed is to put a brass tablet on some old building and let it go to pieces."⁴² Although he seems to have got on well with the rest of the board and proposed a number of sites in the Halifax area, he resigned in 1925. He was replaced by Walter Crowe from Sydney, a local judge and newspaper publisher who was interested in Cape Breton history generally and the preservation of Louisbourg in particular.

But it was Clarence Webster's abilities that raised the profile of the Maritimes in the national heritage program. Until the summer of 1920 Webster (1863-1950) had been engaged in a distinguished career as a physician and surgeon. Born in New Brunswick, he had studied medicine at Edinburgh and practiced in Montreal before becoming chief of obstetrics at a large Chicago hospital. He enjoyed an international

40 Ibid.

41 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1306, HS 8, pt. 5, F.H.H. Williamson to R.A. Gibson, 6 April 1937.

42 Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1923, p. 3406.

reputation in his field and published a book on obstetrics that was a standard text for many years. Forced to resign because of ill health, Webster retired to Shediac where he channeled his great energy into the collection of Canadiana and research on local history. Being a man of means and education, he traveled regularly to England and France as well as the archives in Ottawa in pursuit of artifacts and documentary evidence. In this way he became acquainted with many experts in the Canadian community including Arthur Doughty.⁴³

Webster continued to develop as a member of the heritage movement following his appointment to the board, publishing a number of books and pamphlets on local history. He became active in both the Royal Society of Canada and the Canadian Historical Association and was elected president of the CHA in 1932. He also became keenly interested in the cultural development of the Maritimes. His book The Distressed Maritimes (1926) attempted to link poor economic achievement with moral and cultural backwardness. He was instrumental in the establishment of both the Nova Scotia Archives and the New Brunswick Museum, contributing parts of his substantial collection to both of these institutions. A member of what has been termed the Maritime Rights Movement, a loose group concerned with bettering the situation of the Maritime provinces in Confederation, Webster was named to the 1931 Royal Commission to investigate railway conditions in Canada. And so, by the 1930s at least, he had established a number of important political connections.

Webster possessed plenty of confidence and was an aggressive member of the board. He made the conditions of his continued participation clear at the beginning when he wrote the Minister of the Interior stipulating that his co-operation with the federal program depended on more attention being paid to historic sites in the east. "There is very great dis-satisfaction in these parts with regard to the lack of attention paid to historic sites and monuments. Senator McLennan assures me that

43 J. Clarence Webster, Those Crowded Years, 1863-1944, An Octogenarian's Record of Work (Shediac: privately printed, 1944), p. 17.

you will do your best to correct the short-comings of your predecessors and it is to be on the strength of such assurances that I have accepted your invitation to join your Commission."⁴⁴ With Webster on the board the Maritimes had a strong voice and much of the preservation undertaken in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia reflected his influence.

Perhaps the most important lacuna in Webster's representation was in regard to Prince Edward Island. Back in 1920 the board had opined that the province did not merit any national historic sites.⁴⁵ Webster, who undertook to represent P.E.I. along with New Brunswick, was inclined to share this view. In 1925 he informed Harkin, "Of course there is very little of national importance in the development of the Island and it would be foolish to appoint a member."⁴⁶

Webster shared with his colleagues the belief that commemorations served a useful patriotic function in educating citizens about common traditions. Although Webster did not have the same nationalist mission as his colleagues from Ontario and Quebec and, having lived in the United States for many years, did not share their anti-American sentiments, he did share with them the conservative impulses which informed the commemorative program with something like religious mission. Webster had strong old world beliefs. He enjoyed being in the company of titled people and travelled regularly to cultural events abroad. At the same time he distrusted modern values with their strong emphasis on material success, physical gratification and the rule of the common man. Conscious of belonging to a cultural elite, he felt it his duty to

44 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 1, J. Clarence Webster to Charles Steward, 22 Dec. 1922.

45 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189; HS 6, pt. 2, A.A. Pinard to E.A. Cruikshank, 15 Sept. 1922.

46 PAC, RG 84 vol. 1190, HS 6, pt. 5, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 19 July 1926. The board, however, decided that a token site should be designated on the island and "moved that a sub-committee composed of Dr. Webster and Major Edwards be nominated to take up the question of a suitable memorial to commemorate an historical event in Prince Edward Island . . . HSMBC, minutes, 26 May 1923.

instil proper values in the masses by preaching the importance of arts, music and history for, as he explained "it is because there is no demand for these higher pleasures and civilization, and because the desire of the flesh overpowers the needs of the spirit, that the people prefer automobiles to culture".⁴⁷ Cruikshank, imbued in the conservative ideology of loyalism and Coyne, whose bed-time reading included books in classical Greek, would have concurred with this sentiment.

It was as a "custodian of culture", then, that Webster participated in the commemorative work of the board. Years later he commented on this aspect of the board's work as one way in which civilization was brought to the Maritimes.

I have always considered the work of the Board as an educational influence of the first magnitude. The historical renaissance in the Maritimes coincides with the activities of the Board. Our many ceremonies have directed public attention to our history through the press and radio... Thus we have exerted a marked influence in awakening an indifferent and uninformed people that they live in a country that is more than a mass of farms, factories, towns and villages, which supply the material means of subsistence for them and nothing more.⁴⁸

It was through this sense of mission that Webster found genuine fellowship on the board.

But the nature of both Webster and his constituency did not permit totally harmonious relations in the process of selecting sites for commemoration. He possessed some of the Maritimes' paranoia about Ottawa being dominated by the views of Ontario and Quebec and so was suspicious of the board's attitude to the eastern provinces. He shared with Walter Crowe the feeling that the just proposals of the Maritimes

47 John Clarence Webster, The Distressed Maritimes, a Study of Educational and Cultural Conditions in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1926), p. 13.

48 University of British Columbia, Library [hereafter UBC], F.W. Howay Papers, Box 7, J.C. Webster to F.W. Howay, 4 Dec. 1942.

were being ignored while relatively trivial sites in central Canada got undeserved attention. Judge Crowe wrote Webster commiserating on the failure of one of their proposals to get the approval of the board: "To be frank I am not greatly impressed with the breadth of view of some of our Upper Canadian colleagues. I think the time must soon come when some ginger must be infused into our discussions. I recently went over some of their projects - they are not national in the sense I take out of that word. But if they are to persist in their interpretation then they must not invoke the broad meaning of the word against our Provincial projects."⁴⁹

Crowe tried to force a resolution of this issue of criteria at the next board meeting. In asking Harkin to place the definition of national importance on the agenda, he wrote: "I have not reviewed all the projects approved by the board, but I have examined enough to convince me that it is apparently an elastic term."⁵⁰ At the meeting Crowe stated that he "was of the opinion that all the events associated with the early struggles between the French and English were of national importance".⁵¹ The issue was not resolved and it was brought up again at the next year's meeting. There it was recorded that "Dr. Coyne was of the opinion that every fort, English or French, was of national importance, likewise the site of every battle. Judge Crowe strongly supported Dr. Coyne in this respect."⁵² But the board could not accept such a broad criteria and the meeting concluded that "each site should be dealt with on its merits."⁵³ Such subjective criteria still favoured Ontario sites whose representatives were closest to Ottawa.

49 New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, W. Crowe to J.C. Webster 1927.

50 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 6, W. Crowe to J.B. Harkin, 31 March 1928.

51 HSMBC, minutes, 17 May 1928.

52 HSMBC, minutes, 17 May 1929.

53 HSMBC, minutes, 20 May 1929.

But subjective criteria also favoured those who were willing and able to outshout the opposition and here Webster had the advantage for his enthusiasm and determination were able to overcome many of the board's inherent biases. To his other colleagues, however, it was apparent that Webster had his own biases. While continuing to recommend sites from across New Brunswick, he came to concentrate on designations near his home town.⁵⁴ He recommended a cluster of sites to enhance the reputation of Fort Beauséjour and got Harkin's permission to erect smaller commemorative plaques on the site. This was viewed as parochial by Cruikshank who commented on Webster's narrow outlook in a letter to Howay in 1929: "I concur entirely with your agenda remarks as to the 'small stuff from Nova Scotia' and you might have added the still smaller stuff from New Brunswick, and I have merely suggested that aforesaid proposals should be placed on the agenda for consideration, but then there is the danger of a flare up."⁵⁵ Despite this resistance, Webster managed to get his way in a number of his pet proposals.

With Sulte as the Quebec member, the French Canadian viewpoint was allowed to languish. He was absent from the first meeting of the new board and it was a few months before a replacement was found after his death. The appointment of Montreal notary Victor Morin (1865-1960) in 1924 therefore must have come as a jolt to the board. Like Sulte he had good credentials for representing the Quebec heritage movement: he was a writer of Quebec history, president of the Montreal Antiquarian and Numismatic Society and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. But he

54 The particular emphasis of his commemorations was described by Webster in his memoirs: "It was my aim to induce the Dominion Government to carry out measures which would result in bringing the attention of our people the points of historic interest in the entire Chignecto area, the marking of its historic sites, the preservation of the Fort and the establishment of a Historical museum - lines of development which had been successfully carried out at Fort Anne in Annapolis Royal and at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain". Those Crowded Years, p. 20.

55 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 4, Victor Morin to J.B. Harkin, 20 March 1924.

was only fifty-nine and his nationalism was more exclusively French Canadian than that of his predecessor. It was Morin who had written the branch in 1920 arguing for better representation of French Canadian history in the selection of national historic sites. Subsequently he argued for the representation of this viewpoint outside of Quebec. This argument was manifest in his plea for the erection of bilingual plaques at all national historic sites.

In a letter to Harkin shortly after he joined the board, Morin suggested that, as French Canadians did not always remain at home in Quebec, but travelled elsewhere in Canada, they should have the right to read federal government signs in their own language. Bilingual texts, he argued, should reflect a policy of biculturalism. "As long as we will create a separation between the two languages, granting one a certain portion of the country, and the other in some other portion, we will not succeed in bringing together the two elements of our population but we will, on the contrary, tend to keep them apart. I think therefore that not only from the point of view of justice, but principally by patriotism, our inscriptions should be in both languages everywhere."⁵⁶ Morin's proposal was placed on the agenda for the June 1924 meeting where it was discussed at length. But it was unanimously rejected.⁵⁷

The board's decision isolated Morin and he resigned before the next annual meeting. He was replaced by Aegidius Fauteux, another Montreal historian with strong views but he too resigned within the year. Next came Judge Philip Demers and then in 1930 Marechal Nantal, but these men too seemed unable to work with their colleagues and exerted only minimal influence on the deliberations of the board. Not only were they exclusively concerned with French Canada, they were easily offended by the prejudices of their new colleagues. Howay reflected a typical English Canadian attitude toward the nationalism of the Quebec members in a letter to Cruikshank in 1935. "It is so difficult to retain a Quebec

56 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 4, Victor Morin to J.B. Harkin, 20 March 1924.

57 HSMBC, minutes, 4 June 1924.

member, and every one we have had except dear old Mr. Sulte appears to have no knowledge of his own, but to go to priests and canons, and church dignitaries for information and in consequence the thing gets either a religious or a personal flavour."⁵⁸ Confronted with views like this it is little wonder the Quebec representatives did not feel at home on the board. With this lack of continuity in representation from Quebec, it was left to Cruikshank, with help from Pinard to initiate many of the designations in the province.

Other than Quebec, regional representation was well articulated on the board. Webster from New Brunswick and Cruikshank from Ontario represented important points of view in the heritage movement. There was yet another forceful representative appointed to the board in 1923 who further emphasized its regional character. This was Judge Frederic William Howay (1867-1943), noted British Columbia amateur historian. Coyne had remarked on his expertise while on his western tour in 1920 and there was little doubt that the Judge was the province's leading historian. In collaboration with E.O.S. Scholefield he had written a two volume history of British Columbia that remained a standard work on the subject until the appearance of Margaret Ormsby's book in 1958. His particular interests lay in the pre-Confederation period, especially early exploration and the Pacific fur trade. At various points in his life he was president of the B.C. Historical Society, the Canadian Historical Association and the Champlain Society and was elected to the Royal Society of Canada.⁵⁹ Although an amateur, he took these pursuits extremely seriously, usually spending two months each summer travelling to meetings and distant archives. As a result he was a leading member of the Canadian historical community.

Quiet and serious in manner, he too could express himself forcefully in discussion and had well formed opinions on many historical topics. On

58 UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 9, F.W. Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 28 June 1935.

59 W.N. Sage, "Frederic William Howay (1867-1943)", Canadian Historical Review, xxiv, 4 (Dec. 1943), p. 448.

the board Howay represented the four western provinces until 1938 and then B.C. and Alberta until his death in 1943. Howay brought an entirely new perspective to the board because, although he was obviously an historian of the Whig school, his view of the development of British Columbia had little to do with the expansion of central Canada. He articulated this perspective in his presidential speech to the first annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association in 1923. "I wish on this occasion to trace in a general way and as interestingly as possible the earliest days of our Province, to strive to show that we had a story before the days of the Caribou and its wondrous gold wealth - yes, that we had a story before the foot of the Hudson's Bay trader or Nor'West trader ever trod our soil."⁶⁰ This point of view was soon translated into national historic site designations and by the summer of 1924 a memorial tablet commemorating the early navigators was unveiled at Friendly Cove, Vancouver Island.

While building up the representation of B.C. history, Howay helped curb Cruikshank's enthusiasm for the wholesale commemoration of sites associated with the War of 1812 and twice moved at meetings that further commemorations of that subject be suspended until the significance of the sites could be further evaluated. On occasion Howay could also circumvent the board and the branch to obtain recognition of a B.C. site. One such case was the Great Fraser Midden, an important archaeological site in Vancouver that was in danger of being obliterated by land development. In 1932 he wrote H.H. Stevens, then the ranking western member of the cabinet to get his support in influencing the branch: "I would be greatly pleased if you be kind enough to write to Mr. Harkin or call him up over the phone and express your interest in the matter and the pleasure it would give you personally, to have a memorial of our Board erected to commemorate this repository of ancient Indian culture."⁶¹ But this was a rare case of political interference.

60 F.W. Howay, "The Earliest Pages of the History of British Columbia", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, 1, 1(1923), p. 16.

61 UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 8, F.W. Howay to H.H. Stevens, 15 Aug. 1932.

On the whole Howay was happy to work with, rather than against, Cruikshank and Harkin and became one of the most attentive members of the board. Like his colleagues, he considered himself a "custodian of culture" and endorsed the overall aims of the commemorative program.⁶² He seemed more conscious than Webster of the difference between national and local historical significance in proposing national historic sites and strove to adhere to national criteria. A characteristic Howay site in British Columbia was that in Vancouver honouring the establishment of British dominion over the region and the passing of Spanish power from the Pacific coast. Having pointed out the significance of Captain Vancouver's voyage, Howay's inscription ends with the words: "It was the dawn for Britain but twilight for Spain."⁶³ Other Howay commemorations focussed on the effort of fur trade explorers to establish British dominion over the area. Mackenzie's rock near Bella Coola was one of his first recommendations. So, while Howay's designations had a distinct regional viewpoint, they consciously strove to avoid the parochial narrowness which he believed characterized national historic sites elsewhere in the country.

Howay got along with Cruikshank and Harkin because he concentrated on getting the plaques up. Unlike Webster he was not particularly interested in preservation and therefore was not inclined to raise a fuss over branch interference. He seemed quite content with the limited amount of preservation undertaken in his province and let the branch proceed with its own plans for the development of Fort Langley.

Howay was further tied to Cruikshank by their long association in the national heritage movement. Cruikshank, Coyne and Howay had served together on the nominating committee of the Royal Society of Canada.

62 Howay was for a time president of a local cultural society called The Fellowship of Arts. "Each year - that is each season, October to April - we have a program of study. This year we are taking the time of Shakespeare, as a sort of complement to last year, which was the time of Queen Elizabeth". UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 8, Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 20 Feb. 1934.

63 HSMBC, minutes, 16 May 1928.

Howay's friendship with Cruikshank deepened during the 1920s and each year Howay would generally stay at the Cruikshank's home in Ottawa while attending the meetings of the Royal Society and the Historic Sites and Monument Board. Usually he would try to get to Ottawa a day or two in advance so that issues could be discussed and a private agenda agreed upon.

Well connected with the heritage movement at the local and national levels and attuned to the objectives of the board and the branch, Howay would seem the ideal board member. Yet his situation was not ideal for his constituency covered a great deal more than British Columbia and it was with the designation of sites in the other western provinces that difficulties arose. Howay brought enormous energy to his task, travelling relentlessly by public conveyance, for he did not drive, and carrying on a prodigious correspondence. He canvassed academics in the history departments of the provincial universities and local historical societies for suggestions and endeavoured to be scrupulously fair in his recommendations. Yet it simply was not possible for him to represent such a vast region. On such a scale he was bound to overlook important points of view and operating from afar his minor prejudices became exaggerated. He could not stand A.S. Morton, for example, who advised on the commemoration of sites in Saskatchewan, and ignored his suggestions to mark sites in the southern sector of the province. Although heritage groups in Alberta regularly proposed the preservation of Indian buffalo pounds, Howay took the view that he did not wish to commemorate something associated with the virtual extinction of the buffalo. Similarly he refused to recommend the designation of the popular site of Fort Whoop-Up, disapproving of its association with American whiskey traders. All the while he was far more tolerant of proposals from his native province. Thus, in proposing ten sites from which five were to

be selected for commemoration in 1924, half were from British Columbia.

III. Program Problems

Two big issues caused problems for the branch and the board through the 1920s. Both were aggravated by weaknesses of the program administration. One concerned the development of large heritage developments in the Maritimes, particularly Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour. This brought the Maritime members and local heritage enthusiasts into conflict with the branch over how these developments should proceed. While both sides were forced to accept compromises in order to advance their respective concerns, the power and prestige of the branch was severely curtailed on the administration of these properties. A controversy of another order arose over the commemoration of a series of sites connected with the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. The interpretation of these sites exhibited a distinct English Canadian bias and was rooted in an Ontario based nationalism which saw the rebellions as an obstacle to the natural evolution of Canada. This ran counter to the views of Quebec nationalists who viewed Louis Riel as a French Canadian martyr and to native Canadians whose legitimate grievances were ignored.

Unfortunately for Harkin and his staff, Webster was not always on the side of the bureaucracy and throughout the 1920s demonstrated considerable mistrust of the parks branch as the rightful agency to be undertaking heritage conservation. Few argued the cause of Maritime preservation more vociferously than Dr. Webster. "It is all very well to preserve the buffalo," he wrote Harkin in 1924, "but when our historic sites suffer on their account the people are justified in

64 He submitted his list to Harkin, 5 Nov. 1923, saying "Bearing in mind that I am representing the region west of the Great Lakes I have striven to give a fair proportion to each province". The historic sites, in order of priority were: Yale, Nootka Sound, Batoche, Duck Lake, Fort Livingstone, Fort Macleod, Fort Edmonton, Fort Langley, Fort George and Frog Lake. RG 84, vol. 1376, HS 10 (Western Canada General), pt. 2.

raising a storm."⁶⁵ While not a troublemaker in the mold of Milner, he nonetheless could stir up trouble if he thought that the branch was dragging its feet and on a number of occasions went behind the Commissioner's back to get ministerial approval for his pet projects.

One such occasion arose soon after he joined the board. Prior to his acceptance he had met the Senator J.S. McLennan, the expert on Louisbourg, and the two had formed an alliance. Ideally, he favoured the establishment of a separate commission to oversee development of the site but following his appointment to the board he joined Edwards on a sub-committee charged with overseeing the work on maritime sites. Subsequently the two maritime members met to draft a series of recommendations proposing that Louisbourg be developed as a national park. They suggested that the fishermen's buildings be removed, that more land be acquired, a caretaker appointed and an engineer hired to mark out the original position of the streets, fortifications and other points of interest.⁶⁶ At the same time they drafted inscriptions for a number of plaques to be erected at various places on the property. But Harkin did not see the sub-committee as being actively involved and ignored its advice. In 1926 he described its function as being merely "to formulate ways and means toward interesting public opinion for the purpose of securing an appropriation for the future development of Louisbourg."⁶⁷ Ignored in this way and with activity in 1925 at a standstill, Webster undertook an end run around the branch.

Through the latter 1920s Webster joined McLennan and Walter Crowe in lobbying for the development of the fortress of Louisbourg as a major historic site. The campaign conducted by McLennan and Webster had two phases. First they lobbied for money and then they fought to gain control over how it would be spent. The first phase began in the summer of

65 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1095, FLO 2, pt. 6, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 11 Oct. 1924.

66 Ibid., J.P. Edwards to J.B. Harkin, 15 Aug. 1923.

67 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to W. Crowe, 9 March 1926.

1927 when Senator McLennan invited members of parliament to visit Louisbourg. As a result, in the next session of parliament L.H.N. Bourassa and others spoke in its favour.⁶⁸ That these speeches were made during a debate on the renovation of the Quebec Citadel placed increased pressure on the government to extend its bounty further east. Then in 1928, when the National Battlefields Bill - principally a money-bill requiring \$75,000 for ten years - was being debated in the senate, McLennan raised the objection, for which he received some support, that Louisbourg deserved as much consideration as the Plains of Abraham.⁶⁹ Meanwhile Webster did his part to drum up public support. In December 1928 he addressed the Military Institute in Halifax on the subject of Louisbourg and while in that city "enlisted the support of several influential Liberals in bringing pressure to bear on the Government in regard to this project."⁷⁰ This phase of the war succeeded in getting the government to allocate \$23,000 for the development of Louisbourg in 1929.⁷¹

With this victory behind them, McLennan and Webster were determined that they and not the branch would control how the property was developed. This was not only because of the branch's foot dragging with regard to Louisbourg but two misadventures at the site blamed on the negligence of the branch. The plaques, whose inscriptions had been prepared by Edwards and Webster, had allegedly not been situated with sufficient care and some locals charged that they were inaccurate. Even though Webster had been involved in their preparation, the branch got the blame. A more serious incident occurred when the Department of Marine and Fisheries dismantled the ruins of an ancient French lighthouse on some adjacent property, provoking the ire of Webster and the chagrin of

⁶⁸ Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1928, p. 2625.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 244.

⁷⁰ John Clarence Webster, Those Crowded Years, p. 23.

⁷¹ PAC, RG 84, vol. 1096, FLO 2, pt. 8, memorandum to file, 7 May 1928. Twelve thousand dollars of this appropriation, however, was needed for the acquisition of real estate.

Harkin. The Maritime preservationists questioned the ability of the parks branch to care properly for historic sites and again called for the establishment of a commission of local experts to administer Louisbourg. For a brief period Webster and Crowe were mutinous members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and Webster threatened to resign unless an independent commission was formed. Otherwise, he said "the development will be left to clerks in the Parks Commission, who will make mistakes, as they have already done, and will produce a thing of 'shreds and patches,' calculated to call forth only contemptuous criticism."⁷²

Webster petitioned the senior Liberal minister for Nova Scotia, J.L. Kalston, to establish a Louisbourg commission. This effort produced results for in the spring of 1929 the government was openly considering the problem and the Minister of the Interior announced in the House of Commons that "with respect to Louisbourg and some of the other historic sites, the government hopes either to enlarge the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board or to create a new board to take over that work in its entirety and give it more authority to deal with the restoration of these historic sites in eastern Canada".⁷³

At this juncture we need to turn the footlights up a bit to illuminate the illusive Mr. Stewart before he leaves centre stage. For Stewart, as Minister of the Interior from 1921 to 1930 except for the short break of Meighen's government, was central to the whole struggle of the board and the branch to define a heritage program. His importance stemmed from the fact that it was he who was expected to introduce the necessary legislation and fight for an increased appropriation in cabinet. And it was he who could quite arbitrarily, it seems, make pronouncements in parliament on proposed re-organization of the administration of historic

72. Louisbourg National Historic Park, McLennan Collection, J.C. Webster to Sen. J.S. McLennan, 21 Dec. 1928. My thanks to A.J.B. Johnston, staff historian at Louisbourg, for bringing this document to my attention.

73. Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1929, p. 3647.

sites. That he took no apparent action in these areas explains why he remains so much in the background. Yet he still remained the focal point toward which the board and the branch directed much of their energy. The Honourable Charles Stewart therefore emerges as a large question mark. Just what was he doing and thinking during this drama involving the branch and the board?

Without private papers or a history of the department of the Interior no definitive answer can be provided although some inferences can be made. Stewart had been prime minister of Alberta before joining the King cabinet in 1921 to represent an important western faction of the Liberal party. The department of the Interior was no longer the important department it had been under Sifton: the creation of the western provinces and the transfer of responsibilities to other departments had curbed its importance to western development. And Stewart does not seem to have been one of King's brightest ministers.⁷⁴ He does not seem to have been aware of the workings of his department, particularly of the parks branch which had grown considerably in relative importance since the end of the war. Whereas Harkin had had direct access to Meighen and regularly sent memoranda to Borden's office, he was separated from Stewart by a deputy and assistant deputy minister who controlled the day to day affairs of the department.

Stewart seemed especially ignorant of the historic sites program, believing that it was run by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and not the branch. While he did not commit the gaffe of one of his successors by standing up in the house and naming the 1919 board as

⁷⁴ In forming his Cabinet in 1925, "King was dubious about the capacities of Dr. King from British Columbia and Charles Stewart from Alberta but saw no suitable alternatives among the few Liberals elected from these provinces." R. Blair Neatby, William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1924-1932, The Lonely Heights (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 172.

still existing in 1937, it is conceivable that he could have.⁷⁵ His failure to understand the situation explains his odd statement in the house. He had taken Harkin's suggestion that an intergovernmental committee be placed in charge of the citadels, and Fort Henry⁷⁶ and combined it with Webster's call for a Louisbourg Commission. It must have surprised him when his department officials opposed this plan with Harkin pointing out that it would not be subject to government control and could possibly commit the government to embarrassingly large expenditures.⁷⁷ Stewart, then, while being potentially important to our little drama, was not really a part of it and remained like some deus ex machina suspended above the stage.

The real participants in the drama over the heritage program were the members of the board and the branch and it is to them we must once again turn our attention as the episode of Louisbourg unfolds. Behind the struggle to control development lay opposing philosophies of preservation. The branch at this time adhered to Ruskin's dictum that restoration "means the most total destruction which a building can suffer."⁷⁸ This belief held that it was artificial and ahistorical to put a building back to a former state. This was the view of the town planner

75 In 1937 the minister then responsible for the parks branch, T.A. Crear, spoke of the original board as being responsible for the historic sites program to which R.B. Bennett said, "Some of those gentlemen are dead". Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1937, p. 1382.

76 "There is one point which I think should be stressed in this connection and that is that the benefit to follow from the preservation of any of these old sites are enjoyed primarily by the city in which they are located and secondly by the Province. I therefore am strongly of the opinion that in regard to Halifax, Quebec and Kingston some sort of a policy should be worked out which would involve co-operation on the part of the city, the province and the Dominion." PAC, vol. 1312, HS 8-12, pt. I, J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, 31 May 1929.

77 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1096, FLO 2, pt. 10, J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, 11 April 1929.

78 John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849), p. 179.

Thomas Adams, who argued in the case of Louisbourg for the preservation of its ruins, not their destruction through rebuilding. It was stated as a branch policy back in 1920 by Harkin: "If there is nothing but a pile of stones, it is not considered good policy to erect a fort on the lines of the original one."⁷⁹ Perhaps not coincidentally, this approach was also relatively inexpensive.

Webster and McLennan took quite the opposite view. McLennan had proposed the reconstruction of Louisbourg back in 1908 and through the 1920s both men argued for at least a partial restoration of the old fortress.⁸⁰ Their attitude reflected a growing trend toward historic sites in the twentieth century. With the expansion of tourist travel there was a demand for the development of historic sites as tourist attractions. Ruins were not enough, they wanted living museums. At the same time the development of better archival collections and technical expertise made it feasible for vanished buildings to be replicated. The leading examples of this new approach to preservation were in the United States. In 1907, using only archival and archaeological evidence and the advice of an English architect, Stephen Pell began the reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga beside Lake Champlain in New York state.⁸¹ By the war it had become a major tourist attraction and Pell spent the rest of his life creating and enlarging its museum of American history. Similar projects were undertaken elsewhere leading up to the decision by the Carnegie foundation in the 1920s to fund the reconstruction of colonial Williamsburg. These American events inspired the

79 PAC, RG 26, H (Borden Papers), vol. 163, J.B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell, 31 May 1920.

80 In 1922 when McLennan wrote Harkin asking that steps be taken to preserve Louisbourg, he made it clear just what he envisioned when he referred to the description of the original buildings in his book. "It has full plans and will indicate to you how complete a restoration of the site could be made if funds and intelligence were available." PAC, RG 84, vol. 1095, FLO 2, pt. 1, J.S. McLennan to J.B. Harkin, 1 Dec. 1922.

81 Charles B. Hosmer Jr., Presence of the Past, a history of the preservation movement in the United States before Williamsburg (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 92.

Maritime preservationists. Webster once said that his visit to Fort Ticonderoga was one of the happiest moments of his life.⁸² Senator McLennan, who had promoted the reconstruction of Louisbourg more as a hypothetical possibility than as a practical development, began to argue for it as a viable project following the news of Williamsburg. But the real stumbling block was money. Reconstruction called for large amounts of it and in Canada the government was the only reliable sponsor for this kind of heritage development.

These two approaches to the treatment of Louisbourg had been kept apart because the branch had become used to proceeding on its own and largely ignored the board on matters of preservation. The frustration of Webster and Crowe increased as they realized that they were being kept on the sidelines and that Harkin did not brook interference from civilians. The Maritime sub-committee had been viewed by Harkin more as an auxiliary body aiding in public relations and in 1929 Crowe told Webster that this was probably how the branch regarded the board as well. "I have written Ottawa to ascertain just what our status is but if we are advisory I think it is by courtesy only."⁸³ It was this frustration at having their ideas ignored that largely prompted the mutiny of Webster and Crowe.

For his part, Harkin objected to relinquishing control of the development of Louisbourg because he feared that the branch would become committed to the costly and unrealistic scheme of McLennan. He informed his superiors of this in his memorandum rejecting the proposed creation of the Maritime commission: "However there is one great danger in regard to a committee of this kind and that is that it may make such extensive - and probably some impossible - recommendations so that in the end the government is only embarrassed by the work of the

82 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1095, FLO 2, pt. 6, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 20 Nov. 1923.

83 New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, Archives Section, Webster manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, "W. Crowe to J.C. Webster, 27 April 1929.

Committee."⁸⁴ The experience of the National Battlefields Commission, then making a large submission to parliament, gave credence to Harkin's argument. So, persuaded by the bureaucracy, the Minister of the Interior scuppered plans for a separate commission and left the parks branch in charge of Louisbourg.

But Webster and Crowe continued to fight for the establishment of a local commission to supervise the development of Louisbourg.⁸⁵ This was debated at the board meetings until 1930 where Harkin, Cruikshank and Howay steadfastly refused to abrogate formal responsibility to non-board members. Eventually a kind of compromise was reached where Webster and Crowe comprised a sub-committee of the board to advise on Louisbourg and they in turn consulted an unofficial committee made up of Senator McLennan, his daughter Katherine, the Mayor of Louisbourg and a local churchman.⁸⁶ With the lines of communication between the two sides improved it was then possible to arrive at some compromise over the development plan.

McLennan, Webster and Crowe had visited the site in 1928 and drew up a practical plan for the development. The plan avoided mentioning reconstruction and instead focussed on limited restoration of extant

84 FLO 2, pt. 10 J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, 11 April 1929.

85 Crowe wrote to Webster, 27 April 1929: "Our work for Lbg. is not even begun and we must consider what we are to do at Ottawa about it. I wish you would think over a good line or approach - my own view is we ought to have Stuart and Ralston together and talk the situation with them very frankly - or should we have a talk with Harkin and try to win him to a special Commission - and then go to the minister." Webster manuscript collection, drawer no. 1.

86 Cruikshank opposed this arrangement. In a letter to Harkin, 3 April 1931, he said: "the proposal to constitute a 'Local Advisory Committee' to advise a sub-committee of this Board, appointed to advise the Board, which was appointed to advise the Minister, appears to me to be extraordinary and inadvisable and certain to cause complications". FLO 2, pt. 13.

ruins.⁸⁷ Crowe recommended reconstructing part of the King's Bastion and the West Gate and building a museum which would contain a scale model of the town. Crowe seems to have persuaded Webster and McLennan that this was the most that was practically possible. He wrote Harkin that "There will be those who advocate the restoration of the old Fort, the building of a museum in old French Chateau style etc. All this would cost more money than is likely to be appropriated and if too large a scheme is proposed and adopted the heart break of the delays will tire every-one out."⁸⁸ But in another communication to Harkin he pointed out that some reconstruction was necessary for "there was nothing to see and no person in the park to explain anything."⁸⁹

Crowe's compromise proved acceptable to both sides and in 1929 the branch moved to develop the site along the lines he proposed. A parks engineer named S.O. Roberts was assigned to the project and he spent the summer season supervising preliminary work. With a budget of only \$3,000 for the year, Roberts could not accomplish a great deal beyond stabilizing the deterioration of the casemates and landscaping the grounds. More was achieved in the following seasons with a budget of \$8,000 for 1930 and \$7,000 for 1931. His report for this latter year reveals something of Roberts' approach.

The Department of the Interior is in possession of copies of the original plans of the fortress as drawn up by the famous French military engineer, Vauban, and with their aid, the engineers in charge of the restoration work are able to locate, by instruments, the exact positions of many of the former gates, walls and

87 Webster wrote to Harkin, 15 Oct. 1928, "This work must now go ahead. The people demand it, and it is admitted by all that it should have been done years ago. The Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, and Col. Ralston have promised their support, so that there [sic] should be no difficulty unless it should come from your department." FLO 2, pt. 9.

88 FLO 2, pt. 8, W. Crowe to J.B. Harkin, 1 Aug. 1928.

89 "I wish to say that there has been general disappointment expressed by many of the visitors there the past summer - I am referring to the American motor car visitors of whom we have had a large number this year." FLO 2, pt. 11, W. Crowe to J.B. Harkin, 17 Oct. 1929.

bastions. Several of the old streets within the fort have already been located with the aid of these plans, and a bridge has been thrown over the site of the old moat at the east gate, giving access to the old French and English cemeteries.⁹⁰

This primitive archaeology unearthed many treasures and revealed considerable amounts of masonry. These finds encouraged some limited restoration. Although the engineer reiterated the policy of not undertaking a reconstruction, he proposed "to restore a little at a time, the principal gates, bastions and other prominent works, to indicate sufficiently the former strength and extent of the place at its greatest period in history."⁹¹ The number of artifacts found at the site created a desperate need for a museum and one of the houses expropriated for the development was spared demolition and converted to this end. A second house was saved as a caretaker's residence. So, although the branch remained in charge, it had moved a long way to accommodating the views of the local preservationists.

While Webster played a leading role in prodding the branch to take action at Louisbourg, he singlehandedly led the campaign to have Fort Beausejour taken over as a national park. Although an HSMBC plaque was erected in 1923, lack of funds prevented the division from undertaking development. Local interest in the site was re-awakened, however, and an optimistic Amherst Board of Trade called for the excavation of the casemates, or bomb-proof mess, and the restoration of the magazine.⁹² Webster quickly assumed the leadership of the local lobby and, as with Louisbourg, co-ordinated a powerful campaign. He enlisted the support of A.B. Copp, the Secretary of State and member for Westmoreland, New Brunswick, and H.J. Logan, the M.P. for Amherst. With these and other political friends Webster was able to pressure the branch from above to have the property developed as a national park. He made his

⁹⁰ FLO 2, pt. 17, "The Preservation of Fort Louisbourg", n.d.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² PAC, RG 84, vol. 1048, FB 2, (Fort Beausejour establishment), pt. 2, W.L. Ormond to J.B. Harkin, 16 May 1923.

superior position quite clear to the Commissioner when he made his formal request to the branch. "I wish you to consider seriously my proposal to make Beausejour a National Park. The demand is strong. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Copp and he is anxious for it. He has asked me to go to Ottawa this autumn to see him and Mr. Stewart together. Senator Robinson of Moncton, a strong supporter of the Government, will advocate the creation."⁹³

Suitably subdued by Webster's big guns, Harkin moved to comply with his request. He dispatched his chief engineer to report on the possible development of the site and requested a special appropriation of \$2,000 for the following year. In 1925 he submitted a memorandum to cabinet asking for an order-in-council to establish Fort Cumberland National Park. With Webster's high level support these requests got immediate attention although the order-in-council was delayed for a year because Copp demanded that the park be named Fort Beauséjour, favouring the French rather than the British name of the fort.⁹⁴ With national park status and a special appropriation largely due to Webster's campaign, Harkin was prepared to give the doctor considerable say in how Fort Beauséjour should be developed. "As it was, I think, largely through your persistent endeavours that this has finally been accomplished," he wrote Webster "I am taking the liberty of communicating with you requesting that you be good enough to furnish me with an expression of your views as to what improvement or development work should be carried out immediately consistent, of course, with the funds which will be available."⁹⁵

With this invitation Webster joined what would today be described as the planning team and he and the engineer outlined the work to be done that season. Although limited by the \$2,000 budget, it was they who established the priorities for development. The first year's plan

93 FB 2, Pt. 3, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 29 Sept. 1924.

94 FB 2, Pt. 4, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 11 March 1926.

95 FB 2, Pt. 4, J.B. Harkin to J.C. Webster, 21 June 1926.

called for the clearing of Moncton's trenches (then thought to be siege lines but subsequently found to be defensive ditches), the purchase of old cannons, building new fences, marking points of interest with interpretive signs, building roads and demolishing the old magazine.⁹⁶ Surprisingly, it was Webster's idea to have the magazine removed. "I hold that either the magazine should be rebuilt (a proposal which would be a hideous waste of money, and which I oppose with all my might), or it should be left with only the old base or foundation."⁹⁷ The initial phase of the development, however, was largely one of engineering and construction. The grounds were landscaped, trees removed and roads and footpaths laid out. The casemates were cleaned out, toilet and picnic facilities constructed and the whole area made to resemble the current ideal of an historic park. Throughout this process Webster was not merely a consultant but took personal charge as if it was his own property that was being improved.

These victories at Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour made Webster the department's consultant on preservation in the entire region. Harkin canvassed his opinion on the proposal to acquire the Halifax citadel, to which Webster "objected seriously, stating that there were no historical associations connected therewith."⁹⁸ He was more positive about sites closer to home and in 1928 became involved in negotiations to purchase the site of Fort Gaspereau near Moncton, N.B. The following year he "superintended the carrying out of various improvements there, including the removal of many bushes from the level ground," and clearing the moat of debris.⁹⁹

96 FB 2, Pt. 4, "Memorandum Re: improvements at Fort Cumberland Historic Site, 22 November 1926.

97 FB 2, Pt. 4, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 7 Sept. 1926. Webster closed his letter with a threat: "You may consider me out of it entirely unless a thorough scientific method is adopted".

98 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 5, A.A. Pinard, memorandum to file, 22 Feb. 1928.

99 J. Clarence Webster, Those Crowded Years, p.26.

Because of the weakness of Howay's representation east of B.C., the outlook of the entire board was flawed. Given the inherent bias of the members to emphasize the history of their own neighbourhoods, it is not surprising that the prairie provinces received only a small proportion of national historic sites in the years leading up to the Second World War. Moreover, the sites that were designated were likely to be interpreted from perspectives alien to regional historical traditions. This is just what did happen in the case of the Northwest Rebellion sites in Saskatchewan which embroiled the board in some of its most virulent controversies. It was a difficult episode for the board for not only did it result in unfavourable publicity but it forced the members to face the possible conflict between the historical and ideological significance of a site. Usually the historical events associated with a potential site involved the board in a discourse of subjective interpretation. In the case of the Cut Knife Hill and Batoche commemorations, discussions became polemics.

Although the board recognized fur trade posts and routes of exploration as national historic sites, one of the principal themes which it initially wanted to commemorate on the Prairies was the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. At the third meeting of the board held in October 1920, Coyne proposed a group of sites which included Batoche, Battleford, Cut Knife Hill, Duck Lake, and Frog Lake - all sites of battles or skirmishes during the 1885 uprising.¹⁰⁰ These proposals were not followed up at the time because the board was more concerned with the consideration of sites in the east, but when the reconstituted board met in May 1923, Howay presented a report on western sites which gave similar prominence to events connected with this episode in Canadian history. These sites were then declared to be of national historic significance.¹⁰¹

100 HSMBC, minutes, 18 May 1920.

101 HSMBC, minutes, 25 May 1923.

The battlefield sites of the Northwest Rebellion received early and full attention because they could be understood within the context of the eastern historical mentality. From this perspective, the battles were important as victories of the Canadian militia over reactionary forces and signified the establishment of Canadian civilization in the western hinterland. In the same context, the enemy was portrayed as if it was a foreign army and no effort was made to understand or explain the native point of view. The extent to which this one-sided approach could be carried is demonstrated by the Cut Knife Hill plaque text which describes a militia rout as a victory.¹⁰² More typical because it endeavoured to keep to the facts, was the Batoche inscription. But this, too, offered a particular view of the Canadian nation.

Howay drafted the inscription for the monument in 1923 and it was cast in bronze and erected at Batoche the following year. It read:

North West Rebellion
Batoché
Headquarters of the Rebels

Its capture by General Middleton, after four days fighting, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th May, 1885, ended the Rebellion.

The Midland Regiment, 10th Royal Grenadiers, 90th Regiment, Winnipeg Battery, "A" Battery, Boulton's Mounted Infantry and French's Scouts took part in the battle.¹⁰³

This interpretation agreed with two main tenets of the ideology of the majority of the board: it affirmed the evolving British character of Canada (portrayed as a kind of westward march of empire) and glorified the exploits of the Canadian militia. It offended two groups with legitimate claims to their own heritage: the Métis, who were dismissed as rebels, their cause ignored; and the French, who were tied by common language and religion to the Métis community, and whose language was

102 For an account of this controversy see C.J. Taylor, "Some Early Problem of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada", Canadian Historical Review, LXIV, 1 (March 1983), pp. 14-18.

103 HSMBC, minutes, 25 May 1923.

ignored. By way of contrast, it is interesting to note that today Parks Canada interprets the site of Batoche as an example of a 19th century Métis community, giving the armed struggle only secondary importance.

The board's problems began after the Parks Canada had acquired the twenty-five foot square plot of land necessary for the cairn and plaque. This site was located beside the Roman Catholic church at Batoche and had been recommended by the Historical Society of Prince Albert as being closest to the actual site of the battle.¹⁰⁴ Permission to erect the monument here was given by the Bishop of Prince Albert, the Right Reverend J.H. Prud'homme, providing that certain conditions were met: the design must meet with his approval and the text must be in French as well as English.¹⁰⁵ Howay was initially opposed to a bilingual inscription: "I ask you why we should; is it because there were some French half-breeds in the actions, or is it to honour Riel and Dumont's French ancestry? If we are going to make our tablets in English and French because of the casual connection of some French in the matter, we shall have them all in English and French all over the country, and why not Swedish, Norwegian and Gaelic."¹⁰⁶ But Howay was forced to back down on this issue when he realized that an important body of Saskatchewan opinion favoured the idea. A.S. Morton also put considerable personal pressure on Howay with the result that the judge relented and a French translation was cast.¹⁰⁷

A much larger problem emerged when the bilingual monument was unveiled in the summer of 1925. A delegation from Quebec decided to boycott the ceremony after previewing the inscription.¹⁰⁸ The vice general of the diocese, the Rt. Rev. J.B. Brodeur harangued the government for breach

104 PAC, RG 84, vol. 979, HS.10-3-3, pt. 1.

105 Ibid., J.H. Prud'homme to J.B. Harkin.

106 Ibid., F.W. Howay to J.B. Harkin, 8 Sept. 1924.

107 Ibid., A.S. Morton to F.W. Howay, 23 June 1925.

108 Ibid.

of faith in having obtained the site on the pretext of commemorating the rebellion when the text itself glorified a victory over the Métis.¹⁰⁹ The nub of the criticism was that the Métis were identified as rebels, but it went deeper than this. The Quebec newspaper Le Soleil editorialized: "On aurait donc dû épargner aux métis actuels, fort nombreux dans les environs de Batoche, des discours qui frisaient l'insulte; on aurait dû faire du cairne un monument commémoratif aux braves qui, des deux côtés, tombèrent pour une cause qu'ils croyaient juste; il aurait fallu mentionner à Batoche l'héroïsme des métis de Batoche et du lac aux Canards. On a fait du monument un mémorial à la prussienne, c'est au milieu d'un peuple vaincu le souvenir de l'écrasement pour les vainqueurs, sans le moindre regard pour le ressentiment des familles métis".¹¹⁰ One gets the impression that public opinion was too sensitive to the efforts of the conquering English in Quebec to impose their own culture to allow similar efforts to go unchallenged in the west.

But the board was effectively able to resist this attack. Howay had no doubt that the term rebels was correct, "that is, the word always applies to those in arms against the government."¹¹¹ And A.S. Morton assured Harkin that he and other members of the university community approved of the board's inscription. Morton went on to point out that the criticism directed at the plaque represented only a minority opinion: "I am enclosing to you a report of the activity of the Historical Association, Prince Albert, in connection with the unveiling at Batoche, you will see, and everything report confirms it, that all parties enjoyed the unveiling in spite of the flurry raised by Father Brodeur. I have word from Father Jan that the Bishop is just arriving home and that he is referring the matter to him. I fancy we shall no

109 Ibid.

110 Quebec, Le Soleil, 14 juil. 1925.

111 PAC, RG 84, vol. 979, Title BA 2, pt. 2, A.S. Morton to J.B. Harkin, 6 Aug. 1925.

longer hear of Father Brodeur."¹¹² Having already provided a French translation and having received the support of its allies at the University of Saskatchewan and the local historical society, the board could rest assured that it had done its duty and need make no further concessions. It was not until 1944, one year after Howay's death, that a new version of the text was approved. The new inscription, drafted by J.A. Gregory, was much more neutral in tone:

Batoche

Here, on the 15th May, 1885, after four days of fighting, the Métis under Louis Riel surrendered to General Middleton commanding the Canadian troops.¹¹³

The opinion of the board concerning minority cultures had changed so much by this time that it also approved investigating the possibility of drafting a version of the Duck Lake Battlefield inscription in Cree Syllabics.¹¹⁴

Despite the many difficulties which they encountered on the way, both the branch and the board had established a comfortable and workable organization for dealing with national historic sites. The branch had abandoned many of its larger ambitions for acquiring large heritage projects and come to focus on the immediate needs of developments within the system. In this regard it not only re-cycled the expertise of its parks engineers but accepted the direction of local advocates, men like Fortier at Fort Anne, Webster at Fort Beauséjour and Blanchot at Fort Chambly. Gradually the views of branch officials and local enthusiasts merged to form a general ideal of a national historic park. While economic stringency still prevented large scale reconstruction, the branch seemed willing to make limited attempts to build up the historic attraction of a heritage property. At the same time it approached

112 Ibid., A.S. Morton to J.B. Harkin, 6 Aug. 1925.

113 HSMBC, minutes, 26 May 1944.

114 HSMBC, minutes, 24 May 1944.

development of historic property in much the same way as natural parks. Access roads had to be constructed, landscaping done and picnic sites and washrooms constructed. One new feature was a museum, but here the tendency was to establish a regional collection of artifacts rather than a centre for the interpretation of the site.

For its part, the board learned to live with the branch. Collectively it left problems of preservation to the branch although individual members were free to participate like Webster if they wished. On the whole the board and its members approved of the branch's approach to site development. In the Maritimes, where interest in preservation was strongest, there was a tendency to promote heritage property on the basis of its general antiquity rather than for any particular historical meaning, an attitude that accorded well with the approach of the parks branch. Meanwhile the board concentrated on its commemorative program. While there was occasional grumbling about the parochialism of Webster or the French member or the monomania of Cruikshank, on the whole the board was content to let each member designate sites in his particular region. Although there were gaps in representation - in Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Saskatchewan - the board seemed pleased with itself.

CHAPTER 4: MISSED OPPORTUNITY, 1931-1936

In which we see the Historic Sites and Monuments Board reject an opportunity to redefine its goals.

In 1930 the entire historic sites program was stalled. The National Parks Act passed that year had failed to provide the specific mandate for which members of the the board and branch had long hoped. Government spending, which had not been lavish during the 1920s, was cut to the bone at the onset of the Depression. As a result it became difficult for the branch to erect even a modest quota of commemorative plaques and the future of its preservation work was uncertain. The members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board seemed to lack the will to fight through these difficulties. Many of the old hands, including Cruikshank, Howay and Webster, felt that the important work of the board was behind them anyway and contemplated disbanding.

This lethargy was partly offset by the appointment of new members whose fresh approach gave the board new vigour. The appointment of D.C. Harvey to represent Nova Scotia and Fred Landon to represent western Ontario also gave the board useful contact with a new generation of professional historians then just emerging as a force in Canadian intellectual life. And instead of winding down the program, the board explored means of establishing a new category of secondary historic site, allowing it to expand commemorations at a time of fiscal restraint.

Still, there were problems with the board. Quebec remained poorly represented. The new member appointed to represent Quebec in this period, E.F. Surveyer, while able to provide needed continuity, did not enjoy great prestige among French Canadian historians. The board therefore remained badly out of touch with an important segment of the heritage movement. This gulf between the board and the historical community of Quebec is illustrated by the episode of the commemoration of Jacques Cartier in 1935. Here prominent members of the Quebec elite were able to take the initiative away from the board in the marking of a major historic sites.

Another weakness of the board at this time was that an important new component of the heritage movement concerned with the preservation of historic architecture was not represented. This really was a missed opportunity because the parks branch had access to Depression relief funds enabling it to embark on projects designed to provide employment in the regions. The preservation side of the program therefore was to assume a greater profile than it had at any previous time. Yet the board consistently declined opportunities to involve itself in this aspect of the program, leaving preservation to be directed by the branch in consultation with individuals. As before, both the branch and the board was criticized by a significant part of the heritage community while the branch lost a valuable source of historical advice.

The new decade brought an economic crisis and a new conservative government intent on reducing public spending. Accordingly the operating budget of most government agencies, including that of the parks branch, was severely cut. As a result, in 1931 the position of the chief of the historic sites division was abolished and Pinard was given early retirement.¹ The Historic Sites Division disappeared and Pinard's former assistant, G.W. Bryan, was left to carry on alone. This had the immediate effect of crippling the capabilities of the program. Without divisional status it had a greatly reduced operating budget and became more than ever dependent on the services of other divisions and government departments to carry out its work. Bryan, it seems, lacked Pinard's competence and he does not appear to have been as effective as his former chief in seeing to the needs of the board which he now served as secretary. Certainly Howay was disparaging about his performance, commenting to Cruikshank that "a more useless person as a secretary it would be hard to find; or one more lacking in initiative or in the ordinary equipment of a secretary."² The most significant impact of government austerity for the board was the reduction of the number of

1 PAC, RG 32, C 2, vol. 466 (A.A. Pinard).

2 UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 9, F.W. Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 24 Sept. 1937.

monuments that could be erected by the department, thereby severely limiting its commemorative program. Whereas the branch had endeavoured to erect five plaques annually in each region, during the early 1930s it sometimes had difficulty erecting one.³ This increased the backlog of sites so that of 292 designations made by the board by the end of the fiscal year 1933-34, only 200 had been commemorated.⁴ As many of the commemorated sites reflected the regional inequities which had existed before 1923, this delay was especially noticeable outside of central Canada.

I The Outlook of the Board on the Brink of Change

The early 1930s were a critical juncture for the board. New challenges were being raised by the heritage movement and new opportunities presented by the Depression relief work of the branch. Unfortunately its position at this time was uncertain. The National Parks Act of 1930, which accorded formal status to historic sites and parks, had failed to give the board the legislative footing needed to operate as an independent agency. Its position was further eroded with the departure of Pinard leaving Bryan, a relatively low ranking civil servant, to form the principal liaison with the branch.

Internally, the board showed signs that it lacked the will to rise to new challenges. Conditioned by the frustrations of the 1920s and the limited personal agendas of some of its leading members, the board was dominated by a mood of inertia. By the early 1930s members were questioning the future of its commemorative program. As early as 1928

3 In a memorandum to the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior, Harkin noted that "inasmuch as our historic sites' appropriation has been reduced by the sum of \$12,000 for the the present year, it will not be possible to carry out any of the items of work included in my memorandum of the 15th June ... other possibly, than to affix the tablet for the First Paper Mill to the cairn at St. Andrews East, P.Q." PAC, RG 84, acc. 83-84/280, vol. 904, HS General, pt. 8, J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, 18 July 1933.

4 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1934 "Report of the Commissioner of National Parks", p. 122.

Webster had suggested to Harkin that the list of potential national historic sites in New Brunswick had been largely completed.⁵ Again, in 1932 the branch acknowledged Webster's recommendation that "all historic sites of major importance have now been dealt with."⁶ About the same time Crowe made a similar assessment of sites in his province. In 1931 he noted that "apart from the Louisbourg Park, where it is my hope that reasonable expenditures will continue from year to year, I should suppose the expenditures in the Province should gradually diminish."⁷ That year both Crowe and Coyne resigned from the board, no doubt feeling that their major objectives had been achieved. By 1935 Howay, too, believed that the commemorative program had largely carried out its task of marking all the important sites in the country. In a letter to Cruikshank he said, "[t]he fact is that we have pretty well covered the field in every province. Shall we go on? and put the relatively unimportant on the same level as the important? or shall we just quit?"⁸ That Howay also contemplated resigning the next year demonstrates the mood of the board in this period. Its immediate problem lay with justifying its commemorative program. It had little inclination to expand its activities into the area of preservation.

Fortunately for the board, the appointment of new members provided new energy and ideas. In 1931 D.C. Harvey (1886-1966) replaced Judge Crowe as the Nova Scotia representative. At forty-five, Harvey was the youngest member ever appointed and represented a new generation of professional historian. Born in Prince Edward Island, he attended Dalhousie University and then went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. Subsequently he taught history at colleges in Winnipeg and Vancouver before moving to Halifax to take over the newly re-organized provincial

5 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1189, HS 6, pt. 5, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 28 July 1928.

6 Ibid., HS 6, pt. 7, J.B. Harkin to J.C. Webster, 19 Oct. 1932.

7 Ibid., HS 6, pt. 7, W. Crowe to F. Williamson, 18 March 1931.

8 UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 49, F.W. Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 30 Oct. 1935.

archives in 1931. There he served as a part time professor at Dalhousie and became active in local historical work. Harvey had well-defined views about a distinctive Nova Scotian historical perspective. In an essay "History and its uses in Pre-Confederation Nova Scotia," he wrote that history confirms "the conviction that Nova Scotians are the equals of any other British subjects and the aim to have them incorporated in the British system rather than the Canadian or American."⁹

This argument for a distinctive regional history complemented Webster's own sense of the centrality of Maritime history and the two collaborated on a number of commemorations. Harvey agreed, for example, that the founding of Saint John and the Province of New Brunswick were important events in Canada's constitutional history.¹⁰ But Harvey's imperialist views also found favour with Cruikshank and the General strove to defend his younger colleague from some of Webster's more tyrannical gestures. Thus Harvey was encouraged to represent the views of Prince Edward Island which until then had been the domain of Webster. Aided by his own knowledge of that province's history and spurred by local concerns for better representation in the pantheon of national historic sites, Harvey sponsored the designation of three new sites in the province: the Roma Settlement, the first organized land survey and Jacques Cartier. Harvey also differed from Webster in favouring the preservation of the Halifax citadel.¹¹

Also in 1931, James Coyne retired and recommended the appointment of Fred Landon whom he knew through local heritage circles.¹² Landon (1880-1969) differed from his predecessor in being more in the mold of

9 D.C. Harvey, "History and its Uses in Pre-Confederation Nova Scotia", Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1938, p. 12.

10 Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, archives section, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, D.C. Harvey to J.C. Webster, 12 Feb. 1936.

11 HSMBC, Minutes, 30 May 1935.

12 London, Ontario, University of Western Ontario, D.B. Weldon Library, Regional Collection, Fred Landon Papers, Box 4210, file 42, diary entry 13 Jan. 1931.

the new generation of historians. He had an M.A. in history from the University of Western Ontario and taught Canadian and American history there as well as being the university's chief librarian. At the time of his appointment to the board Landon's reputation was largely based on the five-volume history of the Province of Ontario which he co-authored with Jesse E. Middleton.¹³ Subsequently he contributed an important volume to the series of publications on the Relations of Canada and the United States, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (1941). He was successively president of the London and Middlesex Historical Society (1918-20), the Ontario Historical Society (1926-28) and the Canadian Historical Association (1941-42). Like most of his colleagues on the board he became a member of the Royal Society of Canada.¹⁴

Landon's view of Canadian nationhood differed from that of Coyne and Cruikshank in that it looked to the positive aspects of American influence on Canadian development. In his conclusion to Western Ontario and the American Frontier he noted that the main influences on the development of the region's society were geography and immigration. Wars and battles had little importance in his view of historical development. He saw Ontario society as an ethnically diverse community that allowed the formation of institutions based on the best of the old and the new worlds. Moreover he argued that "the question of loyalty itself has no place in this discussion and it is probably true that descendants of Loyalists have emphasized much more than did their forefathers the extent of the sacrifice made on behalf of British allegiance."¹⁵ Landon also differed from Cruikshank and Coyne in his recognition of the progressive nature of the rebellions. Where the other Ontario representatives viewed the incidents of 1837-38 as another example of loyal men defending the empire against alien ideas, Landon

13 Fred Landon and Jesse E. Middleton, The Province of Ontario, a history 1645-1927 (Toronto: 1928)

14 Fred Armstrong, "Fred Landon, 1880-1969", Ontario History, LXII, 1 (March 1970); pp. 2-4.

15 Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941), pp. 280-81.

saw the episode as a step toward responsible government. Shortly after his appointment to the board, therefore, he recommended commemorating the site of the Battle of Windsor, an episode in the 1837-38 rebellions. But although Howay agreed that it was an important event on the road to political liberty, the rest of the board voted against it.¹⁶ Further nominations of this kind did not come until after the departure of the General.

Before the war the heritage movement had been a fairly cohesive unit, finding expression in the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association. Organizations at both the local and national levels were dominated by amateur historians, people of educated backgrounds but with little or no specialized training in the field of history. These people tended to regard the past as an integral part of the present, co-existing with an awareness of literature, art and general democratic principles. History, then, was the preserve of a cultural elite which sought to recreate the past according to ideals of their weltanschauung. In the pre-war heritage movement historians could come in contact with poets, politicians, prelates and other members of this elite in an atmosphere of common understanding.

Although this interdisciplinary elite continued to be an important factor in the heritage movement after the war, just as it continued to dominate the Royal Society, a new generation of professional historians was emerging that, by the 1930s, was exhibiting a distinct orientation toward specialized themes. Members of this new generation had post-graduate degrees, increasingly with a Ph.D. from an American or Canadian university, and engaged in research that was narrowly focussed and writing that was often interesting only to a small scholarly audience. Whereas in the 1920s academic historians were typically men like George Wrong with non specialized degrees, history departments in the 1930s became dominated by men such as Chester New at McMaster, R.G. Trotter at

16 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1330, file HS 9, pt. 8, Fred Landon to J.B. Harkin, 3 March 1935; F.W. Howay to J.B. Harkin, 18 March 1935; HSMBC, minutes, 30 May 1935.

Queen's, and W.N. Sage at the University of British Columbia. Generally the two generations co-existed amicably in institutions such as the Royal Society and the Canadian Historical Association although there was some tension as the younger experts flaunted their newly-acquired professional pretensions and the old guard wondered if some of them were indeed gentlemen.¹⁷ Also, the new group was even less inclined than the former to be interested in preservation. The interests of this new generation tended toward abstract principles of national development. Conditioned by the nature of university teaching, academic historians had little interest in material culture.¹⁸

The chief result of this generational distinction was a diffusion of the aims of organizations like the Royal Society and the Canadian Historical Association, the traditional vehicles of the heritage movement. They no longer undertook to be largely concerned with public aims such as heritage preservation but, as organs of the new professionalism, sought out

17 Fred Howay, for example, took a personal dislike to Walter N. Sage who emerged to share the leadership of the B.C. historical movement in the 1930s. He particularly disliked his pretensions to the title doctor and referred to his insufferable manner. UBC, Library, special collections division, F.W. Howay papers, Box 9, F.W. Howay to T.C. Elliot, 3 May 1937 and 23 July 1937.

18 A history of material culture studies in the United States has noted a similar phenomenon occurring in the country in a much earlier period with the advent of university trained historians. "In their celebration of the textual data of American history, the scientific historians chose to ignore completely the artifactual evidence of the national past. As they became concentrated in the universities, the professional historians of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century abandoned their former affiliations with various local and state historical associations, where an assortment of material culture studies were being done by collectors, curators, and amateur researchers. Soon museum historians, vocational historians, and gentlemen scholars like James Ford Rhodes came to feel, largely because they lacked the credential of a doctorate in history and did not teach history in a college or university, that they were excluded from the emerging national forum of scholarly activity and camaraderie that became the American academic historical profession." Thomas J. Schlereth, "Material Cultural Studies in America, 1876-1976", in Material Culture Studies in America, edited by Thomas J. Schlereth (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), pp. 13-14.

increasingly specialized audiences. Throughout the 1930s, although the Canadian Historical Review and the annual reports of the CHA continued to report on the activities of the parks branch in identifying and preserving national historic sites, little other preservation news was reported and the articles were largely professional in origin.

Yet despite the potential for acrimony between Cruikshank and Landon, their relations on the board were largely harmonious. While Cruikshank was chairman Landon did not challenge his proposals and instead supported his drive for increased loyalist commemorations in 1939. Such solidarity should not appear overly surprising given the smallness of the Canadian historical community at this time. As practicing historians, both amateurs like Webster and Cruikshank and professionals like Harvey and Landon met as equals at meetings of the CHA and the RSH as well as the board. While they may have been opposed politically, both Cruikshank and Landon were part of a tightly-knit group of Ontario heritage activists and so had little choice but to get along, joined in a common cause. Thus even in his revisionist history of western Ontario Landon graciously acknowledged the advice of the late General.¹⁹ Both Harvey and Landon, then, while representing the new generation of professional historian still had strong ties to the old guard. Nonetheless their membership encouraged the board to broaden its views beyond the personal agendas of the older members.

The appointment of Edouard-Fabre Surveyer (1875-1957), in 1933 to represent Quebec posed another set of difficulties. Unlike the two previous appointments, Surveyer was of the traditional antiquarian school. But as he remained on the board until 1956 he provided more consistent representation for French Canada than any previous Quebec representative since Benjamin Sulte. Born in Montreal, he was educated at McGill and Laval universities before being called to the bar. He had

19 In the introduction Landon noted "several of the earlier chapters were read by by the late Brigadier-General E.A. Cruikshank whose extensive knowledge of Ontario's early history made his counsel of particular value". Fred Landon, Ibid. p. xv.

a distinguished career as a jurist and was professor of criminal law and procedure at McGill before his appointment to the Quebec Superior Court in 1920. Like many francophone professionals, Judge Surveyer took a great interest in the history of his province. He was a member of a number of historical societies and published articles on local history as well as the prosaic but respected book The First Parliamentary Elections in Lower Canada. As a member of the board, Surveyer considerably bolstered the representation of Quebec. He was a conduit to the board of the views of local heritage groups and he maintained reasonably friendly relations with his anglophone colleagues, particularly Webster.

But Surveyer's credentials were not completely what they seemed and he probably did not have the complete confidence of Quebec nationalists. He had been unable to get himself elected to section I (that is the French speaking section of the Royal Society), ostensibly for his pro-English views, so in 1930 he sought the help of Webster in getting elected to section II (the English speaking section).²⁰ Webster apparently achieved this unusual selection, which may have given the judge a certain cachet among anglophone Quebecers but would not have helped his credibility in French Canada. It was also Webster, it seems, not Quebec heritage groups, who secured his appointment to the board.²¹ These connections did not make Judge Surveyer an ideal representative of the board in French Canada. His influence on the board was slow to be felt, partly because of his diffidence in nominating sites. But later it would become apparent that he was strongly disposed to champion the perspective of French Canada in the commemoration of a national history. Like Harvey and Landon, then, he harboured a potential for wider designation of national historic sites while maintaining overt sympathy with the traditional views of the board.

20 New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, E-F Surveyer to J.C. Webster, 30 Jan. 1930.

21 New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, E-F Surveyer to J.C. Webster, 21 Jan. 1933.

Reinforced in this way and with the mixed assets of the other members, the board met the challenge of the 1930s obliquely. The backgrounds of the new members did not dispose them to raising the profile of preservation on the board. While representing the hitherto largely ignored concerns of professional historians and French Canada, they were too strongly tied to the older members to challenge the direction of the commemorative program. Thus commemorations in the early 1930s followed the themes established in the 1920s. In the Maritimes forts and first things, in Quebec more forts and early communications and in Ontario more loyalist designations defined the activities of the board in this period. In the west Howay strove to give better representation to sites east of British Columbia but many of these reflected traditional themes of exploration and the rebellion of 1885. More than intellectual limitations kept commemoration in this rut. Abstract aspects of Canadian history were difficult to realize in an historic sites program and financial restrictions of the first years of the Depression meant that new commemorations became even more difficult to erect than in the past. So, even with new historical themes being muffled by the weight of past concerns, they had little chance of being reflected in a program that was barely functioning. Still, efforts were made in the early years of the new decade to broaden the scope of the board.

As before, Harkin tried to shift the concerns of the board away from hackneyed themes to consider other subjects worthy of national commemoration. He proposed to the members "that action be taken to have memorials erected to commemorate the constitutional changes in the progress of the Dominion."²² Howay was in favour of this proposal and undertook to investigate how it could be implemented. But the vagueness of the proposal made appropriate sites difficult to find. In 1934 Howay proposed that constitutional development be commemorated in a long but succinct inscription noting the principal stages in the evolution of the Canadian nation and that it appear on plaques erected on the Parliament

²² PAC, RG 84, vol. 1173, HS General, pt. 7, G.W. Bryan, memorandum to File, 4 Nov. 1930.

buildings in Ottawa and in the provincial capitals.²³ But this proposal was not supported by the rest of the board which had already dropped constitutional changes as an impractical subject to commemorate.²⁴

Another avenue the board explored to enlarge the scope of its commemorative program was the creation of a secondary marker. Until the 1930s all national historic sites were commemorated by a standard bronze plaque bearing an inscription explaining its importance. While the criteria for the designation of sites remained vague, the board remained preoccupied with the notion of national significance and many board members - particularly Cruikshank, Howay and Webster - felt that most of the obvious sites had already been identified. Unless the criteria could be broadened, something these members did not wish to do, a solution to the problem of broadening the commemorative program was to create a lesser category of national historic site to be marked by a smaller bronze plaque than the standard version. During the days when the branch had difficulty in maintaining its normal quota of commemorations, these cheaper monuments, designed to be attached directly to a building rather than the usual stone cairn, became additionally attractive. The idea for a secondary tablet had been mooted back in 1925 as a means of commemorating sites of lesser importance and Howay saw it as an appropriate means of commemorating prominent Canadians.²⁵ Although this proposal was not acted upon by the board, Webster inveigled some secondary plaques for his Fort Beauséjour development in 1929.²⁶ These, however, did not mark additional historic sites, merely additional themes within the historical park.

23 RSMBC, minutes, 30 May 1934.

24 RSMBC, minutes, 27 May 1933.

25 RSMBC, minutes, 19 May 1925.

26 PAC; RG 84; vol. 1189, file NS 6, pt. 6, A.A. Pinard, memorandum to file, 23 May 1929.

The idea of secondary commemorations was raised again in 1935 by Judge Howay in a letter to Cruikshank. Howay believed that the main obstacle preventing the establishment of a lesser category of historic sites was Harkin for he sensed that the Commissioner saw lesser markers as cheapening the primary designations. He disagreed with this view.

In fact most of the things that are left are pretty small potatoes; and it seems to me quite out of keeping to give them standard tablets; but what are we to do if Mr. H. will not? We shall stultify ourselves by giving undue importance on standard tablets to what is secondary. Some of the things you are offering in connection with the War of 1812 (and some that are already done) should be secondary, if noted at all. And that is true all round. The fact is that we have pretty well covered the field in every province. Shall we go on? and put the relatively unimportant on the same level as the important? or shall we just quit? If there is no secondary tablet, then in my view our work is about done.²⁷

The board had taken a step toward introducing secondary commemorations in 1934 when it approved a list of fifty prominent historical figures.²⁸ But by 1936 the branch had still not implemented a program of secondary plaques. While Harkin's lack of enthusiasm for these lesser monuments may have been a factor in the inactivity of the branch, the miniscule budget allotted commemorations inhibited new initiatives in this field.

II The Problem of Quebec

The lack of a credible representative from Quebec hobbled the board's already limited ability to satisfy the heritage community in that province. Despite budget restraints and the delay in implementing secondary plaques, the board was successful in having new designations commemorated during this period involving anniversaries of well-known historical events where public attention demanded government response. Cruikshank's success in getting the branch to commemorate a number of loyalist sites in 1934 was one such instance as it was tied to the

27 UBC, F.W. Howay Papers, F.W. Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 30 Oct. 1935.

28 HSMBC, minutes, 29 May 1934.

sesquicentenary of the arrival of the loyalists in Ontario. Another anniversary that attracted national attention in 1934 was that of Cartier's landing in Canada, popularly believed to be the discovery of the country. This designation was controversial because it involved competing regional perspectives but it became difficult because of the weakness of the Quebec representative.

The story begins in 1930 when the Quebec press announced that a committee had been formed to raise \$500,000 to erect a monument commemorating the 400th anniversary of the landing of Jacques Cartier near the present town of Gaspé.²⁹ It was also proposed to have a national celebration along the lines of the Quebec tercentenary and communities in Ontario as well as Quebec made tentative plans to participate.³⁰

Parallel with these developments, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board designated Cartier's landfall as an historic site and proposed erecting a small cross along the lines of Coyne's Port Dover memorial, in recognition of the wooden cross that Cartier was supposed to have erected.³¹

In 1933, the plans for the Gaspé memorial were initially bogged down. The Quebec committee, having failed to raise sufficient funds because of the depression, dissolved. Neither the branch nor the board could agree on the precise location of Cartier's original cross and attempts to acquire an appropriate site were delayed. Meanwhile Judge Surveyer prepared an inscription for the monument which read: "In commemoration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the landing of Jacques Cartier at the entrance to this harbour on 24th July 1534."³² The branch commissioned the carving of a modest stone cross and then finally took steps to secure a site so that the monument could be unveiled on the anniversary of Cartier's landing.

29 Rodolphe Lemieux, "Le Monument du Souvenir Canadien", La Presse, 29 Mars 1930.

30 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1250, file HS 7-13 (Landing of Jacques Cartier at Gaspé), pt. 2.

31 Ibid.

32 HSMBC, minutes, 26 May 1933.

But during that summer of 1933 events overtook these modest developments. An international commission was inaugurated to celebrate the event. The Comité France-Amérique comprised prestigious French Canadians such as Thomas Chapais and senators L'Esperance, Beaubien and Raoul Dandurand and had the president of the French republic as its honorary president. It proposed a grand celebration and arranged for the participation of a cruiser of the French navy and Canadian and French dignitaries. A national committee was formed to co-ordinate preparations in this country for the heritage event of the decade. The Canadian members of the Comité France-Amérique endeavoured to take over the efforts of the board and the branch in commemorating Cartier's landing at Gaspé and being politically influential were in a position to cause the board and the branch considerable difficulty.

In July 1933 Surveyer communicated to Harkin a proposed substitute inscription that had been prepared by Thomas Chapais. It read: "This cross was erected to commemorate the Fourth Centennial Anniversary of the landing of Jacques Cartier at Gaspé, and of his taking possession of Canada, July 24, 1534."³³ This version was circulated to the board members for their comments. As Surveyer had passed the revised version along with no comment, his approval was implicit. Cruikshank also approved of the new version.³⁴ The Maritime members, however, were opposed to its implications. Harvey disagreed with the notion that Cartier meant to take possession of the land when he planted his cross. "As a student of history I cannot approve of the amended version particularly in view of Cartier's own explanation to the Indians that the cross set up was merely 'to serve as a land-mark and guide post on coming into the harbour'. "³⁵ Webster, on the other hand, argued that a case could be advanced in favour of Cabot being the first to discover Canada when he landed on Cape Breton. While he was prepared to admit that both

33. PAC, RG 84, vol. 1250, file HS 7-13, pt. 2 E-F Surveyer to J.B. Harkin, 7 July 1933.

34. Ibid., E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 31 July 1933.

35. Ibid., D.C. Harvey to Department, 31 July 1933.

sides had a case, he favoured Surveyer's original inscription for avoiding controversy.³⁶ Howay also favoured the original inscription. Webster's argument persuaded Surveyer to commit himself to his original interpretation and, despite the continued opposition of Cruikshank, the board confirmed the original inscription.

Another problem arose when the form of the monument itself was challenged. The branch had designed with the approval of the board a fifteen foot stone cross which was to be erected on a platform giving it an overall height of twenty feet. It was to have a circular motif at the transept, serving to better support the arms and avoid any criticism that the government was in any way romish. But the Comité France-Amérique favoured a larger cross, more closely replicating the cross erected by Cartier which was alleged to be thirty feet high, and it applied political pressure to achieve this end. In November 1933 Senator Dandurand wrote Harkin indicating that he preferred a larger monument to the one being prepared for the department. "An important delegation, will soon interview the Prime Minister and his colleagues concerning this commemoration, and it would perhaps be advisable that you suspend your action in the meantime."³⁷ Subsequently the minister of the Interior asked Harkin to consider the erection of a larger cross and in April 1934 the Prime Minister himself telephoned to request that the cross ~~not~~ have a circle supporting the transept.³⁸ In the face of these pressures and with the approval of supplementary funds the branch hastened to have a new cross ready for the July ceremony. On the board only Harvey objected to the new design and this in a way that reflected the futility of his complaint. "In regard to Quebec's passion for identical measurements of Cartier's cross, I am wondering if historical exactitude would not suggest a pole instead of a granite shaft, particu-

36 Ibid., J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 1 August 1933.

37 Ibid., Sen. Raoul Dandurand to J.B. Harkin, 29 Nov. 1933.

38 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to H.H. Rowatt, Deputy Minister of the Interior, 9 April 1934.

larly in view of the difficulty of having such huge arms of granite suspended in the air as a perpetual warning to tourists not to walk beneath them."³⁹

While the Cartier committee was busy promoting the marking of the Gaspé site, it also promoted the commemoration of a site in Prince Edward Island connected with the famous navigator. Members of the committee contacted Harvey urging him to have a national historic site designated and a suitable memorial erected in time for the July 1934 celebration.⁴⁰ Harvey complied with this suggestion, nominating a national historic site and preparing the inscription for the plaque. At this point Webster, no doubt seeing an opportunity to participate in a significant social event, endeavoured to elbow Harvey off the stage, objecting to his colleague's draft inscription and proposing that he and not Harvey be responsible for the memorial.⁴¹ Here he had the advantage over his new colleague for he was not only the more senior member of the board but possessed more political influence. Webster's Conservative connections may have persuaded Prime Minister Bennett to allocate \$1,200 to the P.E.I. monument.⁴²

The branch, by now familiar with Webster's vigorous campaigns, was willing to recognize the doctor as the member of the board responsible for the site and suggested to him that the original smaller cross prepared for the Gaspé site be erected there. Webster agreed with the proposal for a commemorative cross and drafted a new inscription with the title "Discovery of Prince Edward Island by Jacques Cartier in 1534."⁴³

³⁹ Ibid., D.C. Harvey to J.B. Harkin, 10 April 1934.

⁴⁰ Ibid., D.C. Harvey to J.B. Harkin, 29 Jan. 1934.

⁴¹ FAC, RG 84, vol. 1213, file HS 6-77 (Discovery of P.E.I. BY Jacques Cartier), pt. 1, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 8 March 1934.

⁴² Ibid., J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 2 April 1934.

⁴³ Ibid., J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 9 April 1934.

But while Harvey may have been willing to be pushed out of the ceremonies, he had strong intellectual objections to the new form of the commemoration. He disapproved of the idea of a cross, on the grounds that it would offered local Protestant sensibilities⁴⁴ and opposed Webster's contention that Cartier had discovered the island.

Cruikshank, perhaps sensing an opportunity to deflate the irrepressible Webster, sided with Harvey. "Being not familiar with the facts, I should like to hear from Professor Harvey on the subject as he has made a special study of the early history of Prince Edward Island, and has published what is considered an authoritative book on it, before definitely committing myself upon it."⁴⁵ But although the board considerably revised Webster's lengthy inscription, it approved his title referring to Cartier's discovery. Only Cruikshank recorded his dissent.⁴⁶ It was generally agreed, however, that a large boulder and not a cross would make more appropriate monument.⁴⁷

Although Cruikshank nominated Harvey to attend the unveiling ceremony, Webster pre-empted the chairman by nominating himself.⁴⁸ So it was the doctor and not Harvey, who participated in the celebration, basking in the reflected glory of many Canadian and French dignitaries. He even got to ride in the French cruiser. Poor Surveyer who was the official board representative at the Gaspé ceremony did not have such a happy time as the diffident judge was literally driven off stage by the Quebec senators. Initially there was not even a place for him on the cruiser although room was found after the intercession of Harkin. But there was no salve for his feelings at the ceremony where the cross was unveiled

44 Ibid., D.C. Harvey to J.B. Harkin, 10 April 1934.

45 Ibid., E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 25 April 1934.

46 HSMBC, minutes, 28 May 1934.

47 The cross without a home was finally erected in Saint John to commemorate the founding of the city by the loyalists. The stone steps which were to have formed the pedestal were sent to Fort Lennox. HS 7-13, part 5, G.W. Bryan to J.B. Harkin, 13 Nov. 1935.

48 HS 6-77, pt. I, J.C. Webster to J.B. Harkin, 18 July 1934.

by the Prime Minister; the honour of the board had clearly been sullied. "As you are aware", he wrote Harkin after the event, "I received a belated letter from Senator Beaubien saying that it had been represented to him that somebody would speak at the unveiling on behalf of the Commission. I told him that I should play a part corresponding to that which was attributed to Dr. Webster at Charlottetown."⁴⁹ But when the judge appeared on the speakers' platform he was ordered off by Senator L'Esperance who said that only "officials" were allowed. Surveyer was so put out by this incident that he did not attend the next meeting of the board.

III The Board and Preservation

By the 1930s a new force had emerged in the heritage movement concerned with preserving historic architecture. The shift of the membership of the Royal Society and the Canadian Historical Association away from heritage concerns opened the field to other specialized groups concerned with promoting aspects of heritage conservation. Chief among these were architectural associations which promoted a greater awareness of historic architecture. Even before the first World War the Association des Architectes de la Province de Québec had tried to encourage interest in the province's old buildings.⁵⁰ Following the war there was increasing recognition of traditional Quebec architecture as part of a collective heritage. This awareness was promoted by the faculty of the McGill University school of architecture during the 1920s and 1930s. There a group of British-trained architects, principally Percy Nobbs and Ramsay Traquair, sought to incorporate traditional designs into modern buildings. While in Britain and much of the rest of Canada this same

49 HS 7-13, pt. 4, E-F Surveyer to J.B. Harkin, 29 Aug. 1934.

50 "L'association des architectes de la Province de Québec créait un club qui organise des concours, donne des cours et encourage le relevé des anciens édifices de la province." Canadian Architect and Builder, XVIII, 208 (avril 1909), p. 49. I am grateful to Janet Wright of the Architectural History Division of Parks Canada for bringing this reference to my attention.

impulse resulted in houses designed to resemble Cotswold cottages or Tudor mansions, it inspired the McGill faculty, especially Traquair, to study vernacular Quebec architecture as a particular style. During the 1920s students in the faculty of architecture were required to produce measured drawings of old Quebec buildings and the school accumulated a large inventory of plans and elevations of public buildings, churches and residences, many from the French regime. Traquair used this collection to supplement his own considerable body of knowledge in writing The Old Architecture of Quebec (1947). He approached his subject, not as an antiquarian, but as an architect and its significance was valued for its present appearance, not for its past associations.⁵¹ Well before his book appeared, however, the work of the McGill faculty had been recognized for its identification of a distinctive French Canadian culture. In praising the work of the McGill faculty in 1926, the Montreal amateur historian and future member of the HSMBC, E-F Survéyer, said: "[t]hey have realized, to an extent that cannot be appreciated without careful study ... what glory there was in the architecture founded by the ancestors of Mr. Montpetit and by mine - the first settlers of this country."⁵²

In Ontario there was a like interest in the identification of what was considered to be a distinctive provincial style. Here the University of Toronto school of architecture played a role similar to its Quebec counterpart in promoting awareness of heritage buildings. As at McGill, one of the leading exponents of a distinct provincial architecture was a British-trained architect interested in incorporating traditional architectural styles into modern designs. Eric Arthur was born in New Zealand and then trained at the University of Liverpool before joining the University of Toronto faculty. During the 1920s he

51 In the introduction Traquair explained: "This is a book about buildings, their form, construction and decoration, about the traditions which led to those forms, about the materials and the techniques employed." Ramsay Traquair, The Old Architecture of Quebec (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947), p. xiii.

52 Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, III, 3 (May-July 1926), p. 117.

published a series of articles in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada under the general heading "The Early Architecture of the Province of Ontario." His research, like Traquair's also supported by measured drawings prepared by his students, culminated in his Early Buildings of Ontario (1938). Where Traquair had identified a particular building type associated with the Quebec habitant, Arthur identified a distinctive loyalist style of dwelling. As in Quebec, this revelation fitted in well with the regional version of nationalist ideology.

An awareness of a distinctly provincial architectural heritage led to measures being taken for its preservation. Not surprisingly, Quebec was the first province to enact legislation for its protection with the passage in 1922 of "An act respecting the preservation of monuments and objects of art having an historic or artistic interest." The Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Quebec was established to implement this legislation and it compiled inventories of heritage resources such as historic and devotional monuments, old churches, French forts and old houses. Although this commission functioned only for a short time producing three progressively diminutive annual reports, its work was continued by Pierre-Georges Roy, the provincial archivist and secretary to the commission. In 1927 he compiled Vieux manoirs, vieilles maisons, a collection of photographs of traditional Quebec residences, mostly from the French regime. Ontario did not enact heritage legislation until after the second World War although groups such as the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario founded in 1933 sought to preserve loyalist houses, especially in Niagara-on-the-Lake. The only other province to enact heritage legislation in the interwar period was British Columbia which passed an act in 1925 aimed at preserving Indian artifacts. This act, however, like the Quebec legislation, lacked teeth, and without money to acquire historic property, little could be done to prevent its loss. Nonetheless the principle had been established by the 1930s of provincial governments protecting historic property. This further served to diffuse the heritage movement which until then had focussed almost entirely on the federal government.

In Ontario the provincial government became a leading participant in the heritage field following a series of initiatives by the Niagara Falls Parks Commission. Although its larger projects of restoration and reconstruction were not undertaken until later in the 1930s, its involvement reflected an earlier trend of provincial interest in heritage preservation. Originally formed in 1895 to oversee the development of public land surrounding Niagara Falls, the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Parks Commission came to assume control of a number of commemorative monuments including the one to Brock at Queenston Heights and memorials to Laura Secord and the Battle of Lundy's Lane. Subsequently the commission incorporated historic properties into its sprawling park system.

During the 1930s the commission sponsored four important projects of restoration and reconstruction. The most ambitious of these involved the rebuilding of Fort George at Niagara-on-the-Lake whose fourteen buildings had been destroyed during the war of 1812. An historian was hired to locate documents related to the building and interpretation of this site and between 1937 and 1940 the fort was reconstructed to appear as it did between 1796 and 1799. This involved reproducing bastions, stockades and eleven of fourteen buildings according to original specifications and furnishing a number of rooms with period reproductions and historic artifacts to demonstrate the function of the buildings.⁵³ Another monument from the British military establishment at Niagara, Navy Hall, received unique treatment. Originally a large wooden building, it survived in a ruined state, having been moved from its original site. The commission had it reinstated to its former position then erected a large stone building in a suitable antique mode to protect the ruins from further deterioration. A third project was the restoration of an early 19th century stone mansion at Queenston once inhabited by William Lyon Mackenzie. The fourth undertaking was the partial reconstruction of Fort Erie, also destroyed during the War of 1812.

53 Ronald L. Way, Ontario's Niagara Parks, a history (Toronto: Niagara Parks Commission, 1946), p. 253.

The development of these historic properties not only fitted into the goal of the Niagara Parks Commission to beautify the area by contributing an antique or romantic flavour to the acres of lawn and scenic drives, but was justified by encouraging another goal of the commission, tourism.⁵⁴ Although the commission focussed on developing one of the world's great tourist attractions it undoubtedly believed that a series of supporting attractions would be of benefit. The examples of Fort Ticonderoga and Williamsburg as meccas for the new era of motorized tourists further encouraged a commitment to bringing to life buildings of the past.

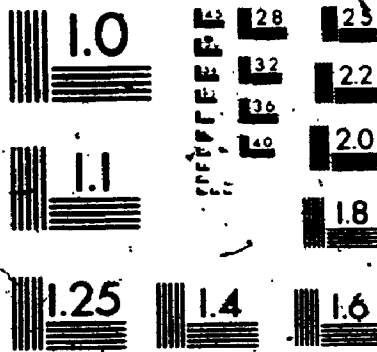
The success of the Niagara Parks Commission's heritage properties was not lost on the Ontario Department of Highways which was also intent on developing tourism in the province. In 1936 the department initiated the restoration of Fort Henry in Kingston. This huge structure, begun in 1829 and completed in 1842 was an important link in the British defensive network in North America and was known as the Citadel of Upper Canada. Although it saw some use during the Rebellion of 1837 the fort was obsolete soon after it was built and following the withdrawal of the British garrison it became derelict. Well built of dressed stone, it remained largely intact as a well-known local landmark. All that was needed was some landscaping and repair to its masonry. Such a labour intensive project appealed to the federal government which, independent of its national parks branch, was prepared to support the endeavour. The work was probably directed by people experienced in the Niagara Parks Commission historic projects. Ronald Way, the historian responsible for much of the research on Fort George, was also employed to find the original plans of Fort Henry. He subsequently commented that "[c]areful research and painstaking workmanship were combined to produce results which professional historians concede to be as accurate as any

54 Ronald Way, however, maintained that it was the Niagara Parks Commission interest "in the early preservation of national history, more than considerations of scenic beauty, which underlay the acquisition of park areas at Queenston, Fort Erie, Lundy's Lane and Niagara-on-the-Lake." Ibid., p. 241.

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
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(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

similar achievement in North American."⁵⁵ The restorations went beyond repairing walls and roofs; interiors were refurbished and furnished with period reproductions and historic artifacts. During the summer months the fort was animated by students dressed in the uniform of British imperial troops of the period and called the Fort Henry Guard. The fort was opened in 1938, in time for the Kingston Centenary.

These developments demonstrate that the heritage movement in Canada was significantly different in the 1930s from what it had been before the war. Preservation and heritage development had a greater public profile than commemoration which was no longer viewed with quite the interest that it once was. Unfortunately for the federal heritage program, this new voice was not represented on the board. Although Webster remained committed to preservation in the Maritimes, he was only committed to specific projects in his immediate region and in these matters he had learned to work around rather than through the board. This lack of representation of the new heritage interests is reflected in the unsympathetic response of the board to their proposals.

While these changes were occurring to the heritage movement, altering the milieu within which the Historic Sites and Monuments Board worked, the circumstances surrounding the operations of the parks branch underwent a dramatic change with the onset of the depression. These circumstances also affected the outlook of the board as they influenced the direction and the speed of the government's heritage program.

While the board members were prepared to act on a number of requests from local societies and individuals for the commemoration of historic sites it consistently rejected proposals for it to become involved in the preservation of buildings. In 1933 it re-iterated its policy of not commemorating old houses for their architectural merit.⁵⁶ And, while

55 Ronald L. Way, "Old Fort Henry the citadel of Upper Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (April 1950), p. 164.

56 HSMBC, minutes, 27 May 1933.

it was willing to recommend the erection of a plaque to commemorate the former home of Alexander Graham Bell in Brantford, Ontario, the board ignored the request from a citizen's committee for the government to provide an annual subsidy for the upkeep of the property.⁵⁷ Regularly through the 1930s both the board and the branch turned deaf ears to a number of similar requests.

While this policy reflected the board's awareness of the limited funds available for preservation and the fear that acceding to one worthy request would invite an avalanche of others, it also reflected the lack of concern on the part of most members for preservation. Following the opening in 1933 of colonial Williamsburg, the restored Virginia townsite funded by the Carnegie endowment, Harkin was intrigued enough to canvas the board members to see if they favoured the undertaking of similar projects in Canada. Harvey's comments were probably a relatively mild response. "In reply ... I may say that whilst I was very much interested in the account of what was being done there, I cannot but feel that it is a case of misdirected energy and extravagance in the name of historical romanticism. It seems to me that we can spend our money more wisely in the preservation of actual historic sites, and in making museums from historical spots than by tearing up modern streets and houses in order to reproduce the atmosphere of bygone days."⁵⁸ Cruikshank did not even favour the establishment of museums. Arguing against the restoration of Fort Malden in 1935, he said: "[a]s you are aware, my opinion is that the creation of small local museums at more or less out-of-the-way points, which have certain historic interest, is a mistake, and to a certain extent a waste of public money."⁵⁹ Webster, on the other hand, while being generally in favour of restoration, museums and historical reconstruction, showed little interest in projects beyond his domain.

57 HSMBC, minutes, 29 May 1934.

58 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1174, HS General, pt. 8, D.C. Harvey to J.B. Harkin, 15 March 1934.

59 Cited in David McConnell, "E.A. Cruikshank, his life and work", M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 92.

The members of the board, then, had some well-defined and reasoned opinions on heritage development and preservation. But because the board as a whole remained aloof from this side of the program, its views had little affect on overall policy. Instead, the branch was left to develop policy on its own, but during this period its own organizational weakness mitigated the formulation of a clear and consistent policy. And such a policy was necessary because the 1930s brought new opportunities for the preservation side of the historic sites program.

Ironically the Depression provided greater opportunity for preservation projects because while the government initially reduced departmental expenditures it soon compensated by introducing relief measures in the form of public works spending. The nature of the operations of the parks branch allowed it to become a major participant in these projects. In his examination of federal government welfare policy during the depression, James Struthers has described the central role played by Andrew McNaughton's relief camps, organized under the auspices of the Department of National Defence in 1932. The objective of the camps was to provide unskilled work in areas of federal responsibility. Work on or around military fortifications was therefore an obvious project and McNaughton proposed restoration work on the citadels at Halifax and Quebec as well as clearing along the route of the proposed Trans-Canada airway.⁶⁰ Camps were formed to carry out these projects by the end of the year which were initially limited to 2,000 men. Yet it is not generally known that the parks branch also embarked on projects as part of the same policy to give employment to able bodied men. During the fiscal year 1931-32 the branch received special appropriations of \$875,000 for relief projects in national parks.⁶¹ Most of this activity involved road building in the Rocky Mountain parks, but as McNaughton came to regard the restoration of historic fortresses as

60 James Struthers, No Fault of their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 82.

61. Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1932, "Report of the Commissioner of National Parks", p. 91.

suitable projects, so too did Harkin. In this new climate preservation projects previously disregarded by ministers and senior department officials as being too costly were now being reconsidered in another light. Here at last was the opportunity to effect a meaningful policy of preservation. And here, too, was a chance for the board to broaden the scope of its activity,

Lacking a clear policy on preservation, but with money to spend, the branch was susceptible to the well-defined objectives of local enthusiasts. During the 1920s the role of the branch had been largely one of merely restraining these enthusiasms in light of budgetary limitations. The scope of possible preservation was therefore narrowly defined. Although the branch was guided by the views of McLennan, Fortier and Webster, it could only undertake minimal development. In 1931 it seemed as if even this small capability would be curtailed, lessening the scale of already modest plans. But public works relief money being made available after 1932 gradually began to affect the capacity of the branch to undertake more costly heritage projects. A difficulty lay in the lack of direction and expertise at the centre. The ideas for restoration largely rested with peripheral groups. The board, which should have been at the centre of this activity, chose not to become involved. Too big to be undertaken by Bryan's small historic sites section, preservation work became the concern of the engineering division and other government departments. Thus, although greatly expanded, preservation work in the 1930s was characterized by a lack of focus and clear policy.

At Louisbourg, the engineer seconded from the engineering division came under the watchful surveillance of the local committee. Crowe remarked to Webster that the engineer had made gun carriages of stone to hold two cannons situated in front of the temporary museum. "The whole thing is incongruous, and is remarked on by visitors who have knowledge of such things. A naval gun carriage should have been made. I remonstrated with Roberts, the Engineer then in charge of the works, but without results. He said he knew nothing about naval carriages. A half hour's

search in the Parliamentary Library or at the Defence Department would have procured the exact specifications."⁶² With little expertise emanating from Ottawa, these men undertook to keep development historically authentic. They also undertook to promote the site as a tourist attraction and during 1933 Crowe and McLennan were busy planning the publication of a guide book.⁶³ The centrepiece of the Louisbourg development in this period, however, was the museum and responsibility for its construction was largely removed from the branch.

The Louisbourg committee had long complained about the temporary museum which they said was a firetrap but the branch had been unable to obtain the authority to construct a new building. Then in 1932 Webster thought that he could obtain funds from the Carnegie Foundation for museum buildings at Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour and subsequently urged the branch to submit proposals. Although nothing came of the Carnegie proposal, the passage of the Public Works Construction Act (1934) and the commitment of Bennett's government to relief projects made the construction of these buildings a viable project. Plans were prepared by W.D. Cromarty of the architectural division and construction carried out under the supervision of the Department of Public Works during the summer of 1935. The same design was used for the museum building at Fort Beauséjour which was put up at the same time. The Louisbourg museum came under the personal control of the McLennan family. Katherine McLennan, the senator's daughter was appointed honorary curator and many pieces on display were from McLennan's own collection. Similarly Webster took charge of the Fort Beauséjour museum, personally selecting and acquiring artifacts for display there.

Elsewhere in the Maritimes the Relief Act of 1934 enabled the reconstruction of the officers' quarters at Fort Anne for the museum

62 New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, drawer no. 1, W. Crowe to J.C. Webster, 8 Nov. 1933.

63 Ibid., W. Crowe to Sen. McLennan, April 1933.

organized by the superintendent, L.M. Fortier.⁶⁴ In Halifax the Department of National Defence undertook the restoration of the Prince of Wales Martello Tower, acquired as a national historic site in the 1920s.⁶⁵ The campaign to have the government construct a replica of the Port Royal Habitation was resurrected in 1934 by Mrs. Richardson and Dr. Webster. This time the minister seemed sympathetic to the proposal. He recommended setting aside funds for the project and in June 1935 asked the parks branch to prepare detailed plans and estimates.⁶⁶ The board was deliberately excluded from this venture and Harkin advised his superiors that "[a]ny action on the lines suggested by Dr. Webster I think would have to be taken by the Department independent and distinct from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board because the Board has already marked this site and does not commit itself to reconstruct."⁶⁷ It was Webster who asked to make the presentation to cabinet and in August had received widespread support. But there were other difficulties besides the diffidence of the board, which precluded government action. Most of the necessary real estate was owned by an unsympathetic farmer who wanted to sell rather than donate the property and at this point the government seemed reluctant to spend money on real estate. Then, with the calling of the general election the whole project was allowed to drop.

In Quebec, branch spending on heritage development was largely determined by the enthusiastic curator of Fort Chambly. He and his predecessors had worked for a number of years building up the site, not as an example of military life, but as a centre of traditional Québécois culture. The branch had not interfered with this line of interpretation and in 1928 had agreed to build a museum within the fort's walls to help

64 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1935, "Report of the Commissioner of National Parks", p. 101.

65 Canada. Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1936, "Report of the Commissioner of National Parks", p. 93.

66 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1805, PR 2, pt. 2 R.A. Gibson to J.B. Harkin, 18 June 1935.

67 Ibid., J.B. Harkin to R.A. Gibson, 11 June 1935.

develop this function. Lack of funds postponed the implementation of this scheme until 1934 when plans were prepared by the Department of Public Works and the building erected using funds from the 1934 construction act. To help the curator better develop his collection of French Canadian folk art, the parks branch obtained the secondment of Marius Barbeau, a leading expert on the subject, from the national museum in Ottawa.⁶⁸

In Manitoba the initiative came from the provincial government which urged the restoration of Prince of Wales' Fort. In 1930, with the near completion of the Hudson Bay Railway and the townsite of Churchill, the Manitoba government sought to develop tourism in the area. As the fort was a major potential attraction, it applied pressure on Ottawa to develop the site for visitors. Consequently in the fall of 1931 the Minister of the Interior asked Harkin to prepare plans and estimates for the rehabilitation of the ruined fort. These were subsequently provided by the engineer of the Department of Railways and Canals resident at Churchill but the estimated cost of \$20,000 discouraged immediate action.⁶⁹ Continuing political pressure and money made available through the Public Works Construction Act combined to make the plan feasible and between 1935 and 1937 rudimentary restoration was carried out to turn the ruin into a tourist attraction. The walls were built up and given a concrete cap, the gateway was refashioned using cement scored and coloured to resemble ashlar and the spiked guns were salvaged and placed on new carriages. This work was carried out under the supervision of the resident engineer of the Department of Railways and Canals who established a camp of seventeen men plus a cookhouse for the summer

68 Pierre Thibodeau, "La conservation du Fort Chambly, 1850-1940", Parcs Canada, Travail inédit No. 377, 1979, p. 41.

69 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1130, PPW 2, pt. 4, H.H. Rowatt to J.B. Harkin, 26 Nov. 1931.

season to expedite the work.⁷⁰ His results met with widespread approval.

In British Columbia the Fort Langley building, which was the only other structure preserved by the branch west of Manitoba, was being operated as a museum by the Native Sons of B.C. Urgently needed repairs were carried out using funds from the Public Works Construction Act and a supplementary act passed in 1935. The wall was rebuilt, "the new timbers being framed and scored with a broad axe to resemble the original as much as possible."⁷¹ Another wall was extensively reconstructed using salvaged material, the walls were reinforced with iron tie rods and the whole building placed on concrete piers. The old Hudson's Bay Company building remained in this condition until 1958 when it was incorporated into a large reconstruction project launched to coincide with the province's centennial celebrations.

These developments attracted favourable publicity to the federal historic sites program. Restoration projects at Louisbourg, Beauséjour, Fort Anne, Fort Chambly, Churchill and Fort Langley raised the profile of historic sites within the branch as well. After years of struggle to get government commitment to a preservation program, the coffers had at last been opened. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board, too, had realized long held goals in this period as many of its members acknowledged that much of the original list had been commemorated. It had some success in broadening its criteria and managed to agree on a secondary program of commemorations. Ironically, increased activity in this period was marked by a corresponding decline in the influence of the board and the branch. The board, especially, missed an important oppor-

70 Ibid., FPW 2, pt. 5, George Kydd [resident engineer, Dept. of Railways and canals, Churchill], undated memorandum, "Reconstruction of Fort Prince of Wales". Kydd's men used a dragline, a Holt tractor, a concrete mixer and wagons to facilitate their work.

71 National Parks Branch, Department of the Interior, "Preserving Canada's Historic Past", in Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1936, p. 119.

tunity to influence preservation policy. These tendencies continued in the ensuing years. Although the board would still be identified with the whole historic sites program, it would confine itself to designating and commemorating historic sites. Preservation rested with the parks bureau which underwent a major reorganization in 1936.

CHAPTER 5: MANNA FROM HEAVEN, 1936-1950

The historic sites program developed rapidly after 1936 as a number of significant changes happened in quick succession. The Department of the Interior was disbanded and its responsibilities transferred to a new department. The parks service lost its branch status and James Harkin, who had guided much of the early parks policy, was given early retirement. But soon after this reorganization the historic sites program began to receive unprecedented attention from the government as the significance of historic sites developments to political spending became increasingly evident. In the two years prior to the outbreak of war spending on heritage projects reached a level that rivalled spending during the entire previous decade. While local enthusiasts continued to play an important role in determining the way in which sites such as the Port Royal Habitation and Fort Malden were developed, the administration of the historic sites program came under stronger central control when it was merged with the former architectural division under the direction of W.D. Cromarty. In implementing its large heritage projects, the parks service commissioned experts such as ethnologist Marius Barbeau and landscape architect F.G. Todd to act as consultants and so established a greater presence in the field of heritage conservation than ever before.

Throughout this period of intense activity in the area of historic site development, the board maintained its customary low profile. Alienated from this area of the program by past practice, it continued to be dominated by the preferences of General Cruikshank until his death in 1939. New appointments to the board made in 1938 and 1944 tended to encourage the concentration of the board on commemoration rather than preservation. New directions were further curtailed with the suspension of the board's activities because of the war until 1943. By this time the department had made a number of important decisions regarding its approach to heritage conservation, an approach that largely ignored the views of the board. This exclusion of the board from the planning process removed an important source of technical advice and encouraged a

rather unbalanced treatment of historic sites. Historical accuracy was sometimes sacrificed for aesthetically pleasing projects which, while appealing to local enthusiasts and politicians, occasionally ran counter to principles of historic conservation.

For its part, the board concentrated on problems of commemoration, endeavouring to enlarge the thematic and geographical range of its monuments. Although it made a significant advance in this direction with the implementation of a program of secondary markers, its designation of primary historic sites was still hobbled by uncertainty and disagreement over the application of the criterion of national significance. And, although the board paid increasing attention to newer themes of Canadian history, the canon of national historic sites was still dominated by traditional categories of military events and exploration at the end of this period.

I A New Era for Preservation

During the early 1930s the parks branch had fared only moderately well under the administration of the Bennett government. Its home, the Department of the Interior, had lost considerable power and prestige following the transfer of western resources to the provinces and with the deepening of the Depression the work of the parks branch lost some of its relevance. This loss of prestige on the part of the branch was aggravated by a waning of Harkin's personal influence with the government. Recruited into the civil service by Clifford Sifton, he was a known Liberal placeman, and although he had established a solid reputation as a conservation expert and had got on well with Arthur Meighen during the Borden regime, he was regarded warily by the new Conservative government of 1930 which, after years in the political wilderness, suspected Liberal influence behind every bureaucrat.¹ Consequently, despite Harkin's record in developing the parks branch-

¹ According to W.F. Lothian, who served in the parks bureau through the 1930s, Bennett regularly telephoned Harkin to request his resignation. Personal communication, 14 Aug. 1985.

into an important conservation agency, he was passed over for promotion by the Bennett government and never rose to assistant deputy minister. In such a milieu Harkin would have had even less influence with the Minister of the Interior than during the previous regime.

The prestige of the parks service and its commissioner seemed to plummet after the election of 1935. With bureaucratic efficiency as one of its central concerns, the new King administration combined four departments - Interior, Mines, Immigration and Colonization and Indian Affairs - into a single Department of Mines and Resources with Thomas A. Crerar as its minister. The new department was organized into five main branches: mines and geology; lands, parks and forestry; surveys and engineering; and Indian Affairs and immigration. Within this scheme parks assumed an even lower profile than in the Department of the Interior, buried in a polyglot branch with three disparate bureaus: Northwest Territories and Yukon affairs, land registry, and the Dominion Forest Service (see Appendix IV). It had not only lost its branch status but its dynamic engineering division had been taken away to form the basis of a separate surveys and engineering branch. The former chief engineer of the division now outranked the head of the national parks bureau. With such a large re-organization there were too many senior officials vying for too few positions. The former assistant deputy minister of the Interior, R.A. Gibson, was made director of the lands, parks and forestry branch. Harkin was offered the position of controller of the national parks bureau, which would have meant a reduction in rank.² Instead he chose early retirement and left the public service in 1936 at the age of 61. So ended an era in the history of Canada's national parks, the conservation movement and the historic sites program.

But things were not as bad as they seemed for the parks service and its historic sites program and the situation actually began to improve after 1936. For one thing the new actors on the stage expressed a welcome interest in historic sites. Crerar seems to have been personally

² W.F. Lothian, A History of Canada's National Parks, vol. II (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), p. 18.

interested in the subject. He visited the important heritage projects in the east and was the first minister to attend a meeting of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.³ Unlike ministers of the Interior, Crerar regarded the whole of Canada, not just the west, as his domain and under his administration the parks bureau began to pay attention to the east in a way that it had not done before. As historic sites were considered to be an important eastern resource, this shift in emphasis would benefit the historic sites program.

The program also benefited from an internal re-organization following the move of the parks service to the Department of Mines and Resources. During the early 1930s the historic sites program had suffered from the lack of a strong administration. But in 1936 Williamson assigned the program to W.D. Cromarty, the bureau's chief architect. Williamson had been with the parks branch since before the war and as Harkin's principal lieutenant had a detailed knowledge of the various facets of the parks mandate including historic sites. He continued to remain involved in major decisions and took Harkin's place on the board but increasingly it was Cromarty who took charge of historic sites matters.⁴ This responsibility increased following Williamson's death in 1941. His successor James Smart chose not to sit on the board and Cromarty as secretary formed the sole liaison between the board and the department.

After a long association with the national parks service as an architect and planner, Cromarty had some well-formed views about historic site

3 At this meeting Crerar said: "A country which forgets its history, which loses sight of the actors on the stage of the historic past, it seems to me is a country which is fast approaching the point where decay sets in. It is perhaps with this point of view in mind that I have been so very much impressed with the value of the Board's undertakings." HSMBC, minutes, 24 May 1944.

4 Williamson was the only official formally attached to the board but it is evident that Cromarty acted in the capacity of assistant secretary until his formal elevation to secretary in 1943. Howay noted at this time, "Mr. Cromarty has been so long associated with our work in a clerical capacity that I had almost forgotten his advancement", HSMBC, minutes, 19 May 1943.

development. Trained in England, he had immigrated to Canada in 1912 where after a stint in private practice in B.C. he joined the department of architecture at the University of Alberta and was for a short spell a colleague of Ramsay Traquair prior to the latter's move to McGill. He joined the parks branch in 1921 being assigned to the town planning division where he became an associate of Thomas Adams.⁵ The town planning division had been instrumental in establishing a distinctive park architecture, one that was intended to convey a federal message while enhancing rather than distracting from the natural scenery. Harkin once wrote that "I feel that everything our engineers construct in the Parks should be dominated by the spirit of beauty."⁶ and it was the job of Cromarty to see that this object was achieved. An example of his work was the upper hot springs bath house designed for Banff in 1932. With roughly hewn stone, a steeply pitched roof and half timbered dormer, the building achieved a certain rustic elegance not unlike an English country house from the same period. A parking lot was artfully concealed so that the facilities were convenient for the motorist yet the grounds were not disfigured by their modern conveyances.⁷

This approach to parks development helped determine Cromarty's perspective on historic sites improvement. He believed, like Thomas Adams, that proper landscaping was an important aspect of heritage development and that preservation meant encapsulating historic ruins in a park setting. He also believed that improvements should reflect the antique flavour of the site while not necessarily reproducing original buildings. It was Cromarty, for example, who had designed the museums at Louisbourg and Beausejour which were vaguely described as being in the French Chateau style. With Cromarty in charge, the visual or aesthetic approach to heritage development had a strong advocate.

5 Jacqueline Adell, "Upper Hot Springs Bathhouse, Banff National Park, Alberta", unpublished manuscript, Parks Canada, Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office, Building Report 84-54, 1984.

6 J.B. Harkin, The History and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada, p. 13.

7 Jacqueline Adell, ibid.

The interest of the minister, the concern of Williamson and the experience of Cromarty were all important factors in shaping a federal heritage policy. But a policy was nothing without money and the historic sites program has been crippled through a lack of financial commitment. This situation changed with the advent of Crerar who soon emerged in King's cabinet as an advocate of larger departmental expenditures.⁸ As a result the parks budget for the fiscal year 1936-37 actually increased over that of the previous year when it had branch status. With the exception of the war years it increased steadily after that and whereas spending for 1936 had been about one and one half million dollars, the budget for the fiscal year 1949-50 was over ten million dollars.⁹ During this period the parks bureau finally managed to extend its natural parks program into the Maritimes, acquiring Cape Breton Highlands National Park in 1936 and Prince Edward Island National Park in 1937. The budget of the historic sites program increased proportionally. Whereas in 1935-36 spending on historic sites had amounted to \$27,000, by the fiscal year 1949-50 Cromarty's operational expenses amounted to almost one million dollars.

But the most dramatic turn of events came in June 1938 with the announcement of the federal budget. Although King and his Minister of Finance Charles Dunning were firm believers in a balanced budget and therefore sought to reduce spending, a deepening of the depression in 1937 invited drastic measures. The increasing popularity of the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes which argued for deficit spending as a mean of stimulating economic growth coupled with the recent announcement of Roosevelt's programs of massive public spending provided ammunition for the younger members of cabinet who argued for greater government intervention in the economy of the country. Further impetus for a new fiscal policy came from the report of the National

8 In the cabinet discussions preceding the 1936 budget, for example, Crerar argued for tax exemptions to stimulate the mining industry. H. Blair Neatby, William Lyon Mackenzie King, vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 163.

9 Canada. Auditor General, Annual Report, 1936. Ibid., 1950.

Employment Commission tabled in April which argued that federal make work projects were preferable to direct relief and identified the construction and tourist industries as areas in which the government could expand its activity.¹⁰ Gradually the new wave in the cabinet, of which Crerar was a central figure, prevailed and the 1938 budget was governed by a new set of criteria which placed greater emphasis on spending than restraint in order to encourage economic recovery. Key to this new policy was the national recovery program which provided fifty million dollars for depression relief projects.¹¹ The national parks bureau got two million dollars of this appropriation of which \$90,000 was designated for historic sites. A further \$65,000 was allocated for heritage development by a special vote the following year (see Appendix V).

This money far exceeded anything that had been allocated to historic sites in previous years. Plans that had long been in the works to further develop places like Louisbourg, Fort Beauséjour, Fort Chambly and Fort Wellington were now rushed to completion. At Fort Beauséjour the museum was extended and a caretaker's residence completed at a cost of \$20,000 while at Fort Chambly a long needed retaining wall to prevent further erosion of the river bank was built at a cost of \$11,000. Three completely new developments were inaugurated: The Port Royal Habitation near Annapolis Royal, the Sir Wilfrid Laurier House in St. Lin, Quebec, and Fort Malden in Amherstburg, Ontario. In addition large sums of money were allocated for the restoration of the Halifax Citadel and the old walls of Quebec City, this work to be carried out under the supervision of the Department of National Defence. But it was the three new heritage projects carried out by the parks service that marked a new departure for the heritage program. For the first time the government seemed willing to spend money to purchase private property for public use and agreed to relatively elaborate development schemes. And,

10 H. Blair Neatby, William Lyon Mackenzie King, vol. 3, pp. 250-255.

11 Neatby argues that this budget represented a significant break in previous government thinking and marked the introduction of Keynesian fiscal policy. Ibid., pp. 256-57.

although large sums had also been spent on Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour, these projects had developed over a number of years while the new schemes were implemented in a matter of months. So, although the government's new interest in heritage development was welcome, the haste in which some of the projects were carried out would cause problems for the future.

During this new phase of heritage development the board remained aloof. Partly this reflected its long history of disinterest in projects of this kind. Of the members only Webster seemed especially devoted to preservation issues and he had long ago come to rely on personal initiative rather than speaking through the board in dealing with these interests. Moreover, by 1938 parks officials had no desire to complicate the allocation of their historic sites appropriation by involving the board. Gibson, the branch director, asked Williamson, the controller of national parks, whether or not the board should be consulted about the spending of the special appropriation. His answer was a rather dispassionate view of the relations between the bureaucracy and the board. He pointed out that his officials had been embarrassed by embarking on heritage initiatives and then seeking the approval of the board after the fact. Better, he suggested, not to seek the approval of the board at all and proceed as they had planned.

I think as far as we could go, in view of the circumstances outlined, is to obtain the co-operation, by way of advice, of individual members of the Board in a case in which he is particularly interested. Such a member would then be acting in his individual capacity and the Department would receive the benefit of his historic knowledge as an individual.

This may be illustrated in the cases of the Halifax Citadel in which Professor Harvey is particularly interested and has the historic knowledge and the local colour of which I think the government might take advantage.

Dr. Webster has been particularly anxious to have Champlain's Habitation restored and I think that we might avail ourselves of his knowledge also in this connection.

I do not recommend that the Historic Sites Board be consulted in any of these works to be undertaken under Supplementary Vote this year beyond this proposed individual consultation.¹²

This statement recognized what was already latent in the attitude of the board. But the infusion of extraordinary funds had changed the rules of the game and the board was not even going to be invited to participate.

What did the board members think of this situation? Evidence suggests that they were happy to keep the board apart from what they considered to be political decision making. Howay wrote Cruikshank about the special appropriation in 1938 agreeing that they should have nothing to do with it. "We are going to be loaded down - I mean that Canada is - with little fiddling parochial museums in every place that has a M.P., who has the Government's ear or is equipped with great persistency."¹³ The other members seem to have complacently accepted the inevitability of government interference and kept their heads down.

Other groups more concerned with preservation issues were caught unaware by the 1938 initiatives. Such was the case with the promoters of the reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation. The Annapolis Royal Historical Association and the Associates of Port Royal had long been lobbying Ottawa to undertake the development but, although they continued their efforts, by 1938 they had grown disillusioned about the possibility of a quick decision and were actively pursuing other avenues to achieve their goal. They approached the Nova Scotia government to sponsor the project, stepped up a fund-raising campaign, and in 1937 acquired a small plot of land believed to be the site of Champlain's.

12 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1174, HS General, pt. 9, F.H.H. Williamson to R.A. Gibson, 11 June 1938.

13 University of British Columbia, The Library, Special Collections Division, F.W. Howay Papers, Box 9, F.W. Howay to E.A. Cruikshank, 18 Dec. 1938.

garden.¹⁴ It was therefore something of a surprise when in June 1938 Crerar announced that \$60,000 had been allocated for the development of the Halifax Citadel and the Port Royal Habitation, the amount to be divided equally between the two projects.¹⁵

But it was inevitable that the local enthusiasts would become involved in the implementation of the project. Although the government appropriation reflected the estimates prepared by the Surveys and Engineering Branch, the location of the original buildings, the plans and specifications were based on research provided by Harriet Taber Richardson and C.W. Jefferys. The aid of the local historical association was enlisted to acquire the property. Unwilling to wait for the funds to become available and the necessary order-in-council to be drafted, the department arranged to have the local group purchase the property using funds made available by the provincial government. Then, when the necessary papers were ready the key lot plus the site of the garden were purchased from the Annapolis Royal Historical Association:

In proceeding with the reconstruction of the habitation there seemed to be general consensus between the local enthusiasts, and officials and politicians that a full scale replica on the site of the original structure would be a good thing. It would not only be educational, illustrating daily life in an early European settlement in North America, but it would draw tourists as well. Yet there was one small fly in this ointment of good feeling: the Historic Sites and Monuments

14 Charles W. Jefferys, "The Reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation of 1605-13," Canadian Historical Review, XX, 4 (Dec. 1939), pp. 370-71. Barbara Schmeisser, "Port Royal Habitation, 1928-1938, a case study in the preservation movement", unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, May 1985.

15 Jefferys suggest that the sudden decision stemmed from the fact that the key piece of real estate came to the market. But the parks service had already established the price of the property in 1935 and could have presumably expropriated the property if it had had a commitment of funds. PAC, RG 84, vol. 1805, PR 2, pt. 2, K.D. Harris to J.B. Harkin, 24 June 1935.

Board. In 1934 it had been asked to give an opinion on the project to which "It was agreed that no action by the Board should be taken with regard to the proposal ... to erect a replica of the French stronghold built by Champlain in 1605."¹⁶ Despite the enthusiasm of Webster and later Surveyer, the others were resolutely opposed to the idea. Cruikshank seemed to summarize the position of the majority when he wrote: "in my opinion these attempts to reconstruct buildings which have entirely disappeared and are only known from vague descriptions or plans of doubtful authenticity with modern materials and workmen of the present time are absurd and a mere waste of money."¹⁷

These reservations about reconstruction being ahistorical did not merely reflect an aversion to heritage development, they represented a particular perspective toward conservation of historic property. Heritage development involves contradictory aims of enhancing the site so that it can be enjoyed and understood by the public while preserving its historical integrity. The aim of preservation is to keep the site in its original state, unspoiled by modern encroachments and protected from further natural deterioration. Yet in order to aid the public's appreciation of historic remains, some intervention is usually necessary. Roads and fences need to be built and museums or interpretive centres to introduce the development. Often the structures themselves are altered to enhance their historical interest. Buildings that have fallen down or have undergone alteration in subsequent historic periods invite treatment to restore their appearance to that of a bygone age. What treatment is selected depends on a number of factors. There are fashions in restoration philosophy just as there are in other sciences. In the late nineteenth century Ruskin's dictum that any restoration was destructive had considerable influence. Later American trends toward historical reconstruction, culminating in the replication of colonial Williamsburg in the 1930s represented another pole of

16 HSMBC, minutes, 28 May 1934.

17 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1805, file PR 2, pt. 2, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 17 Oct. 1936.

restoration philosophy. Today restoration is considered to be acceptable so long as replicated elements are distinguished from the original structure. Total reconstruction is not considered to be preservation.¹⁸

Despite its limited means, the parks service had had some considerable experience with preservation techniques. Although influenced by the views of the town planner that modern restoration was to be avoided, it had countenanced some minimal intervention, as at Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour, to rebuild fallen walls and excavate filled in trenches. This process was taken a step further at Fort Prince of Wales where a missing element, the gateway, was reconstructed with modern materials to provide a sense of structural unity to the fortification. Even the board approved of these preservation efforts and, although modern restoration architects might not give their imprimatur, they were not destructive in any real sense.

Total reconstruction was just carrying this process a stage further, yet at this point ideals of preservation had been left far behind in an effort to interpret an historic site. While it may have enhanced the interpretation of the site, the building of a modern structure contravened a basic aim of preservation. Any original remains would be lost forever. Although not widely held at the time, that reconstruction was contrary to preservation was a principle in which the board strongly believed. Unfortunately the board was alienated from the preservation part of the heritage program and so an important point of view was ignored.

18 UNESCO, "International charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites", Venice 1966. Article 15 reads in part: "Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning. All reconstruction work should however be ruled out a priori. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted."

This is not to say that the local enthusiasts and federal officials were not concerned with authenticity. They were. Mrs. Richardson, C.W. Jefferys and others had done painstaking research to get their facts right.¹⁹ Colonel E.K. Eaton, who had succeeded L.M. Fortier as superintendent of Fort Anne, asked Dr. C.T. Currelly, an archaeologist with the Royal Ontario Museum, to act as consultant to the project. Although Currelly agreed, delays in beginning the excavation prevented him from becoming involved so one of the Associates of Port Royal, a Professor Pond of Harvard University, proposed C. Coatsworth Pinkney to undertake the archaeology of the site.²⁰ Pinkney was a landscape architect who had restoration experience from Mount Vernon and Williamsburg and some knowledge of modern archaeological methods. As the American Associates offered to pay his salary, Ottawa readily agreed to his involvement. Pinkney started work in October 1938, sifting the soil on the site to a depth of twenty-one inches, uncovering old foundations and gathering artifacts. His findings helped the architect determine the exact dimensions and location of some of the buildings.

The architect in charge was K.D. Harris, from the surveys and mapping branch, who had previously worked on the restoration of Fort Anne. Harris was assisted by C.W. Jefferys who had prepared plans and elevations based on drawings in Champlain's narrative. Further details were obtained from a French architect, expert on old buildings of Normandy and Picardy, and Ramsay Traquair who provided information on building techniques in New France. Work carried out by local craftsmen during 1939 attempted to simulate an antique appearance: timbers were finished

19 "The sources of information regarding the Habitation are the engravings in the works of Champlain and Lescarbot, the text of these contemporary writers, and some letters in the Jesuit Relations. To these should be added the illuminating comments of Dr. Ganong on the maps of Champlain, based on his intimate local knowledge; and the researches of Mrs. Harriette Taber Richardson, an American lady, who since 1923 has spent her summers in the neighbourhood, and who has made an intensive study of the source documents, and a continued and detailed exploration of the site and the surrounding country." Charles W. Jefferys, ibid., p. 370

20 Barbara Schmeisser, ibid.

by hand and stone dressed to look suitably weathered. During the 1940s about forty pieces of furniture were made at the Acadia Forest Experiment Station to designs prepared by Jefferys and placed in various rooms of the Habitation.²¹ Apparently Marius Barbeau of the national museum was also commissioned to furnish pieces for the interior and to draw plans for the interior design of the chapel.²² Cromarty tried to ensure that all pieces were of the proper period.

Despite this commitment to authenticity, problems emerged in creating an exact copy. Champlain's illustration did not depict all of the buildings and the appearance of some were based on conjecture. The planners had only vague notions about the original construction methods. They assumed, for example, that the walls of the buildings had been pièce sur pièce, that is with vertical timbers placed on a horizontal sill. Recently, however, it has been suggested that a more likely method was colombage, where the vertical timbers were spaced and the gaps filled with wattle or stone.²³ The planners also overlooked details in replicating building materials. A plaque erected over the entrance, for example, not only depicted the wrong Coat of Arms for the de Monts family, but was fashioned from plywood.²⁴

Problems also arose in the interior reconstruction. Although the participation of Jefferys and Barbeau ensured a high level of authenticity, the banquet room, the famous setting for the Order of Good Cheer, became the exclusive preserve of the Annapolis Royal Historical Society whose enthusiasm sometimes glossed over obvious anachronisms. A museum planned by the local group tended to be eclectic rather than focussed on the history of the site. These transgressions attracted the ire of

21 Canada. Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, 1944, p. 87.

22 Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, Archives section, Webster Manuscript Collection, E-F Surveyer to J.C. Webster, 15 Oct. 1940.

23 Barbara Schmeisser, ibid.

24 The plaque has since been removed. Barbara Schmeisser, ibid.

Harvey who got more involved as Webster became more frail. Writing to Webster in 1947 he complained "[a]s you know, I agree absolutely that something must be done to guide, if not control, the egotistical efforts of Eaton and Merkel, neither of whom has as much concern for historical accuracy as for personal publicity."²⁵ These concerns led to Harvey's participation on a management committee along with Harris and Cromarty to maintain proper standards. And, despite these occasional lapses, there was general consensus that the reconstruction provided a meaningful educational experience about early Canadian life and architecture.

More serious problems arose later, however, when subsequent investigations failed to confirm that the habitation was in fact on the original site. Archaeological investigations conducted in the mid 1960s raised some doubts about the authenticity of the site. Moreover it was realized that the original excavations had possibly destroyed important clues. In the words of the staff archaeologist: "As far as I have been able to determine, there is no full report on the excavations. We have the artifacts, some photographs and some generally uninformative progress reports. In short we have nothing which could be construed as an archaeological report in terms of present day standards ... My tentative conclusion is that Pinckney [sic] did not excavate the Habitation. Rather I believe that he assumed that he was digging on the correct site and simply interpreted everything he found as belonging on the Habitation".²⁶ The Habitation was one of the showpieces of the historic park system and helped pave the way for more elaborate developments in the future. But preservation it was not.

Principles of heritage conservation were likewise compromised in the development of the birthplace of Wilfrid Laurier in St. Lin des Laurentides, Quebec. A monument had been erected in St. Lin by the parks branch in 1927 following the initiatives of the National Committee

25 Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, D.C. Harvey to J.C. Webster, 25 Sept. 1946.

26 John Rick to D.C. Smith, 15 Sept. 1967. Cited in Barbara Schmeisser; ibid.

for the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. The plaque was sponsored not by the board but by the National Committee, which seems to have had quasi-official status, and which also recommended commemorating the site of John A. Macdonald's grave in Kingston. Nonetheless, both sites came to be regarded as bona fide national historic sites. Although another plaque had been erected across the street from Laurier's birth place in 1925, no effort was made to identify any particular house associated with Laurier's birth and no further action seemed necessary.

Then in 1934 a Montrealer named Arthur Christin purchased a house in St. Lin which he claimed to be the birthplace of the former prime minister. Following the election of the Liberal government the next year, high level recommendations were made to acquire the house for development as a national shrine and in 1937 Crerar directed the parks branch to report on the building's potential. The Chief Inspector of parks, James Smart, visited the house in September and noted that "[t]he building appeared in good repair, but is not a very imposing structure."²⁷ At the same time the department moved to acquire the property.²⁸

The board was not consulted about the site until November when Williamson telephoned the members to ask if they would object to the property being developed as a national historic site.²⁹ Although they unanimously agreed, none took any particular notice of the project.³⁰

27 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1931, file SWL 2, pt. 2, J.A. Smart to R.A. Gibson, 23 Sept. 1937.

28 Ibid., Charles Camsell, Deputy Minister, Department of Mines and Resources, to W. Stewart Edward, Deputy Minister of Justice, 18 Aug. 1937, asked how the property could be appropriated.

29 Ibid., F.H.H. Williamson to E-F Surveyer, 21 Dec. 1937.

30 Surveyer forgot about the telephone call and, when the purchase of the property was announced publicly in December, he sent a sharp note to Williamson claiming that he had not been consulted. Ibid., E-F Surveyer to F.H.H. Williamson, 20 Dec. 1937.

The government purchased the property in December and the board gave its formal approval the following May. By this point the parks bureau was deeply committed to preserving an historic site about which it knew very little and had little idea of how to develop. It had only hearsay evidence that the house was indeed the former Laurier Residence. It had no plans and no budget with which to proceed. But many things happened in 1938.

In January the Montreal landscape architect Frederick G. Todd offered his services in devising a development scheme. Although parks officials had had no indication that money for the development was forthcoming, they were told by the minister to accept Todd's free advice. Todd's plans, which were received in May and August, reflected a particular approach to heritage development. He had been the landscape architect in charge of the development of the Plains of Abraham. There he had been principally concerned with landscaping the grounds to make an impressive visual statement rather than interpreting historical themes. This concern also guided his approach to the development of the St. Lin property. He proposed buying up the surrounding lots so that unsightly buildings could be removed, and relocating the Laurier house to the centre of a park like setting to make a "proper memorial."³¹

There were some reservations about Todd's proposal. G.W. Bryan wrote Williamson in September saying "Mr. Todd's letter would indicate that he has in mind the establishing of a park on the Monahan [i.e. the neighbouring lot] and Departmental property. Such a plan would not be in keeping with the appearance of the area when Sir Wilfrid lived on the residence now owned by the Department and would be contrary to the general conception that improvements to historical sites should not be modernized."³² But Bryan was overruled and the department began negotiating to acquire the neighbouring property to carry out Todd's proposal.

31 Ibid., F. Todd to C.W. Jackson, 6 Aug. 1938.

32 Ibid., G.W. Bryan to F.H.H. Williamson, 14 Sept. 1938.

Meanwhile the department commissioned Marius Barbeau to report on the site. Barbeau visited St. Lin late in 1938 and submitted his report in December. He confirmed that the house was the birthplace of Laurier but noted that it had subsequently been moved forward on the lot. Since its relocation had already affected its historic integrity, he felt there was no reason why it should not be moved again and in light of difficulties in obtaining the neighbouring lot he proposed moving the house across the street beside the old public school once attended by Laurier.³³ Todd concurred with this suggestion: "[i]f Dr. Barbeau feels that the historical side of the question will allow of the removal of the cottage to the school property you indeed have an ideal solution of the problem and I congratulate you and Dr. Barbeau. Certainly I could not think of any means of making a suitable memorial to Sir Wilfrid and retain the house in its present location."³⁴ But the department continued to negotiate for the purchase of the Monahan property which it finally acquired in February 1939.

By this time the department had a special allocation of \$4,000 with which to develop the site and work was carried on in the ensuing months.³⁵ The house was moved to the centre of the two lots, giving it a more dignified setting and allowing for the construction of a new concrete foundation. The walls of the house were renovated and the grounds landscaped. The caretaker was authorized to purchase furnishings to restore the interior to its supposed appearance at the time of Laurier's birth. In July 1940 it was reported that "[t]he furnishing of the building is complete and exceptionally good taste has been exercised in

33 Ibid., SWL 2, pt. 3, Dec. 1938.

34 Ibid., F.G. Todd to C.W. Jackson, 22 Dec. 1938.

35 "The sum of \$4,000 is provided in the Supplementary Estimates for repairs and improvements to the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at St. Lin, together with the purchase of suitable exhibits which would enable us to convert the building into an historic museum." PAC, RG 84, vol. 1235, HS 7, pt. 9, F.H.H. Williamson to R.A. Gibson, 28 July 1938.

securing furnishings ... which are of the French habitant style of about the time of Sir Wilfrid's birth."³⁶

The Laurier house does not seem to have been taken seriously as a preservation work at the time, being mainly regarded as a shrine to a great Canadian. It is taken even less seriously today as a work of preservation as it contravenes a number of basic principles. A thorough historical investigation was not conducted until the 1970s and this tended to confirm rather than deny a persistent fear that the house had never been inhabited by Laurier.³⁷ Subsequently the site has been renamed Parc National Sir Wilfrid Laurier, evading the question of whether the house was actually Laurier's or not.

But what does it matter if the house is the real thing or not? Like the Port Royal Habitation it served the objectives of the parks bureau to represent a way of life in a particular time and place. Despite anachronisms, both manage to provide information through buildings and artifacts about segments of the Canadian past. In this context they can be considered to be more like museums than exercises in historic conservation. This attitude toward heritage development was reflected in the tendency of the parks bureau in this period to refer to its heritage projects as historic museums. And it governed a third major initiative in this period, the acquisition and development of Fort Malden in Amherstburg, Ontario.

Local enthusiasts for the preservation of Fort Malden had formed one of the lobbies that had led the government to establish a heritage program. But although the board recognized it as a national historic

36. PAC, RG 84, vol. 1931, SWL 2, pt. 3, J. Smart to F.H.H. Williamson, 8 July 1940.

37. "La famille Laurier a résidé à cet endroit mais la maison qu'on y retrouve présentement n'est peut-être pas la sienne; ce que l'on tente de démontrer en disant qu'elle n'est plus à son emplacement d'origine ou bien que c'est pas celle-ci." Alain Rainville, "Le Parc Historique National de la Maison Sir Wilfrid Laurier", Parcs Canada, Rapports sur microfiche 62, 1982, p. 119.

site in 1921, Cruikshank had argued against further involvement. He wrote Harkin on the subject in 1935 "[a]s you are aware, my opinion is that the creation of small local museums at more or less out-of-the way points, which have certain historic interest, is a mistake, and to a certain extent a waste of public money."³⁸ The major obstacle preventing its preservation was that there was little to preserve. The fort had been largely destroyed and the land appropriated for a housing development. Still, the local enthusiasts persisted and when the real estate scheme fell through it renewed its pressure on Ottawa to preserve the site. Local interests coalesced in the 1930s through the organization of the Amherstburg Historical Sites and Museum Association led by Major A.W. McNally.³⁹ In the early 1930s the property was acquired by the municipality in lieu of unpaid taxes and through the efforts of the Association in 1937 it was transferred to the federal government to be administered by the parks bureau as an historic site.

Although the board repeated its recommendation against further development, the local group, now organized as the Fort Malden Management Committee, extracted more tangible commitment from Ottawa. In this endeavour they were fortunate to coincide with the announcement of the bounties of the national recovery program. The parks bureau agreed to build a museum and Cromarty designed one along the lines of his "French Chateau" buildings at Louisbourg and Fort Beausejour.⁴⁰ Its operation, however, was controlled by the Fort Malden Management Committee. It appointed a full time curator in 1941 and supervised the collection of artifacts and curiosities which were displayed in military, pioneer and Indian rooms. In 1946 the government acquired an adjacent piece of real estate containing some desperately needed heritage architecture and the

38 Cited in David McConnell, "E.A. Cruikshank, his life and work," M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 92.

39 Dennis Carter-Edwards, "Fort Malden: A Structural Narrative History 1796-1976", vol. 1, Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series, No. 401, p. 294.

40 Ibid., p. 296.

site finally boasted a brick barracks, bakery and laundry from the old fort besides the modern museum building.⁴¹

In 1939 parks officials began exploring means to rationalize these developments. They had never been very happy with including heritage areas in the national park system and the 1930 legislation provided for a distinct category of national historic park. But it was not until 1939 that Williamson and Cromarty decided to implement this part of the National Parks Act by classifying a number of historic sites and national parks as national historic parks. This raised the problem of definition and the parks staff pondered various sorts of criteria before deciding that all sites would be included in the new category which were extensive enough in size.⁴² Consequently in 1940 an order-in-council was passed bestowing national historic park status on the Fortress of Louisbourg, Port Royal Habitation, Fort Anne, Fort Beauséjour, Fort Lennox, Fort Chambly, Fort Wellington, Fort Malden, and Fort Prince of Wales. No one seems to have minded the unbalanced nature of the category. Only Port Royal Habitation was a non military structure and the only archaeological site controlled by the department, Southwold Earthwork, languished in the cold. Nonetheless the implementation of the historic park category gave the department better control over its expensive heritage operations. As national historic parks these properties would receive a regular annual appropriation and be maintained by a salaried superintendent directly responsible to the parks bureau.

II. The Board and Commemorations

During this period the board steadily lost ground in its ability to influence government policy. Although it expressed definite views about what not to undertake in the way of preservation, it had few positive

41 Ibid., p. 297.

42 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1174, HS General, pt. 11, W.D. Cromarty to J.E. Spero, 25 Nov. 1940.

suggestions for heritage development. In an era when the department wanted to spend money on heritage projects this meant that its usefulness as an advisory body was seriously curtailed. But it was not just over the issue of preservation that the board was alienated from government policy making. With the growing complexity of government there were other experts within the bureaucracy advising on heritage development. The lines of communication were much more diffuse in the late 1930s than they had been in the early 1920s.

The board had lost an important conduit to parks policy-making with the retirement of Harkin. Although Williamson replaced him on the board, the Controller did not participate in its activities to the extent that his predecessor had. Following Williamson's death in 1940, the new Controller, James Smart, did not join the board, leaving all liaison duties to Cromarty who continued on as secretary. Although Cromarty and the board seemed to get on well, this situation served to increase the bureau's hold on preservation work and widen the gap between the two halves of the heritage program.

An indication of the board's waning influence on departmental decision making was the way in which two new members were appointed to the board in 1938. Father Antoine D'Eschambault was named to represent Manitoba and J.A. Gregory Saskatchewan. Although Howay was friendly with D'Eschambault and approved of his appointment, he had not been consulted about either nomination, nor, it would seem, had any of the other members. Howay did not approve of the appointment of Gregory and complained to Webster about him. "For my part I am rather disgusted (whisper it not in Gath) at the inclusion of Mr. Gregory M.P. He is not on the map in matters historical, and the appointment smacks over-much of politics."⁴³ Cruikshank believed that the new members would complicate matters as they would bring new interests to a program whose objec-

43 Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, Webster Manuscript Collection, F.W. Howay to J.C. Webster, 2 Feb. 1943.

lives he felt had largely been fulfilled.⁴⁴ Webster considered the appointments to be an insult to Howay and spoke darkly of "Politics! Politics!"⁴⁵ Harvey, too, thought that politics were behind the appointments. "I think perhaps the fact that the Hon. T.A. Greer comes from the West accounts for it, but I don't like to see the balancing of a Frenchman and an Englishman in the West as in the East. I shouldn't be surprised if Frenchman were added for the Maritime Provinces."⁴⁶

The new appointment made the board feel uneasy about its ability to control its destiny. Although differences existed between the older members there was enough similarity of background to give a club like atmosphere to the board's proceedings. Now that outsiders were being allowed in, who could say what else the government might do? Harvey was particularly paranoid about political interference and his suspicions increased following the death of General Cruikshank in 1939. Ottawa decided not to give Ontario another representative and instead appointed the Dominion Archivist to the board as an ex officio member, leaving Fred Landon to represent all of Ontario. As Gustave Lanctot was the Dominion Archivist at this time, this gave the French even greater representation on the board. Following the death of Howay in 1943, who had succeeded Cruikshank as chairman, Harvey was determined to block a francophone appointment to the chair and so argued that Webster should be chairman on the grounds of seniority. "If not," he warned Webster, "I imagine that the politically-minded Lanctot will be getting in his word on behalf of a French-Canadian chairman, and as Surveyer would be impossible he himself would aspire to the position."⁴⁷

44 London, University of Western Ontario, D.B. Weldon Library, Regional Collection, J.C. Coyne Papers, E.A. Cruikshank to J.C. Coyne, 10 March 1939.

45 Webster Manuscript Collection, J.C. Webster to F.W. Howay, 10 Feb. 1943.

46 Webster Manuscript Collection, D.C. Harvey to J.C. Webster, 19 Nov. 1938.

47 Webster Manuscript Collection, D.C. Harvey to J.C. Webster, 12 Oct. 1943.

But although the appointment of the new members represented the political weakness of the board, the new members did not immediately exert a great influence on its proceedings. D'Eschambault (1896-1960) was an assistant to the archbishop in St. Boniface and active in the historical society there. Interested in the early history of the west, he later became a recognized historian, being elected to the Royal Society in 1954. In 1960, the year of his death, he was elected chairman of the Historic Sites and Monument Board. His early years on the board, however, were relatively quiet and he had little influence on new initiatives until after the war. J.A. Gregory (1878-1955) exerted even less influence. A provincial M.L.A., he was also president of the Prince Albert Historical Association. His participation on the board was largely confined to passing along the suggestions of his historical society. Even this function largely ended following his election to the Canadian parliament in 1940 when he took up residence in Ottawa. Then a prolonged illness leading up to his death in 1950 precluded all participation on the board.

Two stronger appointments were made in 1944 with the nomination of Walter N. Sage from Vancouver to replace the deceased Howay and M.H. Long from Edmonton to represent Alberta. Both were senior professors of history at their respective provincial universities and both were active in local historical societies. Moreover both members became extremely diligent in representing their provincial constituencies, travelling extensively in the summer months to investigate possible historic sites and coordinating heritage efforts between the local, provincial and national levels. Sage in particular, although personally disliked by Howay, seemed to have inherited much of the Judge's influence in provincial heritage circles.

But Sage and Long tended to confirm rather than alter the board's earlier direction. Both were more interested in commemoration rather than preservation, perhaps reflecting an academic bias against material history. Even in the context of academic history their views were distinctly old fashioned, placing them closer to the ideas of

Cruikshank, Howay and Webster than the new generation of professional historians. Lewis H. Thomas noted in his obituary of Long, for example, that "rooted in his disposition and university training were Professor Long's abiding admiration for British ideals of civilization and his concern for preserving a meaningful Canadian Association with Britain and the Commonwealth."⁴⁸ These views, shared by Sage, Harvey, Landon and Webster, gave further impetus to the nationalizing mission of the board's commemorative work.

So, cut off from the preservation side of the heritage program and reinforced by new members more concerned with commemoration, the board concentrated on its task of erecting plaques to explain national history to the public. During this period it strove to widen the range of its commemorations, adding new topics and raising the number of designations in under-represented regions.

The board took a stride in this direction in 1937 when it finally agreed on a means of recognizing historic figures through secondary plaques. This allowed the board to expand into what it had previously felt to be problem areas of national significance such as arts and letters. Anyone of sufficient fame would be considered to be worthy of a secondary tablet including provincial premiers, painters, poets and popular novelists. This initiative provided greater opportunity for local concerns and special interests to gain representation in the national pantheon. Thus historical events outside of the mainstream tradition of French- and English-Canadian national development gained a modicum of recognition. In 1939, for example, the board approved the commemoration by a secondary marker of Louise Crummy McKenney, the first woman to be elected to any parliament in the British Empire.⁴⁹

48 Lewis H. Thomas, "Morden Heaton Long", Canadian Historical Review, XLVI, 3 (Sept. 1965), p. 298.

49 HSMBC, minutes, 31 May 1939. Cruikshank and Howay were both commemorated by secondary markers following their deaths.

Because secondary tablets were excluded from the normal quota of commemorations allocated annually to each region, they offered an opportunity for other regions to catch up to the larger number already marked in Ontario. Harvey saw secondary tablets as a way of redressing the imbalance in the distribution of monuments. Writing to Webster in 1939, he said: "I myself have learned that the Maritime Provinces as a whole have fewer tablets than Ontario alone. I think that in the next two years you and I should try to catch up in this respect. The only way I see to do it is through the secondary tablets to the Fathers of Confederation and other distinguished men born in the Maritime Provinces, ...".⁵⁰ This campaign paid dividends for the Maritime members as the initial recommendations for secondary markers were heavily weighted in favour of the eastern provinces. Prince Edward Island, especially, made significant gains in this way. Subsequently the distinction between primary and secondary sites was lost and the secondary monuments came to represent fully-fledged national historic sites.

Secondary tablets were successful in broadening the scope of the board because they avoided the question of national significance. But this problem still complicated the designation of regular historic sites where different regional and ideological perspectives on national identity sometimes led to conflict. As might be expected, the Quebec point of view was frequently at odds with those of other regions and even the diffidence of Surveyer was sometimes provoked to outrage when the rest of the board refused to recognize Quebec historical concerns. At the 1939 meeting of the board, for example, Surveyer proposed commemorating the Acadians at Bonaventure, acting on the recommendation of a heritage group in Rimouski. When the rest of the board turned him down, surveyer was furious at least partly, one supposes, because of his loss of face in the Quebec historical community. He thought it particularly unfair that an Acadian site had been turned down when loyalist sites had been commemorated in the Maritimes. He then railed against the Ontario bias of the designations. "If we consider that Quebec has had so far 46

⁵⁰ Webster Manuscript Collection, D.C Harvey to J.C. Webster, 16 Jan. 1939.

monuments or tablets as against Ontario's 71 with less history behind it, I cannot help feeling that the standard of national importance is not the same for Quebec as for other parts of the country, and I do not feel inclined to submit propositions for the sake of having them turned down."⁵¹

Yet while Judge Surveyer complained about the narrowness of his colleagues he was himself guilty of a parochial outlook. He regularly turned down requests to recognize Jewish historical sites in the province⁵² and when Judge Howay proposed a monument in B.C. to commemorate the 400 black Americans who came to Vancouver Island before 1858, he wrote "I do not think the immigration of negroes is a fact to rejoice upon..."⁵³

Similar narrow concerns deterred the commemoration of broader historical themes in the west, despite the addition of new members to represent the western provinces. Although Alberta historical societies pressed for the preservation of a buffalo pound, Howay did not wish to acquire a site that he considered to represent the extinction of the buffalo.⁵⁴ Father D'Eschambault did not regard Mennonite immigration as a suitable theme for commemoration⁵⁵ and a proposal to designate the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada was likewise turned down by the board.⁵⁶

51 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1174, HS General, pt. 11, E-F Surveyer to F.H.H. Williamson, 26 Feb. 1940.

52 Referring to a letter from Jacob Livinson, chairman of the citizenship committee of the (Montreal) City Improvement League, to commemorate the first synagogue in Canada, Surveyer stated frankly, "I am not particularly interested in the commemoration of Jewish activities." PAC, RG 84, vol. 1236, HS 7, pt. 10, E-F Surveyer to W.D. Cromarty, 20 June 1945.

53 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1175, HS 10, pt. 8, E-F Surveyer to J.B. Harkin, 5 Feb. 1936.

54 Ibid., F.W. Howay to F.H.H. Williamson, 24 June 1937.

55 Ibid., A. D'Eschambault to F.H.H. Williamson, 4 Jan. 1939.

Ukrainian settlement in Canada was likewise turned down by the board.⁵⁶

Competing regional perspectives sometimes made it difficult to choose a single site to commemorate themes that transcended regional boundaries. One such case was a proposed monument to the lumberman that had been suggested by a Quebec resident in 1938. While the board was favourable to the idea, it discovered that a number of regions had legitimate claims to the monument, principally New Brunswick, the Ottawa Valley and British Columbia. Moreover these regions had distinct lumbering histories embodying different traditions. How could a single plaque recognize these regional particularities in a national context? A committee struck to investigate the problem recommended that three monuments be erected, one in Atlantic Canada, one in central Canada and one in British Columbia. The board agreed to this proposal and specified that the inscriptions "should emphasize the importance of the lumber industry but each should note special characteristics of the respective region...".⁵⁷ This was a rare example of the multiple designation of a single theme. A subsequent suggestion by Professor Sage to have multiple commemorations of the trans-Canada canoe route used by the fur trade was deferred by the board.⁵⁸

Ideological differences also hindered action on important issues. An example was the debate over whether the government should finance the repair of the Patriote's monument in Montreal which took place during 1940. The original monument had been erected in 1852 by a *Rouge* organization, the Institut Canadien, to commemorate the Patriote's who were killed in the rebellions of 1837-38. Now it was in considerable need of repair and the federal government was lobbied to provide the necessary

56 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1376, HS 10, pt. 9, W.D. Cromarty to Father I.J. Lesiuk, 19 May 1945.

57 HSMBC, minutes, 1943.

58 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1376, HS 10, W.N. Sage to W.D. Cromarty, 27 Sept. 1948.

funds.⁵⁹ The question was referred to the board for its opinion. If Cruikshank had still been chairman the proposal might have been rejected outright but the ideological balance had shifted, if only slightly, in recent years so that opposing views had greater weight.

One side saw the monument as an important symbol of the development of Canadian nationhood. This was not just a French-Canadian notion but one shared by the liberal members of the board. Both Surveyer, Landon and D'Eschambault believed that the government should assume responsibility for the monument. They were joined by Howay, who wrote that "whether the actions of Mackenzie and Papineau were well or ill advised is beyond the question, at any rate they thereby, even if guilty of treason, brought to the attention of Home authorities the conditions in Canada with the result that we have the Durham report."⁶⁰ But the Maritime members were resolutely opposed to Ottawa's recognition of the monument. Webster argued that to give funds for its repair would be an endorsement by the government of armed rebellion which is "not in keeping with the democratic way of life."⁶¹ Harvey, one of the last of the imperialists, wrote: "a glance at the inscriptions will show that for the Dominion government to take over and repair this memorial would be tantamount to vindicating the action of the rebels and criticizing violently the action of the Imperial government at that time."⁶² Fortunately the cessation of the board's activities because of the war relieved it from having to render a split decision.

Despite limitations imposed by region and ideology, the board in this latter period of its work managed to designate a number of sites that represented other historical themes besides battles, loyalists and the

59 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1236, HS 7, pt. 10, Senator Pierre Casgrain to W.D. Cromarty, 8 November 1940.

60 Ibid., F.W. Howay to F.H.H. Williamson, 11 Feb. 1941.

61 Ibid., J.C. Webster to F.H.H. Williamson, 10 Feb. 1941.

62 Ibid., D.C. Harvey to F.H.H. Williamson, 11 Feb. 1941.

fur trade. This was especially true in the regions west of Quebec. Ontario acquired a number of non-military sites commemorating such topics as lighthouses, cheese factories, oil wells and Indian treaties. The prairie provinces increased their numbers dramatically and introduced new themes such as the founding of the province, Indian leaders and the saving of the buffalo. Still, well-marked themes continued to receive attention during this period. Traditional topics continued to be memorialized and in 1938, for example, the Battle of Lundy's Lane received three tablets (see Appendix VII).

Another opportunity for the board to broaden its activities through the recognition of a national architectural heritage was declined in this period. Although the board had regularly turned down requests to recognize historic houses in earlier periods, it came under increasing pressure, some of which was political, to recognize period architecture. The board was lobbied to acquire the Perry Borden House in Grand Pré "and to fit up within it a museum containing furniture, records, etc. of the New England Planter."⁶³ Similarly it was asked to undertake the preservation of an eighteenth century merchant's house in Quebec City.⁶⁴ In Ontario, increased awareness of the plight of loyalist houses inspired an all out campaign to get Ottawa to preserve some of these buildings. Particular attention was given the former home of Sir Francis Baby near Windsor. A committee was formed to organize its preservation and plans were drawn up for its construction. But when the local member of parliament inquired of Williamson why the parks bureau could not sponsor the preservation, he hid behind the stated policy of the board in excusing his inability to act: "all activities along this line are restricted to those sites which are considered by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as being of national

63 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1190, HS 6, pt. 8, Reginald Harris to F.H.H. Williamson; 12 Jan. 1938.

64 La Maison Fargues. PAC, RG 84, vol. 1235, HS 7, pt. 9.

importance from an historical standpoint."⁶⁵ The board did not seem interested in old buildings. Its members found themselves being dragged off to look at many old buildings in this period, however, and even Cruikshank consented to visiting an old log house on the Rideau Canal in 1938. But Cruikshank only had eyes for forts, and while he dismissed the importance of the house, he discovered a "genuine stone blockhouse, in good condition, built before 1834."⁶⁶ But there were already many military buildings being cared for at national historic sites and too few examples of domestic or commercial architecture.

The virtual suspension of the board's activities during the war provided an opportunity for taking stock. Following Cruikshank's death, Howay as interim chairman consulted with Webster about the past and future direction of the board. Then, when the board reconvened in 1943, Howay presented a lengthy report on past commemorations and proposed greater expansion of its work. Of 285 national historic sites he found that 105 commemorated battles and war, fifty two commemorated exploration, discovery and the fur trade, forty three commemorated illustrious men and thirty six commemorated commerce and general development. Only four marked outstanding political events, seven marked social services and three marked Indians.⁶⁷ Designations were further characterized by a regional imbalance. Of 305 designated by the board, Prince Edward Island had thirteen, Nova Scotia thirty eight, New Brunswick thirty one, Quebec sixty three, Ontario ninety seven, Manitoba fifteen, Saskatchewan eight, Alberta seventeen, British Columbia twenty two and the Yukon one.⁶⁸

65 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1331, HS 9, pt. 10, F.H.H. Williamson to Paul Martin, M.P., 29 May 1940.

66 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1306, HS 8, pt. 5, E.A. Cruikshank to F.H.H. Williamson, 9 Nov. 1938. The board deferred the request to preserve the blockhouse. HSMBC Minutes, 29 May 1939.

67 HSMBC, minutes, 19 May 1943.

68 Ibid.

Howay proposed that the board adopt broader criteria to further enlarge the scope of its designations. "Outstanding events connected with Canada's economic, social, and cultural growth, or with her basic industries: mines, fishing, lumbering, agriculture, horticulture, cattle raising, wildlife deserving commemoration may have possibly been overlooked."⁶⁹ And in a surprise move Howay also suggested that distinctive examples of Canadian architecture be commemorated, and urged the preservation of typical examples of manoirs, farm houses, fur trade posts and mills.⁷⁰ This was a new stance for the board to take. It had done more than enlarge its horizons, it had shaken off a numbing timidity that had pervaded the earlier years of its existence.

Still, the work of the board did not change dramatically overnight. In the post-war years there was little opportunity to expand its work and few positive moves could be made. And the board continued to be fascinated by traditional topics. In 1952 when asked by the minister to define the criterion "national interest," the board's chairman Fred Landon provided a list of categories reminiscent of the board's first attempt at a definition in 1919. Prominent categories were still discovery and exploration, French and English settlement, and the loyalist defence of Upper Canada.⁷¹ Moreover the board still had not come to terms with recognizing historic architecture. Commemoration was still its bailiwick and so it remained confined to a limited sphere of activity.

The parks branch, too, remained stuck in familiar waters. Although its involvement in preservation increased dramatically after the war, it was still limited by having to choose from designated national historic sites and buildings on this list tended to be military structures. But there were other reasons for undertaking the preservation of forts: they were physically imposing and attracted widespread public atten-

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1183, HS 2, Fred Landon to C.G. Childe, 30 Sept. 1952.

tion. So there was little reason to stray from the tried and true and the first major heritage developments of the 1950s were the restoration of the Halifax Citadel and Lower Fort Garry.

During the period 1936 to 1950 the two strands of the heritage program evolved virtually independent from one another. While heritage development involving preservation, restoration or reconstruction still depended on the board's designation as a national historic site, this side of the program came under the almost exclusive direction of the national park service. Meanwhile the Historic Sites and Monuments Board pursued the special problems of commemorating national history. This bifurcation weakened each side of the program. The board, realizing that it had no control over preservation, was reluctant to commit itself to recognizing historically significant architecture. The parks bureau, on the other hand, regularly ignored the advice of the board in undertaking expensive developments. Conditioned by its experience with natural parks and led by public and political pressure, it favoured large, visually attractive projects that were not always guided by rigorous standards of authenticity. The result was a system that favoured large military sites and overlooked sites which would have interpreted other aspects of Canadian history.

CHAPTER 6: THE MASSEY COMMISSION 1949-1951

Nineteen fifty marked the advent of a new era in the history of the government's heritage program. Once the disruption caused by the war had subsided, it was clear that the whole context of government administration had changed from that of the 1930s. Keynesian fiscal policy, introduced in the 1938 budget, was enlarged in the postwar years so that the government became committed to the permanent large scale intervention in the social and cultural development of Canadian society. The bureaucracy, which had remained stagnant during the interwar years, began its expansion toward the massive and complex organization that it is today. With this growth, increasing numbers of specialists entered the civil service.¹ Planners, researchers and other experts contributed to the emergence of the federal bureaucracy as an autonomous force in Canadian society. The 1950s also saw the reappearance of a revitalized sense of nationalism as Canadians strove to redefine common goals in a rapidly changing world and as they took pride in the emergence of Canada as an influential participant in world affairs.

The expansion of government activity and the reappearance of nationalist sentiment in the 1950s combined to give federal cultural agencies a prominence that they had not previously had. Long established institutions such as the Public Archives, the National Library and the National Museum were able to expand their programs while newer agencies such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board received careful nurturing. In 1950 the parks service won back its branch status while it also continued to grow. In this new climate the historic sites program assumed a size and direction that give it quite a different character from the small office that had defined its operations before the war. In 1954 the parks branch hired its first professional historian, A.J.H. Richardson, to take charge of the historic sites work. Subsequently other specialists were taken on staff or given contracts to provide professional expertise in the areas of

1 J.L. Granatstein, The Ottawa Men, The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 168.

conservation and interpretation of historic sites. Increased appropriations also helped define a new era of government involvement and large projects such as the restoration of the Halifax Citadel were undertaken in this period. At the same time new legislation helped secure a more definite role for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board while subjecting it to reorganization. All of these developments helped bring about the end of a line of historical process that had made the preceding period a discrete entity.

A turnover of personnel in the branch and the board also helped bring about the dissolution of the unified body of personalities and outlook that characterized the historic sites program before 1950. In 1950 W.D. Cromarty retired and was replaced by Col. C.G. Childe as chief of the historic sites division. J.C. Webster, the last of the 1923 appointments to the board, died that same year and Fred Landon took over as chairman. The beginning of the new decade, then, marked the end of an era and is a suitable date to end this study.

Yet there was one important episode at this time which, while heralding the new order of government activity in cultural affairs, also looked back to previous development. Coming at the time of a profound reorientation of government policy, the Massey Commission has been credited with ushering in the new era. But as an examination of previous cultural policy, its report is an important appraisal of the history of government cultural agencies until 1950. Its outlook is also characterized by a curious mixture of old and new fashioned ideas about the role of the state in promoting cultural identity. Thus, the report of the Massey Commission sits, Janus like, at the juncture of two eras. While the report influenced the subsequent administration of the national historic sites program, it was the last attempt to understand the problems of the old order.

Initially the Massey Commission was not even going to examine the historic sites program which in itself is a comment on the low profile of the federal heritage program at that time.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences was formed in April 1949 with the following terms of reference: "That it is desirable that the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions, and about their national life and common achievements; [and] [t]hat it is in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban."² The Commission was directed to investigate the role of federal agencies in achieving these goals and recommend ways for improvement. The institutions singled out for attention were the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, the National Gallery, the National Museum, the National War Museum, the Public Archives, the National Library and the Library of Parliament. The Commission was also directed to report on Canadian involvement in UNESCO and "relations of the government of Canada and any of its agencies with various national voluntary bodies operating in the field with which this enquiring will be concerned."³ The heritage program of the national parks service was not initially identified for investigation, and it only belatedly came under the purview of the Commission.

The leading member of the commission, and its chairman, Vincent Massey, had been instrumental in bringing about its formation. Involved in the larger Canadian cultural scene through his work with the Massey Foundation and at Hart House at the University of Toronto, he was a leading patron of the arts. He had long been active in the Liberal party and during the 1930s had led a movement within the party for a more interventionist public policy.⁴ He had inspired a younger genera-

2. Canada. Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences [hereafter cited as Royal Commission], Report (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), p. xi.

3. Ibid., p. xii.

4. Vincent Massey, What's Past in Prologue. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 213. Claude Bissell, The Young Vincent Massey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 215-221.

tions of Liberal thinkers, which, combined with issues such as the question of a national broadcasting policy, helped convince Prime Minister St. Laurent of the need for a Royal Commission to investigate all aspects of cultural policy.⁵ Massey helped choose the members of his commission. These were: Arthur Surveyer, a Montreal engineer and brother of board member Edouard-Fabre, Rev. Georges-Henri Levesque, dean of the faculty of social sciences at Laval, Hilda Neatby, professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan, and Norman Mackenzie, president of the University of British Columbia. Massey seemed to work most closely with Levesque and Neatby and the trio were responsible for most of the Commission's recommendations.⁶

The Commission's work was largely completed in the ensuing twelve months. It held 114 public hearings across the country where it received reports from government agencies, private individuals and voluntary organizations active in the arts and sciences in Canada. The Commission also charged a number of experts to prepare reports on various aspects of Canadian culture. Hilda Neatby herself contributed on "National History" and W.L. Morton reported on "Historical Societies and Museums."

The issue of national historic sites was raised at a number of the public hearings, however, and in April 1950 the prime minister directed the Commission to include this topic in its report. By this time the Commission had concluded its public hearings and so it had to rely on the submissions it had already in hand. Despite this handicap, the Commission strove to obtain its own understanding of the heritage program. Massey formed a committee to examine the topic of historic sites which comprised himself and Hilda Neatby as well as four members not on the Commission: G.F.G. Stanley, C.P. Stacey, P. Brunet and

5 Another important issue was university funding. J.W. Pickersgill, My Years with Louis St. Laurent, a political memoir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 140.

6 Hilda Neatby, So Much To Do, So Little Time, ed. by Michael Hayden (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 27.

Senator Norman Lambert.⁷ W.L. Morton expanded his report on Historical Societies and Museums to include the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. In May and June of 1950 the committee interviewed Colonel Childe, then chief of the historic sites program and W.D. Cromarty, who was then in retirement, but had a detailed knowledge of the history of the program. Cromarty provided a brief commentary on the work of the branch and the board and fielded a number of questions. The committee also received a set of annual reports, a list of national historic sites and a list of heritage developments under the care of the department. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board was not invited to appear before the Committee, nor was it consulted by the department, although Professor Sage had appeared at one of the earlier regional hearings.

The committee's findings were incorporated in the published report of the Massey Commission, presented in June 1951. The report consists of two parts, the first summarizing its findings in the various fields of enquiry and the second presenting detailed recommendations on future cultural policy. There is a remarkable amount of optimism reflected in the report for, although its findings painted a bleak picture of the precarious state of Canadian culture, implicit in many of its comments was the belief that once the government took charge and provided adequate funding and a comprehensive policy, then the situation would change dramatically for the better. As a detailed examination of the state of Canadian arts and letters and as the blueprint for greater government intervention in cultural development, the Massey Commission Report is one of the most significant government documents of the post war era. It was instrumental in shaping future communications policy and, after a prolonged wait, the Canada Council.

The commission's investigation into the historic sites program was not nearly as profound as for other cultural activities. The commission's belated inclusion of this topic meant that public hearings were not

7 PAC, RG-84, vol. 1183, HS 2, "Minutes of First Meeting of Historic Sites and Monuments Committee", 9 May 1950.

specifically directed to receive briefs on historic sites and the committee had little time to conduct its own investigation. It is evident that historic sites was not a priority of the commission. It concluded its survey of the program with the remark: "[i]t may be said, in conclusion, that the preservation and marking of Canada's historic sites and monuments excites a lively, if limited, interest."⁸ The program did not therefore get much space in the report. The investigation was further limited by the personal bias of its members.

Massey, Levesque and Neatby held conservative views about the role of culture in shaping citizenship that were remarkably similar to those of the early board members. Their views reflected a defensive form of nationalism in which a unified Canadian culture was being attacked by alien ideas from across the border. In his review of the Massey Commission report, Frank Underhill suggested that these alien ideas stemmed not so much from American as from modern popular culture. "It is mass-consumption and the North American continental environment which produces the undesirable aspects of 'mass-communications', not some sinister influence in the United States."⁹ Developing this analysis in her thesis on the Massey Commission, Erna Buffie has argued for the existence of a form of conservation nationalism among Canadian intellectuals in the early 1950s.¹⁰ "For many of these intellectuals the advance of modernity (in its most extreme form) entailed the disintegration of tradition, authority, and a social order wherein human beings were bound together by a sense of duty and moral purpose. Modernity was synonymous with the rise of mass society, one in which individuals were primarily interested in the promotion of their own particular interests and well being." It follows from this analysis that Canadian intellectuals at the time, especially the commissioners,

8 Royal Commission, Report, p. 129.

9 Frank Underhill, "Notes on the Massey Report", In Search of Canadian Liberalism (Toronto: Macmillan, 1961), p. 212.

10 Erna Buffie, "The Massey Report and the Intellectuals: Tory cultural nationalism in Ontario in the 1950s", M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1982, p. 24.

were deeply aware of their function as custodians of culture, the same role assumed by the members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board during the 1920s and 1930s.

These views fuelled a contradiction in the report of the Massey Commission for they were often at odds with the perspectives presented at the regional hearings. While the commissioners focussed on the inadequacies of the commemorative program, they judged it by its success in fostering a unified national outlook. The presentations at the regional hearings, on the other hand, tended to note the inability of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to represent regional particularities. They also dwelt on the preservation aspect of the program which was of little interest to the custodians of culture on the Massey Commission. The resulting report on the historic sites programs, which passed along criticisms gathered at regional hearings as well as including the commissioners' own analysis, made little effort to reconcile these two perspectives with the result that it presented a confusing array of opinions and recommendations.

The first part of the report on historic sites was largely concerned with passing along complaints received at the regional hearings. Not surprisingly, then, the criticisms centered on the unevenness of the program and its central Canadian bias. It noted that while Ontario had 119 out of 388 commemorated national historic sites, Saskatchewan had only eight.¹¹ It repeated the criticism voiced by Saskatchewan historical societies that not enough attention was paid to the prairie provinces and that greater emphasis needed to be placed on pre-historic sites. It also voiced the complaint of a number of historical societies that the board was out of touch. "Another cause of serious complaint, from Saskatchewan particularly, but also from Quebec, is the failure of the Board to get in touch with other interest groups, to explain its policy, to keep them informed of its activities, and generally to agree

11 Royal Commission, Report, p. 124.

on a proper division of interest."¹² The Commission also repeated on recommendation of the Royal Architectural Institution which urged "the preservation of old houses of architectural merit."¹³ The Commission itself noted that there was a tendency to favour military sites and that most of the restoration projects involved forts.

At the crux of the commission's recommendations for change was the call for a clearly stated policy on the marking and preservation of historic sites. Yet the Commission had little understanding of how this policy was achieved and incorrectly identified the Historic Sites and Monuments Board as being responsible for its formation. One of its leading recommendations, then, was that the board "undertake a much more comprehensive programme in the future and that it be provided with funds adequate for its important responsibilities."¹⁴ The board was also charged with developing a national policy on preservation and "that greater emphasis be placed on the restoration and preservation of historic sites and buildings including those buildings of purely architectural significance."¹⁵ The board was also directed to improve its commemorative program, especially in regard to the design of the plaques and commemorative cairns. The board was further directed to co-operate with provincial heritage programs and "act as a clearing house for information."

While the Commission viewed the Historic Sites and Monuments Board as being largely responsible for the federal heritage policy, it conceded that structural changes would be needed if it was to carry out its recommendations. It therefore proposed its reorganization, providing for greater representation from central Canada. Ontario and Quebec would have two representatives each while the other provinces would con-

12 Ibid., p. 126.

13 Ibid., p. 127.

14 Ibid., p. 347.

15 Loc cit.

tinue to have only one. Moreover it recommended that two additional members be appointed on the recommendation of the Canadian Historical Association. The Dominion Archivist would continue to serve ex officio. The Commission proposed that the secretary to the board should be a civil servant who was also "a professional historian of established reputation,"¹⁶ thereby ensuring competent direction in the parks branch.

The Report did not completely overlook the role of the parks branch in implementing historic sites policy and made several recommendations pertaining to its organization. Adequate funds were to be made available for the preservation program and in particular funds were to be made available for the preservation of the Halifax Citadel as a heritage property. Ways and means were to be devised so that other heritage property currently controlled by the Department of National Defence be transferred to the care of the national parks service. As well, although it was realized that the federal government had no constitutional right to legislate to preserve privately owned property, the Report urged that the government "suggest to the Provincial Governments that they take suitable legislative action to protect historic sites and buildings by scheduling them in the national interest as is done in Great Britain and in France."¹⁷

The Commission's observations on historic sites reflects two distinct personalities. The first section called for greater regional participation in the marking of historic sites, less emphasis on Ontario, greater accountability of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to local historical groups, greater emphasis on architectural preservation and less emphasis on military sites. This reflected the view of the voluntary groups that made submissions at the regional hearings. The second section, on the other hand, called for greater representation of Ontario and Quebec on the board, the participation of the Canadian Historical

16 Ibid., p. 348.

17 Ibid., p. 350.

Association, and by extension the historical profession, in the nomination of members and the appointment of a professional historian to the branch to act as secretary. In further contrast to the first section, the second part recommended the further development of military sites. This part represented the views of the professional historians on the historic sites committee. To military historians such as G.F.G. Stanley and C.P. Stacey, old forts were no doubt a good thing. They were probably further encouraged to recommend the development of the Halifax Citadel by Colonel Childe who already had this project underway. It is ironic, given the disparaging remarks Stacey has made toward the earlier work of the board,¹⁸ that his views toward heritage policy more closely resembled those of General Cruikshank than those of later enthusiasts more given to the preservation of material culture. The two concerns toward heritage manifested by the voluntary societies and the professional historians gave rise to conflicting recommendations which diminished the effectiveness of the Report to the historic sites program. One important recommendation, however, that the program needed more money in order to be effective, was consistent with both sides.

The Report further inspired a long overdue re-evaluation of the direction of the historic sites program by the government. Following the publication of the Royal Commission Report, the Minister of Mines and Technical Resources sought the reaction of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. Members were invited to submit a written memorandum which was to be forwarded to the board's chairman, Fred Landon. Landon incorporated the various comments into a single discussion paper which was tabled at the May 1952 meeting of the board. The meeting sought a consensus from the diverse views originally expressed by the members and produced a set of recommendations to counter those of the Massey Commission.

18 "General Cruikshank was retired to pension and subsequently found a job as chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, in which appointment he spent the rest of his life erecting plaques bearing historical inscriptions of varying degrees of accuracy." C.P. Stacey, A Date with History (Ottawa: Deneau, 1984), p. 65.

Predictably, the initial reaction of individual members to the Report was defensive and there was some bitterness that their work had not resulted in a more favourable report card. At this juncture there were a few members who had given years of service as well as newer arrivals who had been extremely conscientious in their duties as provincial representatives. While this experience justified a certain amount of collective self-pity, it also allowed some members to make cogent rebuttals to the Commission's analysis as well as provide informed insights of their own into the program's shortcomings.

Harvey, for instance, noted the inconsistency between the Report's criticism of a central Canadian bias and its recommendation that Quebec and Ontario be given additional representation.¹⁹ It was also obvious to the board that the criticism that there was too much emphasis on military sites was not consistent with the recommendation that the parks service preserve more forts. Most of the members agreed that, in the recent past at least, allocation of sites had been made without overt regional bias and that the limitations of the present program were largely due to inadequate funding. While the board recognized the historical themes were unevenly represented, Landon argued that this was due to the evolving nature of the program. "It was natural, I think, that much attention would be given in the earlier period to the older provinces and to the military features, particularly the War of 1812, since the first chairman was this country's greatest authority on the struggle with the United States. But this Board has since gone beyond battlefields and forts and in recent years the influence of social history upon its work has been marked. We have long been commemorating peacetime achievements and the cultural side of Canadian life, as well as honouring the achievements and records of individual Canadians."²⁰ This was a telling point. How could the present organization be responsible for a body of commemorations that had evolved over thirty years?

19 PAC, RG 84, vol. 1183, HS 2, D.C. Harvey to C.G. Childe, 17 Sept. 1951.

20 Ibid., Fred Landon to G.C. Childe, 10 March 1952.

The board's position to the charge that it had failed to reflect the concerns of local heritage groups was less sure. The members had worked long and hard to bring the views of the Maritimes, Ontario and B.C. into the national forum but it was vulnerable to criticism that it had ignored Quebec and Saskatchewan. The member representing Saskatchewan, from where the bulk of public criticism had stemmed, had died in 1950. The new member, Campbell Innis was not in a position to defend a record for which he had not been responsible. Judge Surveyer refused to answer the charges initiated at the Quebec hearings on the grounds that the Commission had not undertaken a serious enquiry into the board's work. Walter Sage, however, in a confidential note to the department, suggested that it was the past inadequacies of the Quebec and Saskatchewan members, not structural faults of the board, that had provoked the bulk of public criticism.²¹

The board's recommendations for reform were consistent with its rebuttal of the Commission's critique. It agreed that it should broaden the scope of its activities and do more in the way of preservation, provided more adequate funding was forthcoming. While most members did not feel that the organization of the board should be changed, D'Eschambault called for increased francophone representation, including an additional Maritime member to represent Acadian interests. But following "a free and frank discussion," the annual meeting unanimously agreed that its composition should remain as it was.²² The board did not see the merit of additional members from Quebec and Ontario nor from the Canadian Historical Association. Neither did the board see the utility of having a trained historian as its secretary since architectural and engineering expertise was just as beneficial in considering problems of conservation.

While the Massey Commission did not have any immediate effect on the organization of the historic sites program, it would seem that it

21 Ibid., Walter N. Sage to G.C. Childe, 9 Nov. 1951.

22 HSMBC, Minutes, 27-30 May 1952.

influenced subsequent decisions regarding the organization of the board. The board finally received a legislative mandate in 1953 with the passage of the Historic Sites and Monuments Act. This act provided that the Minister responsible could implement the commemoration of historic sites or, with the concurrence of cabinet, acquire "any historic places, or lands for historic museums," and "provide for the administration, preservation and maintenance of any historic places acquired or historic museums established pursuant to this Act." A subsequent section described the board as consisting of one member from each province plus the Dominion Archivist and the Chief Curator of the National Museum. Its function was defined as to "receive and consider recommendations" and to "advise the Minister in carrying out his powers under the Act."²³ So, while the power of the board to initiate policy was strictly confined, it was still invited to participate in the broader aspects of the program, including preservation as well as commemoration. The Massey Commission's recommendation for the enlargement of the board eventually won out for in 1955 an amendment was passed to the Historic Sites and Monuments which provided for an additional two members to represent Quebec and Ontario. The act also expanded the definition of an historic site to include "building or structures that are of national interest by reason of age or architectural design."²⁴

The influence of the Massey Commission on the national parks branch is more difficult to determine but it likely did not influence future development to any significant extent. As we have seen in previous chapters, the parks branch had almost complete control over the selection and development of national historic parks. The board remained uninvolved in this part of the program as much from the increasing complexity of the subject as from past habit. The Massey Commission, however, had directed most of its criticism to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. Many of the suggestions for improvements to the

23 Canada. Laws and Statutes, 1953, 1-2 Elizabeth II, cap. 39, "An Act to Establish the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada".

24 Canada. Laws and Statutes, 1955, 3-4 Elizabeth II, cap. 20, "An Act to Amend the Historic Sites and Monuments Act".

preservation side of the program could have come from the civil servants who reported to the commission so the established autonomy of the historical division was confirmed rather than questioned by the Massey Commission.

CONCLUSION

There was little question that the historic sites program had had problems meeting its objectives in the period before 1950; the Massey Commission, public interest groups and those involved in the program agreed that reform was necessary. Some called for a reorganization of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, others for a change in policy, all pointed to the need for better funding. But a fundamental problem that had beset the program from its inception and which continued to divide its critics was a lack of consensus about what the objectives of the program should be. The heritage movement, which was the principal client of the historic sites program, included separate concerns for commemoration and preservation. Each of these concerns raised its own particular questions not least of which was the meaning of the term national significance. Neither was there consensus amongst the triumvirate responsible for carrying out the program. The government, parks service and Historic Sites and Monuments Board each brought its particular concerns and priorities to the program. These concerns were worked out in the process which we have termed the politics of national historic sites but in the course of this process a program evolved that was different from the intention of its initiators and the ideals of many of its critics.

In 1919 when the program was initiated preservation seemed to be a primary consideration. The parks service had canvassed local groups, seeking nominations for properties to be preserved by the Department of the Interior. Aided by Cruikshank and Coyne of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board it prepared draft legislation which would have given the department wide powers to appropriate and preserve heritage property. This objective had wide support. Heritage groups in the Maritimes had advocated the preservation of a number of sites in that region while elsewhere local groups had lobbied the government to preserve some of the many obsolete forts in its possession. The parks branch supported these views as it sought expedient ways to expand its national parks

system in eastern Canada. Heritage attractions were a way of rationalizing the acquisition of park land in the absence of appropriate natural scenery. But early hopes for a national program of preservation were dashed when the government failed to approve the budget and legislation necessary for a comprehensive policy.

The parks branch and the Historic Sites and Monuments and Board reoriented themselves in order to cope with these straitened circumstances. The branch concentrated on developing a few military sites which it had in its possession in the Maritimes and Quebec, areas where the branch was most anxious to increase its profile. For its part the board turned away from problems of preservation to concentrate on commemoration, a task which it could carry out within its limited budget. More than a lack of money encouraged this orientation on the part of the board. Its dominant members - Cruikshank, Coyne and Sulte - preferred this activity because it met their own concerns as custodians of culture to articulate the values of patriotic citizens. This attitude was strengthened with the appointment in 1923 of J.C. Webster and F.W. Howay. Although Webster was greatly interested in preservation this concern was confined to particular sites which he promoted directly with the government and the parks service rather than through the board. On the board he shared the missionary concerns of other dominant members that made commemoration such a priority. What began as an expedient measure, then, encouraged an entrenched outlook so that by 1930 the board was almost exclusively concerned with commemoration.

Preservation was left to the parks branch. During the 1920s the branch set priorities for preservation across Canada and attempted to establish a separate operation for their administration. Lacking government support, however, both of these initiatives came to nothing and by the mid-1920s the branch was proceeding with heritage projects on an individual basis. Previous ideals were sacrificed to expediency and heritage developments became increasingly susceptible to outside interference. In failing to develop a specific policy toward heritage conservation, the program became enmeshed in the more general concerns of the parks

branch. Early attempts at defining a distinct category of heritage property ended in compromise. Instead of separate legislation, the heritage program had to be content with the National Parks Act of 1930 which provided for a sub-species of national historic park. This characterized a trend toward the treatment of heritage properties as recreational facilities rather than as exercises in historic conservation.

By the 1930s a dangerous situation had developed in regard to the administration of historic sites. Responsibility for preservation was almost solely in the hands of the parks branch which had little capability for assuming new initiatives. Instead it was left to treat those properties already within the system according to general principles of park development and the views of specific interest groups. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board as a whole took little interest in these developments and preservation was carried out in an uneven way. In dealing with Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour the parks service modified its own principles in favour of ideas promoted by J.C. Webster and Senator McLennan. At Fort Anne and Fort Chambly it was influenced by the eccentric ideas of the park superintendents while at Fort Lennox its priorities were the development of a campsite and local history museum. Meanwhile important historic structures elsewhere in Canada crumbled into oblivion.

This lack of a coherent policy had unfortunate consequences when the government decided to spend money on historic site development at the end of the decade. In the absence of consistent views on preservation political and local concerns played a disproportionate part in determining which sites would receive funding. Hence local lobbyists had a lot to do with the decisions to acquire the properties at Port Royal and Fort Malden. The board specifically recommended against both of these actions. Political considerations seemed to have influenced the decision to acquire the Maison Laurier at St. Lin des Laurentides. The opinion of the parks officer responsible for historic sites that the plan to make the Maison Laurier into a park-like shrine was ahistorical

was ignored by both the parks service and the government. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board was only consulted after the decision had been made to acquire the property. Such a lack of policy left projects vulnerable to inappropriate treatment and the undertakings at Port Royal and St. Lin have been criticized for compromising aims of heritage preservation.

By confining preservation efforts to national historic parks, the program also restricted the kind of project which it could undertake. While lack of funding was a persistent factor limiting new undertakings, historic parks almost by definition required large chunks of land to develop and, as a result needed large sums of money to make operational. Other approaches more conducive to preserving smaller properties such as cost sharing agreements were rejected by the historic sites administration. The result was that by 1950 the system was extremely unbalanced. It favoured forts because they were often situated on land suitable for park development which was already government owned. The Maison Laurier was the only example of domestic architecture preserved in the system until the 1950s.

The program was more productive in the area of commemorations where budgetary limitations had less consequence. Here the board was able to maintain control so that a more comprehensive and rational system could be implemented than that practiced in the area of preservation. But here, too, there were difficulties. From the beginning the board expressed a wish to consider only sites having national significance, believing that this category of historic site existed on a separate plane than those with merely regional or local significance and that their identification was a matter of objective discovery. But it never did agree on a single narrative of historical development to explain this selection. Instead it introduced a variety of personal and regional perspectives on national history in designating national historic sites. Cruikshank promoted designations reflecting his view of the importance of the Ontario loyalist tradition. Coyne and Sulte had as priorities sites from their respective home towns. Milner argued for

the designation of Maritime forts. Later Webster would concentrate on identifying historic sites in the Chignecto area. These personal agendas were rationalised using criteria of national significance but it never became clear what this actually meant.

The board experienced some difficulties as a result of this situation where national significance was seen as an extrusion of regional particularity. It soon became apparent, for instance, Ontario was receiving more designations than any other province as a result of the dominance of the Ontario members of the board. Despite the imposition of a quota system where plaques were to be evenly distributed in each of the four regions, Ontario was placed on a par with the four western provinces combined. A related problem arose from competing regional and sectional interpretations of historical events. While there was universal consensus that episodes such as the discovery of Canada, the French-Indian Wars, the 1837-38 rebellions and the Northwest Rebellion were of national historic significance, different segments of society interpreted their meaning in different ways. In the Maritimes historians regarded Cabot as the discoverer of Canada while in Quebec Cartier was honoured as the founder and in British Columbia importance was attached to Cook. Usually these differences were avoided by confining designations to the historical traditions of the region in which the commemoration was situated but these contradictions became manifest when sites implicated more than one regional perspective. Such a case rose with the commemoration of Batoche which was interpreted from the Ontario point of view as the site of a triumph over reactionary forces by Canada troops, Quebec and local Metis groups, however, objected to this interpretation as they viewed the significance of the site from quite a different perspective.

The board also got into difficulty by failing to reflect the changing outlook of the heritage movement. While in 1919 E.A. Cruikshank may have been a leading figure in this movement, by 1939 he was clearly an anachronism. During the interwar period the composition of the heritage movement underwent a marked change. The amateur scholars and anti-

quarians who had once dominated the movement had been replaced by specialists with particular concerns. The growing professionalization of history and architecture caused a splintering of interests in the once cohesive heritage movement. The late 1920s and early 1930s saw the formation of groups specifically concerned with identifying and conserving heritage architecture. Attitudes fostered at McGill and the University of Toronto encouraged an appreciation of antique buildings for their own sake rather than for particular historical significance. Meanwhile a growing body of trained historians, many of whom were employed at universities but including scholars working in libraries and archives, developed their own specific attitudes toward the past. Academically oriented, they were inclined to stress the importance of documents over material culture as they sought abstract patterns in historical development.

These new trends were only imperfectly reflected on the board. The new breed of architectural preservationist was not represented and through the 1930s the board steadfastly refused to consider designating sites on the basis of architectural merit. Although D.C. Harvey and Fred Landon were appointed to the board in the early 1930s and professors Walter Sage and M.H. Long appointed in 1944, giving the board contact with the new class of professional historian, the designations failed to reflect the more esoteric concerns of the historical profession so that by 1950 the board displayed a distinctly old-fashioned visage. Partly this was because historic sites did not easily lend themselves to the commemoration of abstract themes, partly because the majority of historic sites had already been designated according to long-dated historical interests.

The board also lost support in a traditional area of strength among local and amateur historians. Following the death of Sulte Quebec historical opinion was poorly represented on the board. The views of the board and succeeding Quebec members were frequently at odds and there was no consistent representation from that province until the appointment of E.F. Surveyer. But he lacked a strong presence in Quebec

heritage circles and the relations of the historic sites program with this province were handicapped as a result. While the appointment of Frederic Howay from British Columbia in 1923 provided an extremely able representative from the Pacific province, his ability to represent the prairie provinces was obviously circumscribed by the huge geographical area he was expected to represent. The appointment of members to represent Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1938 only partly alleviated this problem as heritage groups from Saskatchewan and Alberta continued to feel alienated from the historic sites program.

B Many of the criticisms directed at the historic sites program through the Massey Commission were the result of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board not adequately reflecting the aspirations of the heritage community. The commission echoed the complaint of historical societies in Saskatchewan and Quebec that the board had failed to consider their views and it passed along the concerns of the architectural societies that more effort be made in the area of preservation and that buildings be considered for designation as national historic sites on the basis of architectural significance. Professional historians undoubtedly influenced the recommendation that the Canadian Historical Association be allowed to appoint one member to the board and that the secretary of the board be a trained historian. The national parks service, which had remained invisible to the heritage movement, escaped criticism.

But the Massey Commission remained confused about the objectives of the historic sites program, partly, one assumes, because it itself embodied so many contradictory perspectives. Added to the views of the historical and architectural professionals and the concerns of local historical societies was the traditional attitudes of Vincent Massey and Hilda Neatby. They were custodians of culture in the mold of Cruikshank and Webster and so promoted the view that history could instill a common set of cultural values in a disparate society. This influenced the commission to reiterate the mission of the board as a civilizing force. The impossibility of discovering a single standard of national signifi-

cance was not considered by the commission. Instead of striving to improve regional representation it recommended increasing the representation from Quebec and Ontario, presumably to give stronger representation to what it considered to be the mainstream tradition in Canadian history.

This diffusion of objectives undermined the effectiveness of the commission's recommendations. Because the criticisms and recommendations were largely directed at the Historic Sites and Monuments Board they had limited application to the program as a whole. The board had little to do with preservation yet the commission assumed that by reforming its activities it could meet the demand for a better policy of preservation. Given the history of the board and the historic sites program, these measures were not likely to address the problems of a national heritage policy. The real problems of the historic sites program besides an obvious lack of funding remained unsolved. The board had an imperfect criterion for the selection of historic sites and questions affecting preservation were still separate from the principal activities of the board. Without a coherent policy the program would remain unfocussed.

APPENDIX I

Cruikshank's provisional list of historic sites showing those sites that had already been marked and those which he considered should be (HSMBC, minutes, 28 Oct. 1919).

Nova Scotia

Marked

Annapolis, 5 sites
Halifax, 5 sites
Pictou, 2 sites
Sidney Mines, 1 site

Unmarked

Fort Monckton and Gasperau
Fort Beauséjour
Chignecto (Fort Lawrence)
Grand Pré
Louisbourg
Fort Edward, Piziquid
Fort Point La Have
Canso
Fort Clarence

Prince Edward Island

Charlottetown, 1 site

Port Joli

New Brunswick

Caton's Island, 1 site
Dalhousie, 1 site
Fredericton, 1 site
Ste. Croix, 1 site
St. John, 3 sites

Miramichi
Fort Cumberland
Grand Falls
Madawaska (Portage)
Presque Isle (Military Post)
St. Andrews (Settlement)

Quebec

Calumet Island, 1 site
Chambly, 2 sites
Châteauguay, 1 site
Eccle's Hills, 1 site
Gaspé, 1 site
Longue Sault, 1 site
Montréal, 4 sites
Quebec City, 9 sites
Portage du Fort, 1 site
Three Rivers, 1 site

Arnold's Trail
Beauport
Cap Rouge (Landing of Roberval)
Cartier, Jacques (Landing of)
Fort Richelieu (Sorel)
Fort St. François
Fort Sainte Thérèse
Fort Yamaska
Hebert, Louis (Settlement by)
Isle aux Noix (Military Post)
La Colle Mill
Laprairie
St. Jean
St. Maurice (Forge)
Site of first Water Mill
Tadoussac
Temiscouata (Fort and Portage)
Verchères (Military Post)

Ontario

Marked

Adolphustown, 2 sites
Beaver Dam, 1 site
Brantford, 4 sites
Crysler's Farm, 1 site
Fort William, 1 site
Kingston, 2 sites
Glengarry Cairn, 1 site
Morrisburg, 1 site
Niagara on the Lake, 9 sites
Niagara Falls, (Lundy's
Lane) 2 sites
Orillia, 1 site
Ottawa, 5 sites
Queenston, 3 sites
Ridgeway (Church), 1 site
Stony Creek, 1 site
Thamesville (Battlefield),
1 site
Williamsburg (Church),
1 site

Unmarked

Alborough
Amherstburg (Fort Malden)
Beaver Dam (Battlefield)
Carleton Island (Fort Haldimand)
Champlain's Trail
Chippawa (Battlefield)
Southwold Earthwork
Christian Island
Cooks Mills (Battlefield)

Military Post
Drummond Island (Military Post)
Fort Lévis (Isle Royale)
Holland Landing
London, 2 sites
Long Point

Fort Dover

Navy Island (Ship Yard)
Prescott (Fort Wellington)
Port Arthur
Port Stanley
Sainte Marie (Mission)
St. Thomas
Sault Ste. Marie
Thessalon
Windmill Point

Manitoba

Winnipeg City, 2 sites

Fort Bourbon (Trading Post)
Fort Dauphin (Trading Post)
Fort Epinette (Trading Post)
Fort Pembina
Fort Pasquia
Fort Winnipeg

Saskatchewan

Regina, 1 site
Qu'Appelle, 1 site
Saskatoon, 1 site

Batoche (Battlefield)
Cut Knife (Battlefield)
Duck Lake (Battlefield)
Fish Creek (Battlefield)
Fort Assiniboia
Fort Pelly
Touchwood Hills (Trading Post)

Alberta

Marked

Calgary, 1 site
Edmonton, 1-site

Unmarked

Calgary (Trading Post)
Fort Macleod
Fort Saskatchewan
Rocky Mountain House

British Columbia

Nanaimo, 1 site
Vancouver, 1 site

Fort Kootenay
Viscomé Portage
Hudson Bay Posts (several)

APPENDIX II

National Historic Sites marked by the Department during 1922-1923.

New Brunswick

Fort Beauséjour
Fort Monckton
United Empire Loyalists Landing (2 sites)

Nova Scotia

Fort Lawrence

Quebec

St. Maurice Forges
Battle of Three Rivers
Fort Laprairie
Second Battle of Laprairie

Ontario

Old Simcoe House
First meeting place, executive council of Upper Canada
Glengarry House
Battle of the Windmill
Battle of Crysler's Farm
Mission Ste. Marie II
Mission St. Ignace
Wintering Site, Port Dover
Battle of Chippewa
Cliff Site, Port Dover
Battle of Frenchman's Creek
Battle of Cook's Mill
Battle of Fort George
Beechwoods or Beaver-Dams Battlefield
Lock Site, Sault Ste. Marie

APPENDIX III

COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURES OF HISTORIC SITES DIVISION,
PARKS BRANCH AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

1919 - 1936

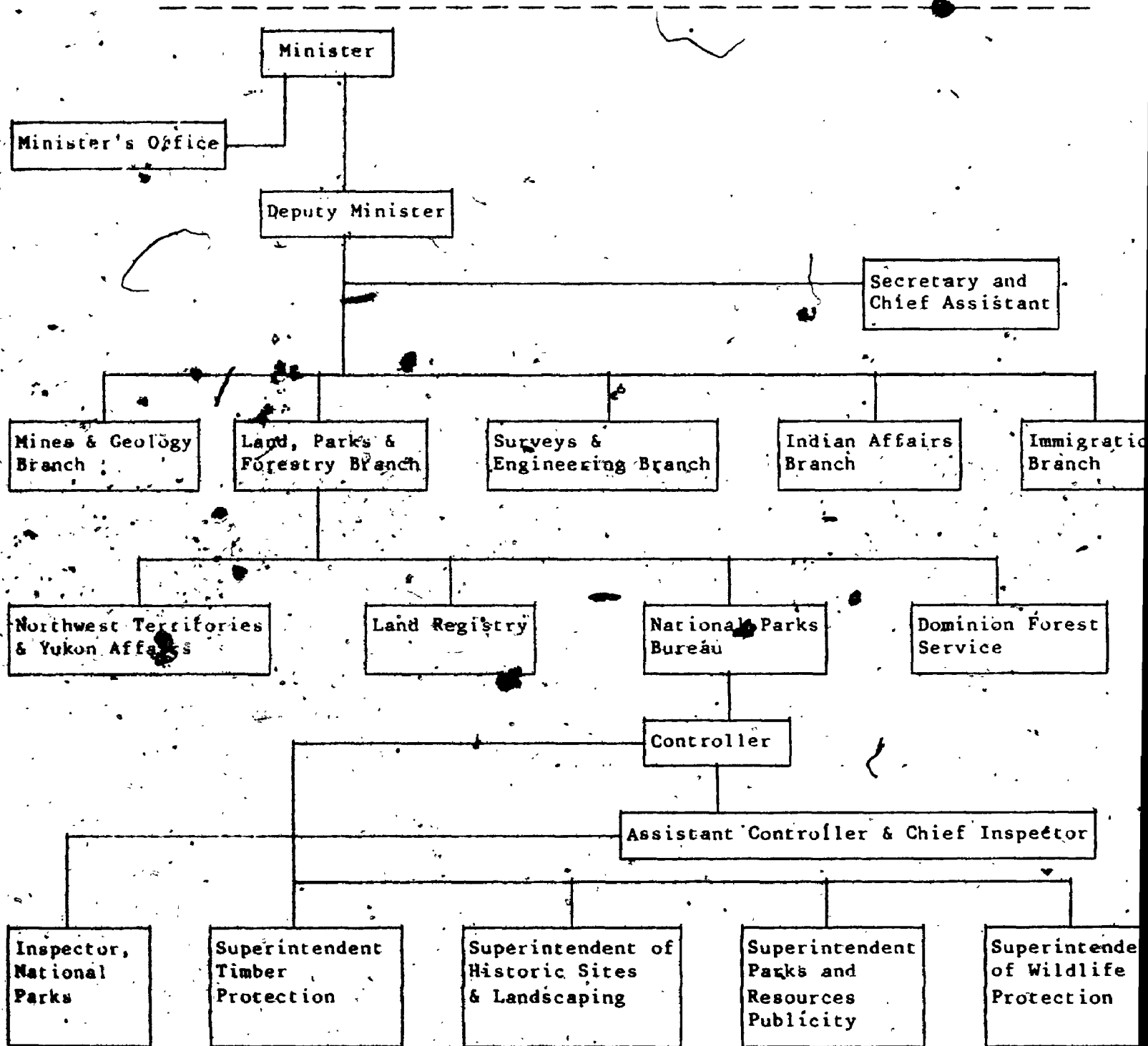
SOURCE: CANADA AUDITOR GENERAL, ANNUAL REPORTS

FISCAL YEAR	DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	PARKS BRANCH	BRANCH EXPENDITURE AS % OF DEPARTMENTS	HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS	AS % OF PARKS	FORT ANNE	FORT ANNE AND HISTORIC SITES AS % OF PARKS
1919/20	\$10,108,368.08	\$ 564,798.08	5.58	\$ 5,000.00*	.88	\$ 2,213.57	
1920/21	6,736,540.19	731,005.15	10.85			2,247.65	
1921/22	7,097,341.80	966,328.22	13.61	8,592.50	.89	1,868.93	1.08
1922/23	6,897,912.85	1,022,857.07	14.83	11,610.66	1.14	3,798.69	1.51
1923/24	6,957,740.29	1,269,827.23	18.23	22,321.16	1.76	2,886.78	1.99
1924/25	6,372,966.85	1,009,603.47	15.84	11,671.29	1.16	1,995.94	1.35
1925/26	7,188,456.90	1,080,306.58	15.03	17,940.00	1.66	1,306.53	1.78
1926/27	6,980,520.27	1,162,306.06	16.65	17,352.14	1.49	1,840.34	1.65
1927/28	6,920,503.07	1,184,814.38	17.12	26,654.96	2.20	3,684.67	2.56
1928/29	8,994,342.91	1,344,089.60	15.03	56,393.78	4.19	3,028.00	4.42
1929/30	9,592,268.35	1,537,330.83	17.89	48,212.80	3.14	3,005.82	3.33
1930/31	8,103,598.09	1,567,730.99	19.35	44,582.84	2.84	3,255.63	3.05
1931/32	5,870,437.09	1,305,096.98	22.23	30,761.35	2.35	4,205.86	2.68
1932/33	4,263,595.45	1,059,043.01	24.84	24,127.80	2.28	2,876.21	2.55
1933/34	4,075,699.68	1,001,071.57	24.56	14,377.07	1.44	3,035.20	1.74
1934/35	4,208,902.45	1,023,898.99	24.33	21,523.06	2.10	3,167.69	2.14
1935/36	5,260,211.39	1,096,149.88	20.84	24,824.36	2.26	3,473.69	2.58

* Estimated Expenditure

APPENDIX IV

The Department of Mines and Resources and the Lands Parks and Forestry Branch, 1936



Appendix V

Special Appropriations for Historic Sites, 1938-40 (Source: PAC, RG 84, vol. 1174, HS General pt. 10, T.S. Mills to T.B. Mallace, 23 January 1939.

1938-39

Vote 146 Restoration and Development \$ 8,350

Fortress of Louisbourg	4,000
Martello Tower, Halifax	500
Murney Tower, Kingston	500
Fort Chambly	1,200
Fort Lennox	1,300
Fort Monckton, N.B.	350
Fort Malden, Ont.	500

Vote 532

Fort Beauséjour	\$ 20,500
Fort Chambly	11,000
Champlain's Habitation	15,000
Fort Malden	12,000

1939-40

Special Supplementary Estimates 1939-40

Vote 517

Fort Beauséjour	\$ 2,800
Fort Monckton	3,500
Champlain Habitation	40,000
Fort Malden	13,000
Fort Wellington	2,700
St. Lin	6,000

\$134,350

HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA - 259 -
MEMBERSHIP, 1919 - 1949

	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Quebec	Ont. - 1	Ont. - 2	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	PARKS
1919	--	W.C. MILNER	W.O. Raymond	B. SULTE	E.A. CRUIKSHANK (CHAIRMAN)	J. COYNE		--	--	--	J.B. HARKIN
1920	--							--	--	--	
1921	--							--	--	--	
1922	--							--	--	--	
1923	--	J.P. EDWARDS	J.C. WEBSTER					--	--	F.W. HOWAY	
1924	--							--	--	--	
1925	--	W. CROWF		V. MORIN A. FAUTEUX				--	--	--	
1926	--			P. DEMERS				--	--	--	
1927	--							--	--	--	
1929	--							--	--	--	
1930	--			M. NANTEL				--	--	--	
1931	--	D.C. HARVEY				FRED LONDON		--	--	--	
1932	--							--	--	--	
1933	--			E.F. SURVEYER				--	--	--	
1934	--							--	--	--	
1935	--							--	--	--	
1936	--							--	--	--	
1937	--							--	--	--	F. Williamson
1938	--						A. D'E SCHAMBAULI	J.A. GREGORY	--	--	
1939	--							--	--	--	
1940	--							--	--	--	
1941	--							--	--	--	
1942	--							--	--	(CHAIRMAN)	
1943	--				G. LANCTOT (Dominion Archives)			--	--	--	W.D. CROMARTY
1944	--		(CHAIRMAN)					M.H. LONG	W.N. SAGE	--	
1945	--							--	--	--	
1946	--							--	--	--	
1947	--							--	--	--	
1948	--							--	--	--	
1949	T. CAMPBELL				W.K. LAMB			--	--	--	

APPENDIX VII

National Historic Sites and Important Personages Commemorated to 31 March 1950 showing date plaque was erected. The symbol * denotes secondary tablet. Source: PAC, RG 84, vol. 911, HS 2.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown	1925
First Submarine Telegraph, Charlottetown	1933
Discovery of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown	1934
First Organizaed Land Survey,, Holland Cove	1935
Jean Pierre Roma, Near Georgetown	1936
Survey of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, Charlottetown	1937
*George Coles, Charlottetown	1939
*Col. John Hamilton Gray, Charlottetown	1939
*Thomas Heath Haviland, Chartottetown	1939
*Andrew Archibald Macondla, Charlottetown	1939
*Edward Palmer, Charlottetown	1939
*William Henry Pope, Charlottetown	1939
*Edward Whelan, Charlottetown	1939
Pioneer Fox Farming, Alberton	1940
Lucy Maud Montgomery, Cavendish	1948
*Sir Louis Henry Davis, Charlottetown	1949
*Sir Joseph Pope, Charlottetown	1949
*Robert Harris, Charlottetown	1949

NOVA SCOTIA

United Empire Loyalist Landing, Shelburne	1923
Fort Lawrence	1923
First Printing Press, Halifax	1924
Her Majesty's Naval Yard, Halifax	1924
Louisbourg Fortress (Nos. 3 & 4)	1925
Fort Edward, Windsor	1925
Louisbourg Fortress (No. 2)	1926
Joseph Walle Des Barres, Sydney	1927
Battle of the Shannon and the Chesapeake, Halifax	1927
Louisbourg Fortress (No. 1)	1927
First Post Office in British North America, Halifax	1928
Canso	1928

NOVA SCOTIA (cont'd)

King's College, Windsor	1928
Samuel Vetch, Annapolis Royal	1928
Admiral d'Anville's Encampment, Rockingham	1929
Fort La Have, La Have	1929
Canada's Coal Industry, Port Morien	1930
Ste. Anne, Englishtown	1930
Wolfe's Landing, Kennington Cove	1930
Jean-Paul Mascarene, Annapolis Royal	1931
Fort St. Peters, St. Peters	1931
St. Peters Canal, St. Peters	1931
Bloody Creek Engagement, near Bridgetown	1932
Cape Breton-Newfoundland Cable, North Sydney	1934
Liverpool Privateersmen, Liverpool	1935
Simon Newcomb, Wallace Bridge	1935
First Agricultural Fair in Canada	1935
Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Windsor	1937
Fort St. Louis, Port La Tour	1937
Battle of Grand Pre, near Grant Pre	1938
Halifax-Castine Expedition, Halifax	1938
First Pictou Academy, Pictou	1938
*Mohawk Indian Fort, Annapolis Royal	1938
Naval Encounter, Tatamagouche	1939
Sambro Island Lighthouse, Sambro	1939
*Sir Charles Tupper, Amherst	1939
*Edward Barron Chandler, Amherst	1939
*Robert Barry Dickey, Amherst	1939
*Jonathan McCully, Amherst	1939
*Samuel George William Archibald, Truro	1940
*Sir Adam George Archibald, Truro	1940
*William Alexander Henry, Halifax	1940
*William Henry Chase, Halifax	1940
First Responsible Government in the British Empire Overseas, Halifax	1948
*Thomas Beamish Akins, Halifax	1948
*Beamish Murdoch, Halifax	1948
*James Boyle Uniacke, Halifax	1948
*William Stevens Fielding, Halifax	1948
Ingonish-French River Portage, near Truro	1949
Captain Savalette, English Harbour	1949
Sir George Augustus Westphal, Halifax	1949
Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, Halifax	1949

Sir Edward Belcher, Halifax	1949
Philip Westphal, Halifax	1949
George Edward Watts, Halifax	1949
Sir John Sparrow David Thompson, Halifax	1949
Harriette Taber Richardson, Lower Grenville	1949
*Sir John George Bourinot, Sydney	1949

N.B. The cairn marking the site of Champlain's Habitation, Port Royal National Historic Park, was demolished during the reconstruction of the buildings ca. 1940. The plaque was subsequently replaced.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Fort Beauséjour, near Aulac	1923
Fort Monckton, near Port Elgin	1923
United Empire Loyalist Landing, Saint John	1923
Fort Charnisay, Saint John	1924
Fort Meductic, near Woodstock	1924
Battle of the Restigouche, Campbellton	1925
Fort Beauséjour, near Aulac	1925
Fort Nashwaak, Fredericton	1926
Nicolas Denys, Bathurst	1926
Tonge's Island, Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park	1927
Yorkshire Settlement, Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park	1927
*Sir Howard Douglas, Fredericton	1927
First Steam Fog Horn, Saint John	1928
First Marine Compound Engine, Saint John	1928
Major Gilfrid Studholme, Saint John	1929
Fort Jemseg, Lower Jemseg	1929
Battle of the Petitcodiac, Hillsborough	1929
First Export of Coal, Minto	1930
Beaubear's Island, near Newcastle	1931
*Martello Tower, Saint John	1931
*Mallard House, Saint John	1931
Fort Nerepis, near Saint John	1931
Founding of New Brunswick, Saint John	1934
The 104th New Brunswick Regiment, Fredericton	1934
Petitcodiac-Washademoak Portage, Petitcodiac	1937
Missaguash-Baie Verte Portage, Baie Verte	1938
Major Thomas Dixon, Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park	1938
First Minister of Health, Fredericton	1939
*James deMille, Saint John	1939

NEW BRUNSWICK (cont'd)

*George McCall Theal, Saint John	1939
Treaty With Indians, 1778, Saint John	1941
*Charles Fisher, Fredericton	1941
*John Hamilton Gray, Saint John	1941
*John Mercer Johnson, Chatham	1941
*Peter Mitchell, Newcastle	1941
*William Henry Steeves, Saint John	1941
*Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, Gagetown	1941
Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Welshpool	1946
The Lumber Industry, Saint John	1947
Bliss-Carmen, Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, Francis Joseph Sherman, Fredericton	1947
Meductic-Eel River Portage, near Woodstock	1948
*Oliver Goldsmith, Saint Andrews	1948
*William Francis Ganong, Saint John	1949
*Sir George Parkin, Saint John	1949
*Sir George Euler Foster, Saint John	1949
*Lemuel Allan Wilmot, Fredericton	1949

QUEBEC

St. Mauricie Forges, near Trois Rivières	1923
Battle of Three Rivers	1923
Fort Laprairie, Laprairie	1923
Second Battle of Laprairie, near Laprairie	1923
Fort Crevier, Notre Dame de Pierreville	1924
Battle of Odelltown, near Lacolle	1924
Hochelaga, Montreal	1925
Chambly Cemetery, Fort Chambly	1925
Fort Richelieu, Sorel	1925
Fort Longueuil, Longueuil	1925
Tadoussac	1925
Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge	1925
Battle of Coulee Grou, Rivière des Prairies	1925
Fort Lennex, Ile-aux-Noix	1926
Le Fondateur des Bois-Francs, St-Louis de Blandford	1927
Three Rivers Fort, Trois Rivières	1927
Montreal's Birthplace, Montreal	1927
Fort St. Jean, St. Jean	1927
Battle of the Cedars, Les Cedres	1927

QUEBEC (cont'd)

Battle of Lacolle, Lacolle	1927
Battle of Ile-aux-Noix, Ile-aux-Noix	1927
Madeleine de Verchères, Verchères	1927
Fort Ste. Thérèse, near Chambly	1927
Battle of the Lake of Two Mountains, near Senneville	1928
First Canadian Steamship, Montreal	1928
Ile aux Coudres, near Baie St. Paul	1928
Chateauguay Ford, near Howick	1928
Fort Coteau du Lac, Coteau du Lac	1929
Battle of Chateauguay, Allan's Corners	1929
Battle of September 6, 1775, near St. Jean	1929
Royal Navy, War of 1812-14, Ile-aux-Noix	1929
Chambly Canal, Chambly	1930
*Benjamin Sulte, Trois Rivières	1930
First Geodetic Survey, Kingsmere	1930
Opening of the St. Lawrence River to all Nations, Quebec	1930
Quebec Seminary, Quebec	1930
Lachine Canal, Lachine	1931
Grenville Canal, Grenville	1931
Temiscouata Portage, near Cabane	1931
Carillon Canal, Carillon	1931
First Paper Mill in Canada, St. André Est	1932
Jacques Cartier, Gaspé	1934
Lt.-Col. Charles de Salaberry, Beauport	1934
First Patent in Canada, Quebec	1935
Chambly Road, St. Hubert	1935
Lachine Massacre, Lachine	1935
Soulanges Canal, Cascades Point	1935
Chaudières Portages, Hull	1936
First Canadian Hospital, Quebec	1937
*Louis Fréchette, Levis	1937
*Sir John A. Macdonald, St. Patrick	1937
Fort St. Louis, Caughnawaga	1937
Sieur d'Iberville, Montreal	1937
Robert Cavalier de la Salle, Lachine	1937
Robert Cavalier de la Salle, Ville LaSalle	1937
Fort Temiscamingue, Ville Marie	1938
First Postal Service, Montreal	1938
Lord (Ernest) Rutherford, Montreal	1939
*Madame Albani, Chambly	1939
First Transcontinental Train, Montreal	1939

QUEBEC (cont'd)

*Louis Philippe Hebert, Ste. Sophie d'Halifax	1939
King's Highway, Quebec	1941
*Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott, St. Andre Est	1940
*Joseph Bouchette, Quebec	1941
Sir James McPherson Lemoine, Quebec	1941
Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin des Laurentides	1941
*Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin Des Laurentides	1941
Jacques Marquette, Boucherville	1946
Louis Jolliet, Quebec	1947

ONTARIO

"Cliff Site", Port Dover	1922
First Meeting of Executive Council of Upper Canada, Kingston	1923
Glengarry House, near Cornwall	1923
*Battle of the Windmill, near Prescott	1923
Crysler's Farm Battlefield, near Morrisburg	1923
Fort Ste. Marie II, Christian Island	1923
St. Ignace, Mission of, Victoria Harbour	1923
"Wintering Site", Port Dover	1923
Battle of Chippewa, Chippewa	1923
Action of Frenchman's Creek, near Fort Erie	1923
Battle of Cook's Mills, near Welland	1923
Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake	1923
Battle of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, near Thorold	1923
"Lock of Site", Sault Ste. Marie	1923
First Steamship on Lake Ontario, near Bath	1924
Port Stanley	1924
Old Welland Canal, Allanburg	1924
Port Arthur	1925
Fort Nottawasaga, Wasaga Beach	1925
Fort Wellington, Prescott	1926
Fort William	1926
Port Talbot	1926
Waterloo Pioneer Settlement, near Preston	1926
Fort Frontenac, Kingston	1926
Duke of Richmond, near Richmond	1926
Fort de Levis, Johnstown	1926
Rideau Canal, Ottawa	1926
Allan Rudyard Crawford, Ottawa	1926

ONTARIO (cont'd)

Arctic Expedition, Ottawa	1926
Point Pelee, near Leamington	1927
McKee's Point, Sandwich	1927
Kaministikwia Portage, near Thunder Bay	1927
Sir John A. Macdonald, Kingston	1927
Sir John A. Macdonald, Adolphustown	1927
Montgomery's Tavern, Toronto	1928
Vrooman's Battery, Queenston	1928
Bishop John Strachan, Cornwall	1928
The Defence of York, Toronto	1928
Navy Island Shipyard, near Chippawa	1928
Fugitive Slave Movement, Windsor	1928
First Electric Telegraph, Toronto	1929
Ridgeway Battlefield, near Ridgeway	1929
Niagara Portage Road, Stamford	1929
Battle of the Longwoods, near Wordsville	1929
Brock's Expedition, Port Dover	1929
Bishop Alexander Macdonell, St. Raphael	1929
Coming of the Mohawks, Deseronto	1929
Huron Tract, Goderich	1929
Mattawa Portage, Mattawa	1930
Fort George, near Niagara-on-the-Lake	1930
Southwold Earthwork, near St. Thomas	1930
Pointe au Baril, near Maitland	1931
Sir Charles Bagot, Kingston	1931
Lord Sydenham, Kingston	1931
Fort Mississauga, Niagara-on-the-Lake	1931
Dundas Street, near Dundas	1931
Normandale Furnace, Normandale	1931
Navy Yard, Amherstburg	1931
Royal Navy, Amherstburg	1931
Nanticoke (War of 1812)	1932
Sir Gordon Drummond, Toronto	1932
Fort Erie	1933
Fort Drummond, Queenston	1932
Capture of Ohio and Somers, Fort Erie	1933
United Empire Loyalists, Cornwall	1934
Crawford Purchase, Kingston	1934
Treaties of Niagara, Niagara-on-the-Lake	1934
Action at Butler's Farm, near Niagara-on-the-Lake	1934
Butler's Rangers, near Niagara-on-the-Lake	1934

ONTARIO (cont'd)


Six Nations, Ohsweken (Brantford)	1934
Carrying Place, Bay of Quinte	1934
McKee's Purchase, Blenheim	1934
First Iron Furnace in Upper Canada, Lyndhurst	1935
Navy Yard, Kingston	1935
Burlington Heights, Hamilton	1935
Capture of Tigress and Scorpion, Penetanguishene	1935
Samuel de Champlain, Ottawa	1936
Combat at McCrae's House, near Chatham	1936
Officers and Seamen, Royal Navy, Barriefield	1937
Yonge Street, Richmond Hill	1937
Glengarry Landing, Edenville	1937
Bridge Island, Mallorytown	1937
First Cheese Factory in Canada, Ingersoll	1938
First Oil Wells in Canada, Oil Springs	1938
Trent Valley Canal, Bobcaygeon	1938
Battle of Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls (3)	1938
*Sir Arthur Currie, London	1938
*Honourable Edward Blake, London	1938
*Sir George Ross, London	1938
First Lighthouse on the Great Lakes, near Niagara-on-the-Lake	1939
Indian Treaties, Orillia	1939
Cornwall Canal, Mille Roches	1939
Fort Malden, Amherstburg	1939
Sir James Lucas Yeo, Kingston	1939
*Murney Tower, Kingston	1940
Douglas Brymner, Ottawa	1940
*Merrickville, Blockhouse, Merrickville	1940
Battle of Stoney Creek, near Hamilton	1940
Battle of Queenston Heights, Queenston	1940
*Reverend Egerton Ryerson, Simcoe	1942
Conquest of the Arctic, Ottawa	1943
*Sir Adam Beck, Baden	1946
*William Wilfrid Campbell, Kitchener	1946
Survey of the Great Lakes, Owen Sound	1947
*Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, Welland	1947
*Archibald Byron Macallum, London	1947
Gananoque	1948
Fairfield on the Thames, near Bothwell	1948
*Charles Mair, Lanark	1948
*Sir Richard Cartwright, Kingston	1948

ONTARIO (cont'd)

*Sir Gilbert Parker, Belleville	1948
*George Herbert Locke, Beamsville	1948
*Sir Charles Saunders, London	1949
*Sir John Willison, Goderich	1949
*Adam Shortt, London	1949
*Sir William Buell Richards, Brockville	1949
*Sir Richard W. Scott, Prescott	1949

MANITOBA

Fort Douglas, Winnipeg	1925
Forts Rouge, Garry and Gibraltar, Winnipeg	1925
Fort La Reine, Portage La Prairie	1928
Indian Treaty No. 1, Lower Fort Garry	1928
Early Fur Trade, Wawanesa	1930
Port Churchill, Churchill	1931
Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill	1931
Henry Kelsey, The Pas	1935
Roseau Route, Letellier	1936
Norway House	1937
Fort Maurepas, Fort Alexander	1937
Samuel Hearne, Churchill	1938
Thomas Simpson, Winnipeg	1939
Dawson Road, Ste. Anne	1939
*Honourable John Norquay, Winnipeg	1947
Fort Dufferin, near Emerson	1948
Dr. Charles William Gordon (Ralph Connor), Winnipeg	1949
First Legislature of Manitoba, Winnipeg	1949
LeVerendrye's Journey to the Mandans, Morden	1949



SASKATCHEWAN

Batoche	1924
Battle of Cut Knife Hill, near Cut Knife	1924
Fort Livingstone, near Pelly	1924
Battleford	1924
Fort Walsh, near Merry Flat	1926
Indian Treaty No. 6, near Carlton	1930
Battle of Fish Creek, near Fish Creek	1935
Cumberland House, Cumberland Lake	1938

ALBERTA

Frog Lake Massacre, near Frog Lake	1924
Fort Calgary, Calgary	1925
Fort Macleod, Macleod	1926
Fort Edmonton and Augustus, near Edmonton	1926
Jasper House, Jasper Park	1927
Indian Treaty No. 7, near Cluny	1927
First Coal Mine in Alberta, Lethbridge	1928
Fort Fork, near Peace River	1929
David Thompson, Jasper Park	1930
Henry House, Jasper Park	1930
Rocky Mountain House	1931
General Strange's Column, Edmonton	1932
Father Macombe and Reverend McDougall, Wetaskiwin	1935
Methye Portage, Fort McMurray	1937
Fort Assiniboine, near Barrhead	1938
Fort Chipewyan	1939
Overland Immigration of 1862, Jasper	1939
*Louise Crummy McKinney, Clareholm	1947
Chief Crowfoot, near Gleichen	1948
Saving of the Buffalo, Elk Island Park	1949

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Fort Langley, Langley Station	1924
Nootka Sound, Friendly Cove	1924
Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Prince George	1924
Fort Yale, Yale	1924
Prospect Point (The S.S. Beaver), Vancouver	1924
Gonzales Hill, Victoria	1925
Fort Kamloops, Kamloops	1925
Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Bella Coola	1926
First Coal Mine in British Columbia, Nanaimo	1927
Fort Hope, Hope	1927
New Westminster	1927
Sir George Simpson, Kootenay Park	1928
Cariboo Gold Fields, Barkerville	1928
Last Spanish Exploration, Vancouver	1929
Fort Steele, (North West Mounted Police)	1929
Pacific Cable, Bamfield	1930
Simon Fraser, Musquam	1930

BRITISH COLUMBIA (cont'd)

Collins Overland Telegraph, Quesnel	1931
Fort Alexandria, near Alexandria	1935
Great Fraser Midden, Vancouver	1937
Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Port Moody	1938
Kootenae House, near Invermere	1938
*Sir Richard McBride, New Westminster	1941
*Frederic William Howay, New Westminster	1946
The Oregon Treaty of 1846, near Douglas	1947
*Amor de Cosmos, Victoria	1948
Okanagan Brigade Trail, Westbank	1949

YUKON TERRITORY

Yukon Gold Discovery, Dawson City	1931
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Arthur Meighen Papers
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