

**The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada's  
Representation of Indigenous History from 1945 to 1982**

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**Table of Contents**

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Acronyms	v
Departments Responsible for the HSMBC	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	17
Chapter 2	43
Chapter 3	81
Chapter 4	111
Conclusion	148
Bibliography	156

## Abstract

Canada formed the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1919 to commemorate subjects of national historic importance, the terms of which were very subjective and initially narrowly interpreted. This thesis explores the development of the Board's representation of Indigenous history in national historic designations from 1945 to 1982. It does so by examining Board meeting minutes, reports, administrative structures, policies, and drafted inscriptions.

This thesis argues that the Board worked towards better representing Indigenous history internally during the period, though the results only became public toward the end. Indigenous subjects considered and subsequently designated were largely Indigenous figures who supported assimilationist practices by the British and Canadian governments, or archaeological sites that divorced Indigenous peoples from the present. Another significant source of subject matter useful in examining the Board's improved means of presenting Indigenous history was the North-West Campaign.

Internally, the Board struck the Indian Tribes of Canada committee that became the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples committee, developed policy on Indigenous language use and the protection of archaeological remains, and collaborated with the National Museum of Man to reconcile shortcomings in its expertise to improve its portrayal of Indigenous history. These factors were all instrumental in the development of the Board's more accurate and informed presentation of Indigenous history by the end of the period, with higher numbers of designations and a broader range of Indigenous subjects.

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## Acronyms

CHRA — The Conservation of Historic Resources in Canada (report)

CMS — Canadian Métis Society

CPR — Canadian Pacific Railway

FTIP — Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples Committee

FWW — First World War

HSMA – Historic Sites and Monuments Act

HSMBC – Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada

HBC — Hudson’s Bay Company

IAA — Indian Association of Alberta

ICOMOS — International Council on Monuments and Sites

INA — Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

ITC — Indian Tribes of Canada Committee

NBA — National Battlefields Commission

NIB — National Indian Brotherhood

NIC — National Indian Council

NWC — North-West Campaign

TSC — Thematic Studies Committee

UNESCO — United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WHC — World Heritage Committee

## **Departments Responsible for the HSMBC**

1911 to 1936 - Department of the Interior

1936 to 1950 - Department of Mines and Resources

1950 to 1953 - Department of Resources and Development

1953 to 1966 - Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

1966 to 1978 - Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

1978 to 1994 - Department of the Environment

## **Introduction**

### **The Untapped Potential of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada**

This thesis explores the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC or the Board), and its dealings with Indigenous history in its work from 1945-1982. It examines the subjects recommended for national historic designation, the inscriptions drafted, and the policies that affected its work with Indigenous history. This thesis argues that the Board met academic and social standards when handling Indigenous history in the period, supported largely by a handful of Indigenous advocates on the Board and constantly updated administrative and policy structures. Scholars have criticized the work of the Board in the twentieth century for focusing heavily on political and military subjects and lacking human diversity in its recommendations, and this research considers that criticism as it explores the Board's more diverse designations.

The Government of Canada formed the Board in 1919, following the First World War (FWW), as Canada responded to concerns over the preservation of historic sites. The heritage movement in Canada was burgeoning in the early years of the twentieth century as historical pageants became a popular means of celebration, and Canada sought to capitalize on the keen interest of the public in preserving and celebrating its past. It further developed its national parks system in the 1910s and James B. Harkin, commissioner of the Dominion Parks Branch, saw an opportunity for a symbiotic relationship between Canada's commemorative agenda and his desire to grow the national parks system. These factors contributed to the formation of the Board under the Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior.

In 1919, Canada formed the Board as an independent advisory body to Minister of the Interior Arthur Meighen to guide the national historic program that began designating subjects of national historic importance. The program formed a government-sanctioned Canadian historical narrative that became the only exposure to history that many Canadians had beyond a high

school education. The Board recommended subjects and the minister formally designated them if he had no objections. Most sites received a stone cairn with a bronze and burgundy plaque largely unaltered from a design chosen at the Board's second meeting, in 1920. At the time of writing, there are 2986 designations between National Historic Sites, National Historic Events, and National Historic Persons.

The Board received criticism in its early years for representing a narrow thematic scope of Canadian history, focusing on military and political subjects and allowing minority populations and cultural affairs to fall to the wayside.<sup>1</sup> This thesis argues that consideration for Indigenous subjects increased internally throughout the post-war period through research and within the Board's committee system, in the inscriptions drafted by members, and in the subjects recommended, all in step with contemporary scholarship and public opinion to more accurately represent Canadian history and society. The Board also periodically demonstrated more progressive ideas than were found in the contemporary historical trends prominent in the subjects it recommended. The Board's internal workings supported more diverse recommendations later in the period. However, Indigenous recommendations continually fell into two categories for most of the period, with some exceptions: Indigenous figures who ultimately supported the assimilationist doctrine of the British and then Canadian governments and archeological subjects that demonstrated Indigenous peoples' longstanding existence on the land but often divorced them from the present. These trends minimized the importance of Indigenous peoples to Canadian history and influenced the perceptions of those who visited designated Indigenous sites. Change took time.

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<sup>1</sup> Programme Participants, "Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada: Brief History of Board Members, 1919-1996," in *The Place of History: Commemorating Canada's Past*, ed. Thomas H.B. Symons (Ottawa, HSMBC, 1996), 333.



The Board used language to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the dominant European narratives and thereby into a Canadian identity. Historian Benedict Anderson describes language and racism as tools in nationalism, both employed by the Board regarding Indigenous peoples.<sup>2</sup> Historic designations sought to create a unified Canadian national identity, but the Board's motives changed over time. In this respect, appropriating Indigenous history to present it strategically served the Board's purposes. However, later in the period, the Board began consulting Indigenous peoples periodically on matters pertaining to their history, for its research papers and for use in inscriptions, thereby demonstrating a shift in its motivations.

The past actions of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada are particularly relevant at the time of writing because the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) implicated the Board in its 94 Calls to Action that have become Canada's guide to reconciliation. Call to Action #79 concerns the overall need for an improvement in the representation of Indigenous subjects in commemoration in Canada. Call to Action #79 states:

We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal organizations, and the arts community, to develop a reconciliation framework for Canadian heritage and commemoration. This would include, but not be limited to:

- i. Amending the Historic Sites and Monuments Act to include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis representation on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and its Secretariat.
- ii. Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history.
- iii. Developing and implementing a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada's history.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983), 141-150.

<sup>3</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action," *TRC*, accessed June 2015, [http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls\\_to\\_Action\\_English2.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf).

This thesis may contribute to evaluating the success of Call to Action #79. The Board itself is mentioned only in clause “i” but it contributes significantly to the overall deployment of the national commemorative program in Canada, and is thus implicated in the other two clauses. The TRC’s call for Indigenous representation among Board members speaks to the Board’s appropriation of Indigenous history. The Board’s improved representations of Indigenous peoples in research and inscriptions, and its periodic consultations with Indigenous groups about research and land use for monuments do not circumvent its appropriation of Indigenous voice that this Call to Action seeks to address. The Board is an important factor in commemoration nationwide and has arguably the most well-recognized form of commemoration in Canada: its iconic plaque. Its work fell largely in lockstep with contemporary scholarship and public opinion, but it must continually be held to a high standard.

Scholars and activists have not explored the work of the Board in the context of reconciliation. Canadian scholars have explored various aspects of the Board’s work in limited ways. There is a historiographical focus on the Board’s first 30 years with regard to its problematic structure and thematic direction. Scholars also discuss the Board within the context of prominent figures in the Parks Branch, the heritage movement in Canada, and the North-West Campaign (NWC). Only recently have scholars begun to examine the work of the Board in the post-war period. Researching the history of the Board when its historiography is minimal is important because it helps to evaluate the past work of the Board on Indigenous subjects and forms a trajectory of improvement.

James H. Coyne, one of two founding members for Ontario on the Board, wrote the article, “The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada”<sup>4</sup> in 1925 to inform historians internationally of the Board’s work. He describes the initial survey of Canada to have broken down into four general categories: “Aboriginal...French Period...British Discovery, Exploration and Struggle for Control... [and] Canadian Period”<sup>5</sup>, each with its own sub-categories. These categories characterized the Board’s early work, and the indication of Indigenous peoples as an early priority contrasts starkly with the lack of Indigenous history in the Board’s recommendations throughout the twentieth century. The article is largely expository, explaining the logistics, formation, and work of the Board. It forms a definitive base for how the Board perceived itself upon beginning its work, giving historians a better idea of its intentions.

C.J. Taylor wrote an article on the shortcomings of the Board in its first 30 years, and expanded his research into a book that represents a comprehensive survey of the early years of the Board, and explores its transitional period in the 1950s. In his 1983 article, “Some Early Problems of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada”,<sup>6</sup> Taylor argues that it was an elite, conservative group of men with a narrow thematic scope. Taylor’s 1990 book, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada’s National Historic Parks and Sites*,<sup>7</sup> includes a more in-depth examination of the Board. Taylor discusses the work of the Board through an extensive reorganization, a move toward more geographically distributed recommendations, a broadening mandate of consultation on external heritage matters, and questionable historical interpretation. Taylor’s

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<sup>4</sup> James H. Coyne, “The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada,” *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 6, no. 2 (1925): 109-120.

<sup>5</sup> Coyne, “Monuments Board,” 111.

<sup>6</sup> C.J. Taylor, “Some Early Problems of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1983): 3-24.

<sup>7</sup> C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada’s National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).

work is critical of the Board's initial intentions, discussing them as narrowly thematically focused and selfish in their recommendations, many early recommendations dealing almost exclusively with individual members' primary areas of research. Taylor's work contributes to a firm, unanimously critical base for the Board's first 30 years, and his brief exploration of the Board's work in the post-war period is more heavily focused on members and the Board's architectural policy rather than administrative structures and minority designations as this thesis does.

Yves Pelletier is likewise critical of the Board's practices in its first 30 years. In his article, "The Politics of Selection: The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Imperial Commemoration of Canadian History, 1919-1950",<sup>8</sup> Pelletier describes the Board's actions as heavily imperially-minded designations made in support of the perception of Canada as a dominion of Britain. He argues that the Board was essentially a "Victorian gentleman's club."<sup>9</sup> The critical tone of scholars in the limited research carried out on the Board contextualizes perfectly the Board's early practices and its shift in the post-war period.

Alan Gordon has written a biographical sketch of Brigadier General Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, the Board's first chair.<sup>10</sup> He argues that Cruikshank exerted great influence over the Board from his position as chair, and shared many values with his fellow members. Gordon characterized Cruikshank as an anti-American, Victorian historian who considered the contributions of Indigenous peoples marginal and subscribed to contemporary government perceptions of Indigenous peoples as lesser. Gordon's depiction of Cruikshank supports all other historiographical

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<sup>8</sup> Yves Yvon J. Pelletier, "The Politics of Selection: The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Imperial Commemoration of Canadian History, 1919-1950," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 17, no. 1 (2006).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 142.

<sup>10</sup> Alan Gordon, "Marshalling Memory: A Historiographical Biography of Ernest Alexander Cruikshank," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2015): 23-54

perceptions of the Board's early years and strengthens the contrast between the interwar and post-war periods.

Roger Marsters's article, "'The Battle of Grand Pré': The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Commemoration of Acadian History"<sup>11</sup> examines the Board's most significant debate in its early years: language. He argues that John Clarence Webster, member for New Brunswick, advocated for a bicultural perspective on the Board. He also argues that the debate that raged throughout the 1920s and 1930s over the designation of and interpretation at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia characterized the typically anglo-centric nature and work of the Board, to the point where the Parks Branch intervened to ensure adequate francophone representation among its recommendations. Bilingualism was thoroughly debated and a focus of Board members for Québec throughout the twentieth century. The unwillingness of the Board to include diverse linguistic recommendations characterized its narrow perceptions of history and its stubbornness to maintain them. Marsters's work informs the later dealings of the Board with bilingualism and the eventual addition of Indigenous language policy.

Brian S. Osborne has written on the Board's work in concert with other commemorative bodies in Canada to examine how they have shaped national memory and identity, and about the Board's work on the North-West Campaign. In his article, "Figuring Space, Marking Time: Contested Identities in Canada"<sup>12</sup>, Osborne discusses the HSMBC's thematic progression in Canada to argue a constant shift in Canadian national identity. He uses basic statistics to explore the Board's concentration on military and political subjects and compares them in the interwar and post-war periods. Osborne does not explore the administrative work of the Board or its work on

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<sup>11</sup> Roger Marsters, "'The Battle of Grand Pré': The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Commemoration of Acadian History," *Acadiensis* 36, no. 1 (2006): 29-50.

<sup>12</sup> Brian S. Osborne, "Figuring Space, Marking Time: Contested Identities in Canada," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, no. 1 & 2 (1996).

Indigenous subjects, but he does allude to a similar conclusion: that national historic designations began to diversify in the post-war period. In his article, “Corporeal Politics and the Body Politic: the re-presentation of Louis Riel”<sup>13</sup> on the NWC, Osborne briefly discusses how Canada deployed the narrative of the NWC for nation-building purposes, and how commemoration of the event changed over time. He discusses the Board’s support of the standard, anglo-centric interpretation of the NWC through its recommendation of several NWC battle sites, further informing the critical examination of the Board’s reinterpretations of the NWC in the post-war period.

In his article, “Parks Canada and the 1885 Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,”<sup>14</sup> Alan McCullough also explores the evolution of the narrative of the North-West Campaign, presented by the Board in the 1920s and beyond. McCullough argues that the Board initially interpreted sites in the context of the growth of the Canadian nation while it based later reinterpretations more on the Indigenous perspectives by drawing on a changing historiography and shifting public opinion. McCullough’s focus on the NWC informs a thread of this thesis that encompasses all Indigenous designations in the 1945-1982 period. The NWC is a well-examined topic and is included in this work but this thesis examines Indigenous recommendations more broadly.

Cecilia Morgan’s book *Commemorating Canada*<sup>15</sup> discusses the heritage movement that led to the formation of the HSMBC, and the Board’s work into the post-war period. Morgan contributes to the Board’s historiography by exploring the commemoration of minority groups including women, ethnic minorities, and Indigenous people, into the twenty-first century. However, Morgan’s objective is not to delve deeply into the processes and interpretive work of the

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<sup>13</sup> Brian S. Osborne, “Corporeal Politics and the Body Politic: the re-presentation of Louis Riel in Canadian Identity,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 303-322.

<sup>14</sup> Alan McCullough, “Parks Canada and the 1885 Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,” *Prairie Forum* 27, no. 2 (2002).

<sup>15</sup> Cecilia Morgan, *Commemorating Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Board as it relates to Indigenous peoples. This thesis examines inscriptions, committee work, and thematic trends extensively, and with particular regard to Indigenous peoples to create a more explicit trajectory of changing Board interpretation. Morgan's work spans a similar period and concerns the designation of minorities, and thus this thesis complements Morgan's work well.

In her book *Nature, Place, and Story: Rethinking Historic Sites in Canada* Claire Elizabeth Campbell argues that national historic sites, in cases where they are also UNESCO World Heritage sites in particular, can inform contemporary environmental political issues.<sup>16</sup> She does so by exploring five national historic sites that carry World Heritage designations. She has fully examined the interplay between UNESCO and the Board, but this thesis has only alluded to UNESCO's influence on Board recommendations more broadly. Campbell's research period begins in the 1970s and therefore offers complementary context, but she focuses on sites largely unexplored by this thesis. Campbell addresses how intricately linked Indigenous peoples and environmental issues are while not delving into Indigenous history in any significant capacity, making her work an appropriate sequel to this thesis, complementary and not repetitive.

*The Place of History: Commemorating Canada's Past* is the collected proceedings of the national symposium on commemoration in Canada held for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Board.<sup>17</sup> Published in 1994 and edited by Thomas H.B. Symons, *The Place of History* broadly represents the values of the Board at the end of the twentieth century, and several articles reflect on the Board's first seventy-five years. A small collection of articles examines and encourages the commemoration of minorities including women and Indigenous peoples, and many advocate for a greater focus on preservation. It also contains a brief history of the Board, written by its

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<sup>16</sup> Claire Elizabeth Campbell, *Nature, Place, and Story: Rethinking Historic Sites in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Programme Participants, "History of Board Members."

contemporary members. *The Place of History* acts as a bookend for this thesis because it represents commemorative struggles that persisted beyond the period examined.

Veronica Strong-Boag has focused on the Board at the turn of the twenty-first century. In her article, “Experts on Our Own Lives: Commemorating Canada at the Beginning of the 21st Century”,<sup>18</sup> Strong-Boag examines how grassroots commemorative movements can influence official commemorative bodies like the HSMBC. The bulk of Strong-Boag’s discussion concerns grassroots efforts after the period examined in this thesis, and she considers Indigenous efforts. Her work informs the years directly following the period examined, acting as an extension of the Indigenous efforts to organize at the end of the 1970s.

The historiography of the Board weighs heavily on its early work and work concerning the commemoration of the North-West Campaign. Only recently, with work like Morgan’s, are scholars exploring the Board’s broader work and the implications of commemorating the entire spectrum of Canadian history. The present research is a first step into the examination of the Board’s commemoration of minorities. Scholars have not conducted any comprehensive studies of Indigenous designations, though they have briefly considered them in other work.

The Great War is an excellent example of the developing commemorative movement in Canada with which to contextualize the work of the Board. Jonathan Vance’s *Death So Noble*<sup>19</sup> argues that the First World War was a nation-building, myth-making tool that became a political one. It was assimilationist by nature, creating a singular image of the Canadian soldier, and of the Canadian citizen. Its pervasiveness in Canadian society has shaped Canada as a nation, affecting all that it has commemorated. The potency of the First World War as a commemorative

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<sup>18</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, “Experts on Our Own Lives: Commemorating Canada at the Beginning of the 21st Century,” *The Public Historian* 31, no. 1 (2009): 46-68.

<sup>19</sup> Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).



tool was a powerful incentive for the Board to continue commemorating the military over other subjects. In this context, including Indigenous peoples in the commemorative movement promoted assimilation, but toward the end of the period the Board began representing Indigenous peoples independently of Canadians, which is at odds with the movement's initial function. The changing function of commemoration in regards to Indigenous commemoration specifically and the change more broadly begs further examination.

Scholars largely ignored and marginalized Indigenous peoples in history until the early twentieth century, and their portrayal has since evolved considerably. The first significant departure from the marginalization of Indigenous peoples, in regard specifically to the North-West Campaign, was George F. Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada*, published in 1936 and re-printed in 1960. Stanley portrayed Louis Riel as an unstable leader of the Métis rather than a villainous rebel.<sup>20</sup> More broadly, Diamond Jenness's seminal *The Indians of Canada*, issued by the National Museum of Man (NMM), has had seven editions, at the time of writing, following its publishing in 1932.<sup>21</sup> It described Indigenous peoples in Canada from anthropological and historical perspectives and represented the best understanding of Indigenous peoples in Canada for a significant portion of the twentieth century. The National Museum of Man, founded in 1881 out of the Geological Survey of Canada, supported publications about Indigenous peoples and cultures throughout its existence because its anthropological dimension necessitated an interest in preserving them.

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<sup>20</sup> George F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960).

<sup>21</sup> Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada 1955).

Indigenous resistance in the 1960s and 1970s, along with other reform movements, facilitated the development of narratives of exploitation and decolonization in the emerging sub-discipline of Indigenous history.<sup>22</sup> J.S. Frideres's *Canada's Indians*<sup>23</sup> and Richard P. Bowles's *The Indians: Assimilation, Integration or Separation?*<sup>24</sup> then contributed to greater non-Indigenous understanding. In the 1970s, Indigenous history grew, which led to texts like Olivia Patricia Dickason's *Canada's First Nations*<sup>25</sup> and Daniel Francis's *The Imaginary Indian*<sup>26</sup> in 1992, both presenting arguments highlighting Canada's marginalization and exploitation of Indigenous peoples in different forums from policy to media. These works in Indigenous history discuss culture, history, politics, but Indigenous commemoration in Canada is largely unaddressed, especially relating to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Thus, this thesis contributes to the breadth of knowledge on Indigenous history in Canada.

I conducted this research at Library and Archives Canada, largely using RG37, the National Archives of Canada fonds. The archive is a collection of documents provided to and gathered by the Dominion Archivists appointed to the Board during the period: Gustave Lanctot, W. Kaye Lamb, and Wilfred I. Smith. It contains the minutes and agenda papers for Board meetings between 1950 and 1982, as well as miscellaneous documents including correspondence and reports from 1922 to 1982. After 1982, the fonds focuses on the reports of Parks Canada itself, rather than the Board and thus my period ends with the available archival material. Additional material, with considerable overlap, was available on microfilm from RG84, the Parks Canada

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<sup>22</sup> Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 264-265.

<sup>23</sup> J.S. Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Politics* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Richard P. Bowles, James L. Hanley, Bruce W. Hodgins, and George A. Rawlyk, *The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation?* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1972).

<sup>25</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pump Press, 1992).

Fonds, and in MG 31 D 8, the Kaye Lamb Fonds. I only conducted physical archival research at Library and Archives Canada but supplemented my research with an official Access to Information and Privacy Act (ATIP) request sent to Parks Canada for the minutes of the Board for the years 1945 to 1956. The Heritage Designations and Programs Branch responsible for the Board within Parks Canada refused me research access to the Board's official archive, which it houses at the Parks Canada National Archive in Cornwall.

This thesis does not claim to be entirely comprehensive in examining the nuanced processes of the Board with concern to Indigenous subject matter, as it may not have documented many of its dealings in a tangible form. While some Indigenous voices are included in this thesis vis-a-vis correspondence with the Board, captured in the dominion archivists' documents, it cannot claim to assess Indigenous opinions of the Board comprehensively during the period. The inability of Indigenous peoples to organize politically due to prohibitive policy characterized the period and thus few records exist in seeking to include Indigenous voices.

Toward the end of this research period, Indigenous people founded many National Indigenous Organizations (NIOs). Canada had never witnessed a concerted effort from all three Indigenous groups, the First Nations, the Inuit, and the Métis Nation, to advocate for their rights on a national level. The priorities of NIOs focused heavily on recognition of Aboriginal and Treaty Rights and they spent little time advocating for greater representation of their history as part of Canada's commemorative agenda. While researching, I attempted to but was unable to access many NIO records from the period. Limited access to Assembly of First Nations (formerly the National Indian Brotherhood) records revealed no early resolutions toward securing greater Indigenous commemoration. The earliest records associated with key terms including "historic

site”, “commemoration”, and “representation” date back to 1982, at the end of the period included in this thesis.<sup>27</sup> I wrote this thesis with Indigenous voices in mind but relied on the Board’s historical record as represented by the LAC archive.

The first chapter of this thesis discusses the origins of the HSMBC, the context of the interwar period, popular perceptions of Indigenous peoples up to the Second World War, and the ways in which perceptions of Indigenous peoples affected Board members and the Department. The Department created the Board for several reasons including the influence of the heritage movement in Canada, the easily harvested glory of the First World War for nation-building purposes, and the Government of Canada’s desire to grow the national parks system.<sup>28</sup> The interwar period was an important time for Canadian nationalism and for the government’s shifting relationships with Britain and the United States, which affected attitudes toward subjects of national historic importance. It argues that the changing perceptions of Indigenous peoples within the government and in the public consciousness affected both the Board and individual members’ likelihood to nominate Indigenous subjects or receive Indigenous subject proposals from elsewhere.

Chapter 2 explores the administrative transformation of the Board in the post-war period, primarily in the 1950s. It argues that the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, otherwise known as the Massey Commission, had a significant impact on heritage institutions, including the HSMBC. It traces the effects of the Historic Sites and Monuments Act (HSMA) of 1953, which formally created the Board, on it through the Board’s subsequent actions, including the establishment of a committee structure, a renewed focus on ge-

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<sup>27</sup> Assembly of First Nations, “E-mail with AFN concerning resolutions” (e-mail, 2016).

<sup>28</sup> Programme Participants, “History of Board Members.”

ographic and thematic balance, and the prioritization of preserving historic sites over only marking them with plaques. In particular, it argues that the creation of the Indian Tribes of Canada (ITC) Committee had a positive impact on the Board's representation of Indigenous history.

Chapter 3 explores the recommendations made and inscriptions crafted by the Board from 1945 to 1970. It examines the effectiveness of the Board in accurately portraying Indigenous subjects with adequate research and an awareness of biases. It argues that the Board was increasingly considerate of Indigenous subject matter internally but an assimilationist trend in its recommendations persisted owing to complications with thematic studies and lengthy discussions about how to present Indigenous peoples. It also explores some of the policies and internal advocacy on the Board for Indigenous recommendations, especially through the advocacy of the ITC, which then became the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples (FTIP) committee.

Chapter 4 explores the 1970s, and the recommendations, inscriptions, and policies developed during that decade. It argues that the Board demonstrated improved consideration for Indigenous history by developing Indigenous language policy and by recommending an extensive number of archaeological sites with Indigenous origins. It also argues that assimilationist trends in recommended Indigenous subjects began to break down, due in part to support and influence from collaborating organizations like the National Museum of Man and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which began the World Heritage List in 1972.

This thesis is located at the intersection of commemorative, social, political, institutional, and Indigenous history. It is commemorative and political in its context and general subject, Indigenous and cultural in its focus, and socio-political and Indigenous in its implications. It con-

stitutes a contribution to the historiography of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, specifically in an Indigenous-related capacity. It also contributes to writing on Indigenous commemoration in Canada and on how Canadians recognize validated history.

## Chapter 1

### The Interwar Origins of the HSMBC and Perceptions of Indigenous People

This chapter will explore the origins of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and contextualize its work in the interwar period with regard to Canada's perceptions of Indigenous peoples. It argues that the rise of the heritage movement in Canada and its influence on commemorative efforts on a national scale resulted in the formation of the Board. It also examines the Board's intersections with the Department of Indian Affairs and public perceptions of Indigenous peoples and argues that while the government's perceptions remained negative and unchanged until the post-war period the public's perceptions fluctuated. The interwar years, during which Canada emerged politically from colony to nation, were fundamental to understanding both the desire to preserve Canadian heritage and the later work of the Board on Indigenous history.

The Government of Canada created the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1919, following the First World War. The Board's primary purpose was to "receive and consider recommendations respecting the marking or commemoration of historic places."<sup>29</sup> The incentive to create the Board was threefold. First, it addressed an immediate need to forge a national identity following Canada's battlefield successes during the First World War. Second, the Board was key in addressing the concerns of the leaders of the heritage movement in Canada that sought government oversight for national commemorations. Finally, it contributed to the government's desire to grow the national parks system.<sup>30</sup> Canadian successes during the First World

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<sup>29</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.

<sup>30</sup> Programme Participants, "History of Board Members."

War created a Board desire to focus on military themes to forge a national identity and thus the focus of the Board was narrow in its first decades.

The heritage movement in Canada began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and formed the basis for the Board's creation. Historical pageants and re-enactments of historical events became a popular means of entertainment and reached international popularity. Pageants often celebrated Canada's British lineage and were largely community-based presentations. In 1908, Canada held its biggest pageant for the tercentenary of Samuel de Champlain's founding of Québec City. It was fundamental to the growing heritage movement. Nearly 5000 people, including a group of Indigenous people, participated in the pageant in Québec City. The event included parades, concerts, fireworks, a regatta, and numerous re-enactments throughout the city.<sup>31</sup> The Québec Battlefields Commission was established and federally funded in 1907 to oversee the pageant and the restoration of the Plains of Abraham.

Many turn-of-the-century commemorations were voluntarily organized. Strongest among these voluntary groups were the provincial heritage associations of Ontario, Québec, and the Maritimes, which came to dominate the early Board in geographic representation. In 1901, provincial heritage organizations formed the Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places in Canada, which then renamed itself the Historic Landmarks Association, and then the National Battlefields Association (NBA) by 1907.<sup>32</sup> When it became the NBA, it involved itself in the Tercentenary pageant and the restoration of the Plains of Abraham, attracted by the interest of Governor General Earl Grey and Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier in the celebration.<sup>33</sup> Several

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<sup>31</sup> H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1-13 62, 143-145.

<sup>32</sup> Morgan, *Commemorating Canada*, 110-111.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, "Some Early Problems," 4-5.



members of the NBA were prominent figures in the heritage movement and the celebration and its work invigorated the heritage movement nation-wide.

Subjects popular within the heritage movement due to its nationalistic nature, like the military and the founding of Canada, heavily influenced the amateur historians that formed the first iteration of the Board. Individual perceptions of history were evident in the early work of the Board because recommendations tended to be in Board members' individual areas of research, none of which were Indigenous history.<sup>34</sup> A lack of Indigenous history was partly because of other overwhelming priorities, but was also in part a symptom of largely negative perceptions of Indigenous peoples. The development of public and government perceptions of Indigenous people is essential to the explanation of changing trends in Board recommendations in the post-war period. The Board began to recommend and more fairly commemorate Indigenous peoples as Canadian society began to make an effort to mitigate the negative relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada. Efforts in particular areas, like academia, were influential on the Board as it was slowly professionalized, a process expedited by the Historic Sites and Monuments Act of 1953, discussed in chapter 2.<sup>35</sup>

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the North-West Campaign drastically altered Canadians' perceptions of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous resistance and conflict with the expanding Canadian state created a violent image of Indigenous peoples. The NWC also created a popular image of Indigenous people as strong, warrior-type Plains Cree.<sup>36</sup> Following the conflict, the perception of Indigenous people shifted back toward the Noble Savage as Euro-Canadians' exposure to them

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<sup>34</sup> Pelletier, "Politics of Selection," 135, 137, 139, 141.

<sup>35</sup> Programme Participants, "Members (1919-1996)," 345-356.

<sup>36</sup> R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's On the Warpath* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 5.

returned to its pre-conflict low. The reduced exposure also led to the misconception of the “disappearing Indian,” the notion that Indigenous people in Canada were a population in danger of disappearing, which was exaggerated notwithstanding poor, often desperate conditions on reserves.<sup>37</sup>

The Red River Campaign of 1869-1870 and the North-West Campaign of 1885 are key to European-origin Canadians’ perceptions of Indigenous people and characterized the latter’s relationship to Canada; Louis Riel, the historically iconic and controversial leader of the Métis and Indigenous resistance, is also central. The government considered the Métis and other Indigenous peoples in the prairies to be obstacles for the ‘National Policy’ and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to overcome and fulfill the dream of a united Canada from sea to sea to sea.<sup>38</sup> The Indigenous presence complicated the construction of a transcontinental railroad. Canada failed to consult Métis and European settlers on its land grants to migrating settlers when it absorbed Rupert’s Land into Confederation in 1869 for the purposes of expanding the country. Canada negotiated the purchase of land from the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) including the Red River settlement for \$300 000. The HBC surrendered its rights to the land to the Crown, which then transferred the land to Canada.<sup>39</sup> Tension mounted as conflicts over land and governance progressed throughout 1870. Riel returned to the North-West in early 1870 from his training for the priesthood in Montreal and became the voice of the frustrated Métis and settlers. Riel emerged as a leader among the Métis and formed a provisional government with which to negotiate terms for entering Confederation. Despite their efforts, Canada passed the Manitoba Act on May 12, 1870,

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<sup>37</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Peter B. Waite, *Canada 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), 139-140, 146-150.

<sup>39</sup> Bob Beal and Rod Mcleod, *Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellion* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), 18-19.

compelling the Métis to accept 1.4 million acres of land from the federal government in exchange for political and geographic control of the new province of Manitoba.<sup>40</sup> Following the conflict, Riel fled to the United States to escape a warrant for his arrest for the murder of Thomas Scott.<sup>41</sup>

Assimilationist policies characterized the 19th century for Indigenous people at large. In 1876, between the conflicts, Canada amalgamated its policies imposed on Indigenous peoples across provinces, including the newly incorporated Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island, and enshrined them federally into the Indian Act. It encompassed every aspect of Indigenous life. The Indian Act regulated lands using the reserve system and education using Indian Residential Schools.<sup>42</sup> The legacy of the Indian Act was the constant struggle of Indigenous peoples for recognition and resources as Canada institutionalized their attempted assimilation and marginalization. The government perceived the Indian Act as a means of controlling the Indigenous population, which it viewed as inferior and in need of guidance, a perception carried well into the twentieth century.

The North-West Campaign of 1885 was the result of Canada's intention to displace the Métis further following the Red River Campaign in 1870 to continue the expansion of the country and railroad. Many Métis had sold the land allocated to them under the Manitoba Act and moved west to areas including Batoche, Qu'Appelle, and Duck Lake, in present-day Saskatche-

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<sup>40</sup> Government of Canada, "The Manitoba Act," *Collections Canada*, December 14, 2001, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-7118-e.html>.

<sup>41</sup> Beal and Mcleod, *Prairie Fire*, 23-25.

<sup>42</sup> Government of Canada, "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians," (legislation, Ottawa, 1876), [https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/1876c18\\_1100100010253\\_eng.pdf](https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/1876c18_1100100010253_eng.pdf).

wan. The Métis attempted to organize politically but the government tried to silence them because the country could not afford another, potentially larger uprising. Riel returned from the United States in 1884 prepared to lead another resistance effort.<sup>43</sup>

Leading up to the North-West Campaign, Riel sought a peaceful entry into province hood for the territory, and for Canada to recognize all peoples as equal and legitimate. He did not seek a violent means to his end. The government's continual refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Métis as a people, their land, or their terms for entering Confederation, resulted in the formation of a provisional government under Riel in March 1885. Canada dispatched military forces and major battles occurred at Duck Lake in March, at Frog Lake and Fish Creek in April, and finally at Batoche in May. Riel surrendered on May 15, 1885.<sup>44</sup>

On November 16, 1885, Canada hanged Riel for treason. Canada labeled 28 Indigenous communities as disloyal and sentenced more than 50 Indigenous men, including chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear, to incarceration. Chief Poundmaker served only seven months in prison due to his family connections but grew very ill during his incarceration. Chief Big Bear served two years of his three-year sentence due to his failing health. On November 27, 1885, Canada hanged eight Indigenous men for crimes relating to the resistance in Canada's largest group execution.<sup>45</sup> Canada's punitive responses devastated the resistance psychologically and physically, further souring Indigenous peoples' relationship with Canada.

Until the mid-twentieth century, most Canadian historians interpreted the NWC as a rebellion by ungrateful Indigenous peoples and perceived Riel as a villain who impeded the development of the nation, thereby legitimizing Canada's actions. Riel and the NWC's impact on the

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<sup>43</sup> Jennifer Reid, *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada* (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 2008), 18.

<sup>44</sup> Beal and Mcleod, *Prairie Fire*, 151, 179, 220, 236, 256.

<sup>45</sup> Reid, *Louis Riel*, 24-25.

future of Indigenous relations in Canada was identifiable in his branding first as a villain and enemy of Confederation and locally as a saviour, and later often as a hero and father of Confederation.<sup>46</sup> There were various stages to this shift in perceptions of Riel, first in academia and later in the public consciousness, helped by public historians. The NWC characterized the relationship between the Government of Canada and the Métis people for over a century. It also greatly affected the government's relationship with Indigenous peoples at large.

Perceptions of Indigenous people in Canada reinforced their neglect by the Board, except where they intersected with Canadian military operations, as in the case of the NWC. There were two distinct ways of perceiving Indigenous peoples in Canada, the negative perception of the government and the mixed perception of the public, and each affected the consideration for Indigenous subjects for national historic designations. Prior to the First World War, two distinct perceptions of Indigenous peoples existed in the public consciousness: the "Noble Savage" and the bloodthirsty warrior. From the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, the notion that 'man' had originally lived in a truly free state, free from the baggage of civilization permeated Canada's elite. The elite believed that only the Indigenous peoples remained in this state, and thus perceived them as "Noble Savages."<sup>47</sup>

The mass media portrayed Indigenous people as exotic and used them to attract tourists, which created an inherent curiosity among the Canadian public. Academics like Marius Barbeau and Diamond Jenness, both well-known anthropologists, perpetuated the notion that Indigenous peoples were dying out due to contact with Europeans because their cultures were incompatible

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<sup>46</sup> Morgan, *Commemorating Canada*, 77.

<sup>47</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 4.

and this notion pervaded pockets of the Canadian population.<sup>48</sup> The concept of the “Noble Savage” had largely returned following the NWC and the mass media continued to portray Indigenous people largely as Plains Cree, creating a singular image of Indigenous cultural aesthetics. Media and the reduced exposure because of the reserve system heavily romanticized Indigenous peoples as simple, noble people who were dying out to Canadian civilization. School textbooks, dime-store novels, Wild West shows, advertisements, and Hollywood films shaped public perceptions of Indigenous people in the 1930s. The more negative side of public perception, though, characterized Indigenous people as drunken, culturally backward, irresponsible, lacking intelligence, and criminally deviant. Indigenous peoples’ wartime service improved Canadians’ perceptions of them, redefining them in some respects as “heroic,” and mass media began portraying more Indigenous peoples, but they continued to suffer economically and politically, and remained marginalized.<sup>49</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Indigenous peoples were frequently a part of fairs and local exhibitions but the Department of Indian Affairs opposed their involvement because it felt participation encouraged Indigenous peoples to maintain their traditional cultures. The department’s opposition was one piece in a larger, policy-driven agenda of assimilation that was empowered in 1913 by its new deputy superintendent general, Duncan Campbell Scott.<sup>50</sup> Scott created assimilationist policies and a narrative that degraded Indigenous people. He largely characterized Indigenous peoples as “lazy, shiftless, indolent, liars, all stomach and cunning.”<sup>51</sup> During this period, Indigenous identities were in jeopardy. The government considered “Indians” as a

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<sup>48</sup> Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 55-57.

<sup>49</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 6, 25-27, 31-32, 36-37.

<sup>50</sup> Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 98-99.

<sup>51</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 20.

single race to maintain the dichotomy between “Indian” and non-Indian but there was a simultaneous effort to erase the “Indian” entirely. Indigenous cultures were unable to meet the standards of “Indian” created by the Department of Indian Affairs because this image represented Indigenous culture from a pre-contact period. During the 1920s and 1930s, Indian Agents enforced assimilationist practices in various ways. Agents largely ignored individual treaty agreements and followed the Indian Act strictly to the point of failing to recognize fishing and hunting rights. Adhering to the generic interpretation of the Indigenous peoples’ relationship to Canada simplified the recognition of Indigenous peoples at large.<sup>52</sup> With the goal of assimilating them in mind, the Department continued to restrict Indigenous identities by prohibiting cultural practices. For example, it continued to enforce its 1885 ban on giving gifts, principally to stop the Potlatch ceremony practiced by North-West Coast First Nations but that was central to many different ceremonies. The Department wished to assimilate Indigenous peoples through identity restrictions. The Department’s attitude was patronizing, paternalistic, and actively negative, clashing with mixed public opinions of Indigenous peoples.<sup>53</sup>

The Department of Indian Affairs divorced itself from commemorative efforts and focused on its assimilationist agenda. Scott focused on stripping Indigenous peoples of their cultural heritage. He stated that with his time in office the “great forces of intermarriage and education [would] finally overcome the lingering traces of native custom and tradition.”<sup>54</sup> He negatively affected the government’s relationship with Indigenous peoples because he believed that they were lesser humans in need of the strictest guidance. Under his administration, Indian

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<sup>52</sup> Robin Jarvis Brownlie, “‘Nothing Left for Me or Any Other Indian’: The Georgian Bay Anishinabek and Interwar Articulations of Aboriginal Rights” in *Aboriginal History: A Reader* 2012, ed. Kristin Burnett and Geoff Read (Don Mills, Oxford University Press 2012), 360.

<sup>53</sup> Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, 307-309.

<sup>54</sup> E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 34.

Agents enforced the oppressive and limiting measures of the Indian Act in the Indigenous communities for which they were responsible. Throughout his career, Scott focused on compulsory enfranchisement, and on stripping Indigenous peoples of their lands and means of political resistance. In 1927, he oversaw an amendment to the Indian Act that prohibited the payment of lawyers or organizations for the purpose of political resistance. His assimilationist doctrine was responsible for a rise in Indigenous students in Residential Schools during his administration by 51 per cent, from 11,303 to 17,163. This stemmed from another amendment to the Indian Act in 1920 that compelled Indigenous students to go to school.<sup>55</sup> He remained deputy superintendent general until 1932 when he retired. Scott's influence over the Department and consequently Indigenous peoples was significant. It further strained their relationship and negatively affected perceptions of Indigenous people within the Department and the country at large.

Perceptions of Indigenous peoples influenced the Board, including the intensely negative perceptions of government and mixed academic and public perceptions through the lobbying of Board members by local heritage organizations.<sup>56</sup> The stages in perception of Riel and Indigenous peoples at large, though the early focus was on the Métis narrative, coincide with changing trends in the work of the Board. In the 1920s, only local perceptions in the prairies favoured Riel and the Board's more nationally minded inscriptions received criticism, so it began to ignore the NWC altogether. This backlash taught the Board to better observe academic and public perceptions. In the 1950s, when perceptions of Riel and the NWC became more neutral in academia

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<sup>55</sup> Hugh Shewell, "Dreaming in Liberal White: Canadian Indian Policy, 1913-83," in *Aboriginal History: A Reader*, ed. Kristin Burnett and Geoff Read (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), 173-174.

<sup>56</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1954," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 326 (47).

No information for proper citation was available in the ATIP document provided by Parks Canada.



and among the public, the Board updated the inscriptions that initially received criticism.<sup>57</sup> The Board drew increased influence from academia because the number of scholars appointed to the Board increased.<sup>58</sup> Although academia and public opinion increasingly diluted government influence on the Board, it is worth noting that assimilationist policies began to break down, with the 1951 repeal of the Potlatch ban and the 1956 amendment to the Citizenship Act that granted Indigenous peoples Canadian citizenship.<sup>59</sup> Controversies like the proposal of the 1969 “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969,” otherwise known as the *White Paper*, also brought greater attention to the government’s role in supporting Indigenous peoples.<sup>60</sup> Each of these instances fostered greater public activism among Indigenous peoples. After the 1950s, perceptions of Riel in the public sphere began to change in lockstep with academia in large part due to sympathetic artistic interpretations of Riel and wildly popular academic texts like the reprint of Stanley’s *Birth of Western Canada*. This led the Board to revisit the NWC inscriptions again in the 1970s to match contemporary attitudes.<sup>61</sup> The Board continually changed with contemporary scholarship and opinion, demonstrated most clearly by the thread of NWC commemoration and an increase in Indigenous subject matter recommendations in general, which led the government in representing Indigenous peoples as Canada struggled to improve its relationship with them.

Following the First World War, with Canada celebrating its acknowledged battlefield prowess and within the context of the enthusiasm of the heritage movement, the government

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<sup>57</sup> Reid, *Louis Riel*, 42.

<sup>58</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.

<sup>59</sup> The Potlatch is a complex gift-giving tradition outlawed by the Indian Act.

<sup>60</sup> Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 218.

<sup>61</sup> Reid, *Louis Riel*, 42.

formed the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to advise the government on what to commemorate nationally. The Board developed initially out of a desire to grow the national parks system and the desire of the government to “dispose of obsolete properties”<sup>62</sup> to which local heritage organizations ascribed historical value and wanted to preserve. Minister of the Interior, Arthur Meighen, however, was concerned with the survival of a number of fur trade posts in Saskatchewan. Meighen asked James B. Harkin, commissioner of the Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior, to draft a policy concerning heritage affairs, a task which Harkin was initially reluctant to accept. By 1917, the Parks Branch, formed in 1911, created National Parks of Fort Anne in Nova Scotia and Fort Howe in New Brunswick in response to local lobbying efforts, and set a precedent for further site preservation.<sup>63</sup> Harkin proposed the establishment of a new board of experts because the Branch had insufficient expertise and resources. He reasoned that it would be most effective for a board of experts drawn from across the country to have access to the resources and processes of a branch of government to facilitate the preservation of nationally significant sites. Meighen accepted Harkin’s proposal in 1919 and created the Board. The Board was the Parks Branch’s way of adding capacity to its historical preservation duties without expending resources.

The Board and Parks Branch’s responsibilities focused on commemoration but remained separate. There were two aspects to commemoration, one related to the protection of sites and the second intended to communicate the site’s national significance. When Meighen created the Board, the Parks Branch was responsible for the former and for supporting the Board on the latter, and the Board was responsible for producing the materials to communicate to the country. The Department of the Interior rebalanced these responsibilities as the Board and Parks Branch

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<sup>62</sup> Programme Participants, “History of Board Members,” 333.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, “Some Early Problems,” 4.

grew, and the requirements for commemoration changed. Section 5 of the 1953 Historic Sites and Monuments Act enshrined the longstanding duties of the Board into law:

The Board may receive and consider recommendations respecting the marking or commemoration of historic places, the establishment of historic museums and the administration, preservation and maintenance of historic places and historic museums, and shall advise the Minister in carrying out his powers under this Act.<sup>64</sup>

Meighen, informed largely by Harkin, was responsible for selecting the original members of the Board. Political affiliation was probably a factor in his selections, but he based these primarily on the prestige of men within the heritage movement. The most prominent organizations were originally local in nature, like the Québec Battlefields Commission, and were attractive to amateur historians,<sup>65</sup> genealogists, and antiquarians as a more tangible outlet for their interests. As a result, a majority of the candidates considered were amateur historians who researched independently for their organizations, rather than professionally trained historians.<sup>66</sup> The voluntary nature of the Board did not necessarily appeal to trained historians preoccupied with university instruction and publishing their own research.

The original six members were all male and nearly all of them affiliated themselves with a national heritage organization. Brigadier General Ernest A. Cruikshank was an historian with the Department of Militia and Defence and a long-standing heritage activist. He was an amateur historian, and author of more than 100 publications, many focused on the War of 1812. As a Victorian historian, Cruickshank was somewhat anti-American and felt Indigenous people only contributed to the 1812-14 war effort in marginal ways and subscribed to the common perception of

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<sup>64</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.

<sup>65</sup> Amateur historians are historians who were not trained in a university.

<sup>66</sup> E.J. Hart, *J.B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks* (University of Alberta Press: Edmonton, 2010), 334-336.

Indigenous peoples at the time. Alan Gordon has argued that Cruickshank actively inserted his views into the work of the Board using his longstanding position as chair, limiting the potential recognition of Indigenous history.<sup>67</sup> He was also a member of both the Royal Society of Canada and secretary of the Historic Landmarks Association. James H. Coyne was a former military officer and lawyer who studied at the University of Toronto. He, too, was a member of the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association. Benjamin Sulte was the member named to represent Québec, though he lived and worked in Ottawa. He was also a former military official and published works on the organization of the Québec militia and on French-Canadian history. He was also a member of the Royal Society of Canada and the Historic Landmarks Association. William Odler Raymond, the Venerable Archdeacon of St. John, was a member of the Royal Society of Canada and an historian and editor from New Brunswick who served as president of the New Brunswick Historical Society. He was interested in New Brunswick and Loyalist history. William C. Milner of Halifax represented Nova Scotia and worked for the Public Archives of Canada. He travelled the Maritimes searching for historic documents and came to understand first-hand the poor conditions of many historic buildings in the Maritime Provinces. The Department appointed Harkin to the Board to represent it. Harkin, born in 1875 and younger than the other Board members, served as Minister of Indian Affairs Clifford Sifton's private secretary from 1901 and continued with the Department for a decade. He became the first commissioner of the Parks Branch in 1911. Harkin was a proponent of parks and fixated on growing the National Parks System, thus supporting the Board's work.<sup>68</sup> He served a secretarial role on the HSMBC but was highly influential as the Branch's representative.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Gordon, "Cruikshank," 28, 32, 36, 38.

<sup>68</sup> Hart, *J.B. Harkin*, 1, 8, 10-12, 38.

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, "Some Early Problems," 6-8.

The Board was composed of elite, white, well-educated men of British (or in the case of Sulte, French) ancestry with an average age of over 55. Board members came of age at a time when the government and public largely regarded Indigenous people as savage and bloodthirsty, during the NWC. As a result, these men's understanding of Canadian relations with Indigenous peoples and the character of Indigenous people was strongly negative.<sup>70</sup> However, the NWC was among the most significant events in their lifetimes and many Board members had military backgrounds, and as a result the Board commemorated the NWC throughout the 1920s. The NWC also fell thematically into the 'war and conflict' category that dominated commemoration during the interwar period.

The Board's first meeting took place in October 1919 and it immediately decided to commemorate persons, events, and sites of national historic importance rather than provincial or local. The Board also elected Cruikshank as its chair, establishing a steadfastly anglo-centric view in the most influential position on the Board. In May 1920, at its second meeting, it selected the bronze and burgundy plaque design that remains virtually unchanged at the time of writing, and began feverishly recommending sites related to individual members' research backgrounds.<sup>71</sup>

In its first three years, the Board suffered from internal turmoil. Milner felt that the Board was inefficient and petitioned former Prime Minister Robert Borden to use his influence to have it dissolved. Although Borden appealed to Meighen to dissolve the Board, Meighen, by this time PM, and later Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King both supported the Board. King reformed it in March 1923 by Order-in-Council, without Milner. Cruikshank remained chair, and Coyne, Sulte, and Harkin remained members, but this iteration of the Board included three new members: J. Plimsoll Edwards from Halifax, Nova Scotia, Dr. J. Clarence Webster from Shediac,

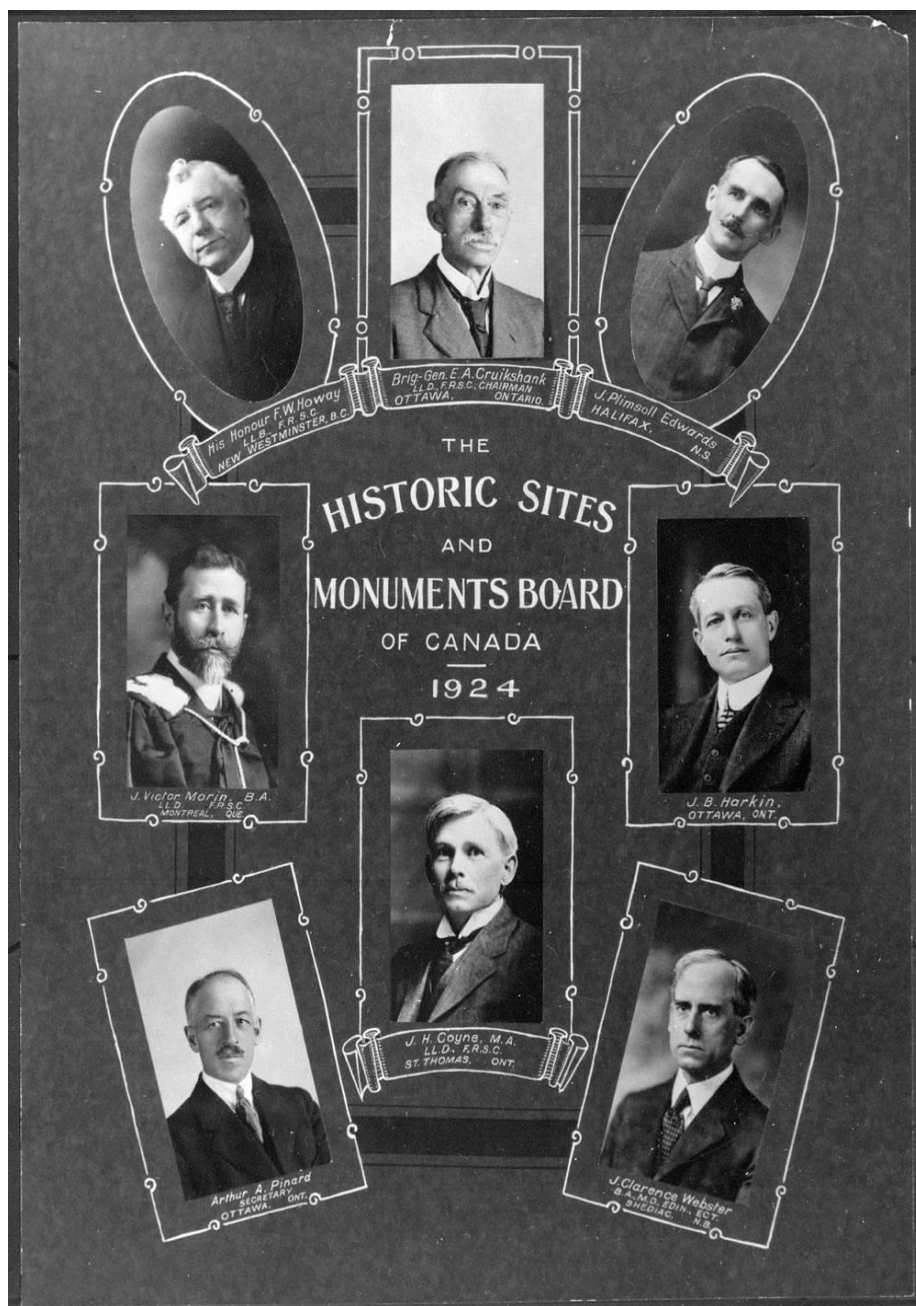
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<sup>70</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 4-5.

<sup>71</sup> Morgan, *Commemorating Canada*, 112-114.

New Brunswick, and Judge Frederic W. Howay from New Westminster, British Columbia.

Howay was responsible for representing all of the western provinces.<sup>72</sup> Of the regional representatives, Howay was the youngest member at age 57, which firmly placed the careers of all Board



<sup>72</sup> Hart, *J.B. Harkin*, 338.

members in an age when Empire was paramount and the NWC affected their views of Indigenous people.

All of the inaugural Board members also grew up in a more visibly colonial time. Canada passed the Indian Act and its forming policies in Board members' youths, creating a particular understanding of the relationship between Indigenous people and Canada. During that time, the Board did not offer Indigenous peoples recognition unless they had directly benefitted the Crown or were demonstrative of the static historical interpretation of Indigenous culture. Alternatively, the Board recognized Indigenous peoples when the Crown celebrated its triumphs against them, as it did with recommendations for the North-West Campaign. The Board followed these patterns in its first recommendations and inscriptions.<sup>73</sup> Empire and building the strength of Confederation was the government's focus, and Indigenous peoples' existence sometimes collided in opposition to these notions.

Sulte died in 1923 and the Department appointed Jean-Victor Morin to replace him as the representative for Québec. Morin believed adamantly in a government policy of bilingualism and felt that the Board's inscriptions on all plaques should be in English and in French, rather than unilingual French and English plaques within and outside of Québec, respectively. The other members of the Board were unanimous in their opposition to this suggestion and Morin resigned the following year.<sup>74</sup> This early dealing with bilingualism indicated the Board's unwillingness to accept French as a viable part of Canadian identity and history outside of Québec, and proved that the Board continued to focus on British subjects outside of Québec that they felt required only English text.

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<sup>73</sup> McCullough, "Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance," 163-164.

<sup>74</sup> Taylor, "Some Early Problems," 12.

Despite indecision and some changing members, Board members all began advocating for the commemoration of their own interests. Cruikshank saw to the thorough commemoration of the United Empire Loyalist defence of Canada during the War of 1812, overwhelmingly represented among the 24 recommendations made by 1923 when the Board was reformed. Ontario and the Maritimes received the bulk of the recommendations and designations.<sup>75</sup> Board members easily accepted to mark the North-West Campaign because it was a fairly recent, highly political military event and because it fit the Board's thematic priorities. While the Board did not acknowledge or designate Louis Riel himself in the 1920s, it recognized several other battle sites from the North-West Campaign including Batoche, Cut Knife Hill, Fish Creek, Duck Lake, and Frenchman Butte.<sup>76</sup> The Board framed each as an epic battle and glorified Canadians in their inscriptions while ignoring the significance of the largely Métis Indigenous narrative. Board members felt their inscriptions accurately portrayed historical events, and their glorification of Canadians of European-descent contributed to the largely anglophone nation-building project. In its first twenty years the Board overwhelmingly commemorated subjects related to military defence, political organization, and first colonial settlement of the territory.<sup>77</sup>

The historical discipline became more strongly empirical at the beginning of the twentieth century. The discipline had a renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s as the Board began its work, due in part to Canada gaining independence with the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which created an obsession with the documenting of self-government and the history of Canada as a distinct nation. Before the FWW, it was difficult to write Canadian history because archival re-

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<sup>75</sup> Pelletier, "Politics of Selection," 135, 137, 139, 141.

<sup>76</sup> NAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File "Master List of Affirmative Recommendations 1971."

<sup>77</sup> Osborne, "Figuring Space," 36.



sources and the preservation of documents was poor, but in the 1920s, archival preservation became a focus for historians, which ensured that future historians would be able to undertake well-documented historical analysis.<sup>78</sup> In the 1920s, the Canadian government and intellectuals desired a national culture, and thus literature, history, and art largely shared particular messaging in a more unified way than had been the case in the nineteenth century. Historians also began to recognize further French-Canadian contributions and American influence in the historical and contemporary political narratives in Canada, which offered more nuance than the former largely British-focused interpretation of Canada. Younger historians also became increasingly critical of older historical practices in the twentieth century, further degrading increasingly stale interpretations of the national culture.<sup>79</sup> These trends in academia became more significant for the Board in the 1950s when the Department appointed younger scholars for whom the 1920s were formative years.

Those interwar formative years were characterized by the leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie King, whose Liberals were elected in December 1921. King was prime minister of Canada from 1921 to 1930 and again from 1935 to 1948, and therefore exerted great influence over Canada's development. King was responsible for further distancing Canada from Britain following the FWW and, in turn, for strengthening the country's relationship to the United States.<sup>80</sup> This changing relationship between Canada and the US and Canada and Britain heavily influenced the Board.

Still, as Canada developed its identity more independently of Britain at this time, it also witnessed social struggles. Class, gender, language, and ethnicity continued to divide Canadians.

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<sup>78</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 32, 34.

<sup>79</sup> Osborne, "Figuring Space," 54-55, 61.

<sup>80</sup> John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Decades of Discord* (McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1985), 16, 53-57.

Traditionalists questioned women joining the labour force during the FWW and remaining a part of it following the conflict, and they likewise questioned federal enfranchisement for women in 1918.<sup>81</sup> Entering the twentieth century, French Canadians were attempting to find their place in Canada's national fabric and their resistance to British-Canadian decisions, most notably conscription, during the war reverberated following the conflict.<sup>82</sup>

In the 1920s, Canada continued to urbanize with populations in Canada increasing by 31 per cent between 1921 and 1931. The arrival of nearly three million immigrants between 1896 and 1914, many of whom were from outside of the British Isles, challenged cultural norms.<sup>83</sup> The shift in demographics, 40% of Canadians remaining of British ethnic origins, caused a great sense of cultural uncertainty that resulted in the Canadian elite instituting a policy of 'Canadianisation.'<sup>84</sup> The elite used 'Canadianisation' and scientific differentiation between races to empower the concept of white civility in the early twentieth century, distancing Board members further from ethnic minorities including Indigenous peoples.<sup>85</sup>

Following the First World War, government policy did not improve. In 1919, F.O. Loft, a Mohawk man and war veteran formed the League of Indians of Canada, the first national Indigenous political organization. He formed the League because Canada did not consider Indigenous veterans eligible for veterans' benefits or land under the Soldier Settlement Act. The League's advocacy empowered some Indigenous peoples, Indigenous veterans in particular, to resist gov-

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<sup>81</sup> Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 70.

<sup>82</sup> Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart limited, 1974), 4-6, 17-18, 268.

<sup>83</sup> Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 97.

<sup>85</sup> Johnstone, "White Civility," 1728-1729.

ernment policies, though it did not affect positive policy change in Ottawa. In fact, in 1927, Indigenous peoples' advocacy prompted an amendment to the Indian Act that prevented payment to lawyers or organizations for the purpose of challenging the government.<sup>86</sup>

Canadian life and academia rapidly changed in the 1930s and early 1940s. The Great Depression intensified cultural nationalism and inspired social collectivism. While searching for economic solutions, the government considered the work of social scientists and historians like Harold Innis who in 1930 published *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*. Innis's work placed Indigenous culture at the centre of the fur trade economy and was the first to explore the destructive force of European capitalism on it, and it quickly became a seminal text. Academics began to feel pressure to enter the public sphere with their expertise in a period of social and economic unrest.<sup>87</sup> The Board was already at the intersection of academia and the Canadian government, and interacted extensively with local heritage organizations affected by the shifting dynamic between heritage and academia.

The Board initially depicted Canadians as the glorious victors during the North-West Campaign, particularly in the case of Batoche, whether historically accurate or not. The Board did not represent Indigenous peoples accurately; identifying them was insufficient. Beyond the regional perspective that was more inclusive and skeptical of the Canadian "victories" during the North-West Campaign, there was little support for reinterpretation, even in academia, in the

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<sup>86</sup> John Moses, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Military Service: Historic and Contemporary Contexts," *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin: Canada's Professional Journal on Army Issues* 3, no. 3 (2000): 17-18.

<sup>87</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 99-101.

1920s. Newspapers in the prairies following the unveiling of NWC plaques in the 1920s, however, called the historical inaccuracies and explicit bias, particularly in the Cut Knife Battlefield inscription, “inexcusable” and facilitated the addition of Board representatives for the prairies.<sup>88</sup>

Many citizens also questioned the inscription for Batoche. Its original inscription stated:

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 Scouts took part in the battle.<sup>89</sup>

When the plaque was unveiled in the summer of 1925, there was considerable local public outcry. The plaque did not make any mention of Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, or the Métis combatants. Instead, the only mention it made of the Métis resistance was to call it a “rebellion”, which offended Métis and Métis-supportive community members, many of whom were descended from combatants. It focused solely on the Canadian troops. No French text was prepared for the unveiling, either, which descendants also perceived as an affront to the memory of the Métis who fought there.<sup>90</sup> This turned the regional public against the Board.

Manitobans resented the portrayal of the Indigenous participants of the NWC in the years following each plaque unveiling. In response, the Board shied away from further commemorating the area or events. In 1930, Judge Frederic Howay, member for British Columbia, wrote that the whole Batoche episode had been an unpleasant experience and that Batoche should be left to “fry in its own grease.”<sup>91</sup> The Board raised its guard when the public questioned its interpretation, which it based entirely in the contemporary mainstream English-language historiography. The Board chose to ignore the Métis and First Nations claims to the NWC narrative. The NWC

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<sup>88</sup> McCullough, “Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,” 168.

<sup>89</sup> LAC, RG84, Vol. 979, File BA2, Part 1, photograph, c. 1923-34.

<sup>90</sup> McCullough, “Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,” 166-167.

<sup>91</sup> LAC, RG84, Vol. 979, File BA2, Howay to Harkin, 3 July 1930, T-II 020.

controversy over regional versus national perspectives informed all of the Board's subsequent inscription practices as it endeavoured never again to spark such discontent among the public.

The significant shift in the perception of the North-West Campaign and Louis Riel did not begin in academia until the 1930s, and only came to fruition during the 1950s, and even later in the public sphere. George Stanley wrote a history of western Canada in the 1930s and his work represents the beginning of the movement sympathetic to Riel's cause. Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada* portrays Riel as an unstable man rather than a villainous rebel, a notably different characterization than in previous writings, even if it did not represent the heroic Riel found in a later generation of scholarship. He also interpreted the NWC as a centre versus periphery issue, and a struggle between primitive and civilized worlds, giving the resistance legitimacy.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, in a demonstration of Stanley's lack of understanding of Indigenous peoples, he considered the Métis to be primitive people, bound to fall to civilized Euro-Canadians. This shift in the 1930s signaled a coming greater recognition of Riel's actions and role in Canadian history. Stanley's work did not become popular during the 1930s but gained a following in 1960 when he reissued it, becoming what Allan McCullough, among other scholars, consider "the most widely accepted interpretation of the rebellions in the English-language historiography."<sup>93</sup>

The position of the Métis in Canadian historiography was also changing in the mid-twentieth century. Marcel Giraud's 1945 *Le Métis Canadien* is responsible for initiating the shift from viewing the Métis as rebels in a failed rebellion to a distinct group of people. To many Canadians, Indigenous peoples became synonymous with the struggle of Riel and the Métis.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> George F. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1960), 67-68, 84.

<sup>93</sup> McCullough, "Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance," 170.

<sup>94</sup> Marcel Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien* (Paris : Institut d'ethnologie, 1945).

Arthur J. Ray argued that Indigenous peoples were absent from much of the fur trade history and other major subject areas of twentieth century historical writing because they were constantly cast in a reflexive role.<sup>95</sup> Scholars immediately connected Indigenous peoples to narratives of acculturation or assimilation, and discussed the implications of those processes. While an essential part of these greater historical narratives, discussing their subjugation subverts their roles in the events. Up to the mid-twentieth century, when authors wrote about Indigenous peoples in Canada, although it was seldom, the primary concern was Indigenous cultures rather than actions because Canadians perceived them as disappearing and therefore necessitating preservation.<sup>96</sup> Actions, not cultural values, were to prove better Indigenous candidates for designation because action aligned better with selection criteria but scholars did not focus on Indigenous actions in history. Therefore, the professional historians who were appointed more and more often to the Board were not trained to consider Indigenous aspects of Canadian history and did not include Indigenous peoples in their research on broader historical topics, leaving little basis for Indigenous recommendations by the Board.

Indigenous peoples fought in the Second World War as Canadians, though prejudice persisted. Many became soldiers out of patriotism and a desire to escape unemployment following the Great Depression. When they returned home in 1945, though, they returned to Canadian policies. Canada did not allot Indigenous veterans the same benefits, just as they had denied them following the First World War.<sup>97</sup> This caused Indigenous peoples to question broadly their place in Canadian society. From this point forward, Indigenous people in Canada made a greater effort

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<sup>95</sup> Arthur J. Ray, "Fur-Trade History as an Aspect of Native History," in *Aboriginal History: A Reader* 2012, ed. Kristin Burnett and Geoff Read (Don Mills, Oxford University Press 2012), 170.

<sup>96</sup> Ray, "Fur-Trade History," 170.

<sup>97</sup> P. Whitney Lackenbauer, John Moses, R. Schott Sheffield, and Maxime Gohier, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2010), 136-137, 154-155.

to assert their presence and advocated for greater recognition before all levels of Canadian government. The agenda they presented to government was consistent and unwavering over the second half of the twentieth century although there were few opportunities to advocate on a national level until the late 1960s.<sup>98</sup>

Canada's assimilationist agenda and the academic discourse that began to portray Indigenous peoples in a better light, ahead of the government, influenced the Board. An understanding of these improved perceptions of Indigenous peoples is essential in understanding changing representation of Indigenous history by the Board. The Board began to portray Indigenous peoples in a more balanced way as the twentieth century progressed, in line with the changing trends in the academic and public spheres, and as legislation was passed to support Indigenous peoples better.

During the interwar period, members' peers in the Historic Landmarks Association (Canadian Historical Association as of 1921) and the Royal Society of Canada also heavily influenced the Board. Provincial and municipal heritage groups also lobbied the Board. Ultimately, decisions for recommendations (and based on the minister's lack of rejection for their recommendations or designations) rested with the Board, but the influence of other heritage groups on them was present through their membership on local or national heritage organizations. Interest groups could sway the Board's decisions, possibly for political or academic favours. Indigenous people, however, did not have the same opportunity because they lacked elite connections and financial resources to lobby effectively.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Peter Douglas Elias. *Development of Aboriginal People's Communities* (North York: Captus Press, 1991), 3, 101.

<sup>99</sup> Shewell, "Canadian Indian Policy," 172.

In the 1950s, the relationship between the Board and historical discipline became evident as they both began to be more inclusive of Indigenous peoples, a link made formal by the increase in academics appointed to the Board. In the post-war period, the government invested more resources in the Board's administration and further regulated its designations. In the 1950s, the establishment of a committee system and the passage of the Historic Sites and Monuments Act in 1953 facilitated the development of Indigenous content in the Board's work. Committees helped the Board to manage research and draft inscriptions, and a separate committee for Indigenous content acted as a commitment to representation. The HSMA gave the Board autonomy from the government, helped to professionalize it, and encouraged the appointment of more academic historians. These administrative developments facilitated an improvement in Indigenous subject matter and inscriptions.



## **Chapter 2: The Post-War Administrative Transformation of the Board**

This chapter will detail the administrative history of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in the post-war period to 1970. It argues that the Massey Commission and Historic Sites and Monuments Act helped to professionalize the Board and give it a more concrete direction and mandate. The Commission and HSMA, and the resulting committee system, formed a strong structural basis for both an increase in Indigenous recommendations and the increase in overall Board work capacity. It will also serve to contextualize the recommendations, inscriptions, and policies examined in chapters 3 and 4.

The Board's administrative capacity transformed during the early post-war period, partially due to political pressure, both from the Department and elsewhere, and legislative demand. The structure, policies, and procedures of the Board speak volumes about how its members perceived and championed minority representation, particularly in regards to Indigenous peoples in Canada. The single largest driving force behind the transformation was the HSMA, passed in 1953.<sup>100</sup> The HSMA imposed greater professionalization and improved the Board's organization. It mandated an expanded and clarified purpose and limited Board members' tenure in an effort to represent contemporary Canada better. It resulted in the recruitment of more scholars. The Board also struck committees to address noted shortcomings including geographic and thematic imbalance, and ambiguous recommendation criteria.

In its final 1951 report, the Massey Commission identified the deficiencies of the Board. The Board responded to the Massey Commission's criticisms by striking Fur Trade, Indian Tribes of Canada, and Criteria committees in the late 1950s. It also struck an Inscriptions Com-

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<sup>100</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.

mittee to expedite the commemorative process once the Department officially designated subjects. Committees became an important feature of the Board because they allowed it to streamline the designation process and expand its capacity, as demonstrated by a steady increase in designations in the 1960s and 1970s. The Board also went to great lengths to include French and Indigenous languages on plaques, first at the request of Board members, more significantly with the introduction of the Official Languages Act of 1969, and later in response to a greater sensitivity to Indigenous cultures.

The Second World War influenced the way the public and interest groups interacted with history. As historian Paul List explains, “postwar nationalism gave government cultural initiatives a broader base of popular support and a new political relevance.”<sup>101</sup> National organizations, like the Canadian Historical Association and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, and local interest groups advocated on behalf of and publicly shared their views on national historic sites. Provinces also created heritage infrastructures including programs and policies, which gave a greater foundation and added dimension to the national historical narrative created by higher-level programs like the Board.<sup>102</sup> This, combined with national anxiety over the influence of American culture and media on Canadian identity, prompted a focus on culture and heritage institutions. The increased interest in national historic sites meant that the Canadian government paid more attention to the Board and both it and the Department were subject to more scrutiny.

The Board became one of many institutions subject to the broad review carried out by the Massey Commission. Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent appointed the Commission on April 8,

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<sup>101</sup> Paul Litt, *The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 17.

<sup>102</sup> C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 139.

1949.<sup>103</sup> Vincent Massey, a trusted lawyer and former diplomat (and Governor General of Canada from 1952 to 1959), chaired the Commission and had a hand in appointing the rest of its members: Hilda Neatby, Arthur Surveyor, Norman Mackenzie, and Georges Henri Lévesque. With the exception of Surveyor, who was an engineer, all of the Commission's members were academics who worked in universities.<sup>104</sup> The Commission held 114 public meetings across Canada in 16 cities and heard from some 1,200 witnesses.<sup>105</sup>

The Commission released its report on June 1, 1951, and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board received some criticisms and recommendations. The report commended the Board for marking many important historic sites and restoring others, but deemed its resources and priorities to be insufficient. Wrote the commissioners:

We believe... that the time has now come for a considerable expansion of this programme and for some modification of policy. 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. Factual information can be obtained in books; the function of the monument or marker is, we assume, to convey a sense of the reality of the past. 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.<sup>106</sup>

The Commission recommended that the HSMBC should guide Canadians in learning to appreciate their past because it informed their present. The shift from preserving history for the sake of preservation to preserving it to make visitors better citizens was not a radical idea to the members of the Board, but documenting its function in this way gave further clarity of purpose to the Parks Branch administering the Board.

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<sup>103</sup> Litt, *Massey Commission*, 30.

<sup>104</sup> Litt, *Massey Commission*, 20.

<sup>105</sup> Government of Canada, "Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters & Sciences 1949-1951," Ottawa, 2001, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/massey/index-e.html>. Hereafter referred to as the "Massey Commission."

<sup>106</sup> Canada, "Massey Commission," 346.

The report made little mention of Indigenous peoples or history. One section of the report addressed Indigenous culture in a brief, five-page section titled “Indian Arts and Crafts.” The Commissioners placed responsibility for Indigenous arts and culture with the Department of Indian Affairs. They felt that Indigenous arts were disappearing but that it was “no reason, however, for not preserving with care the works of the past which have great significance in anthropology and in the history of primitive art.”<sup>107</sup> The recognition and preservation of Indigenous history, however, is associated with a suggestion brought to the Commission “that attention be paid to...prehistoric sites.”<sup>108</sup> The Commissioners stated that they “heard also of the site of a famous battle in 1866 between Blackfoot and Cree, as well as Indian camp-sites, and various kinds of stonework.”<sup>109</sup> Indigenous peoples, their art, and history, were disappearing. The Commission had hardly noted their historical contributions, with the exception of a single battle and a small number of places where they had lived. The Commissioners broadly represented the perception of Indigenous peoples of the academic elite, and therefore a large part of the Board’s membership. They perceived Indigenous cultures as worth preserving in an artistic and pre-historical capacity but there was little recognition of their contemporary importance or existence. The Commission sought to use non-Indigenous history to promote nationalism and nationalist programs but did not see Indigenous history as useful in the same way.

The report returned several times to the idea of preservation as an urgent task, though it was careful not to mandate the Board to preserve all historical buildings and sites but specifically “those regarded as of peculiar historical or architectural interest,” which was a new concept unlike many of the Commission’s recommendations.<sup>110</sup> In 1951, upon reading the report, Kaye

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<sup>107</sup> Canada, “Massey Commission,” 241.

<sup>108</sup> Canada, “Massey Commission,” 127.

<sup>109</sup> Canada, “Massey Commission,” 127.

<sup>110</sup> Canada, “Royal Commission,” 347.

Lamb, Dominion Archivist and Board member, wrote to Colonel Childe of the Parks Branch, under the Department of Resources and Development (changed in 1950 from the Department of Mines and Resources), to express that “the suggestion that we should concern ourselves with buildings of architectural interest is, so far as I know, a completely new one, and it would require the assistance of properly qualified authorities in the field. Here, again, money would be the basic problem.”<sup>111</sup>

The report criticized the Board for its predisposition toward only marking sites, and for the way in which it marked sites, although it deemed the Board’s efforts noble. The Commission stated that marking had “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.”<sup>112</sup> The Commission explained that preservation and restoration were preferable because they conveyed more visually and because many sites were in danger of being demolished. It felt that it was important to consider “whether marking with the familiar stone cairn should not more frequently be the sequel to rather than a substitute for restoration.”<sup>113</sup> It also criticized past inscriptions for being too long, so much so that “only the really earnest seekers after the truth have the patience to read them to the end.”<sup>114</sup>

The Commission also made particular recommendations for the composition of the Board. It called for “larger representation from the Central Provinces because of their size and their wealth of historical material” and that “Canadian historical scholars should be included in the composition of the Board”<sup>115</sup> as opposed to solely amateur-historians and antiquarians as had

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<sup>111</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 394, File “Correspondence 1925-1950,” Kaye Lamb to Colonel Childe, 22 November, 1951.

<sup>112</sup> Canada, “Royal Commission,” 346.

<sup>113</sup> Canada, “Royal Commission,” 347.

<sup>114</sup> Canada, “Royal Commission,” 347.

<sup>115</sup> Canada, “Royal Commission,” 348.

mostly comprised the Board to that point. Additionally, it felt that the Dominion Archivist and two members from the Canadian Historical Association should sit as members. In addition to these members, the Commission suggested the appointment of a professional historian as secretary for the Board in order to write reports and conduct research, and that the officer from the Parks Branch responsible for the Board attend meetings and consult on the Board's activities. These recommendations came as little surprise as all but one of the Commissioners were career academics and had particular respect for the expertise that came with a doctorate. The commissioners also recommended that the Board "should not assume administrative responsibilities... [but instead]...enjoy a greater autonomy than in the past."<sup>116</sup> This would allow the scholars whom they desired on the Board to focus entirely on researching and preparing recommendations and inscriptions.

The Board thoroughly discussed the report of the Massey Commission at its 1951 annual meeting. The chairman of the Board, Dr. Fred Landon, prepared a report synthesizing the recommendations of the Commission with the Board's own, and offered an outline of how the Department should proceed with programming, legislation, and Board structure.<sup>117</sup> Parliamentarians considered the Board's report as they drafted the HSMA to give the Board official advisory status, a defined structure, refined priorities, and a clear relationship to the Department that maintained its autonomous status.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Act received royal assent in 1953 following the extensive recommendations of the Commission, the Board, and the House of Commons. Ultimately,

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<sup>116</sup> Canada, "Royal Commission," 348.

<sup>117</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Correspondence 1952," "Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences Comments."

the HSMA reflected much of the structure laid out by the Massey Commission. The Board became comprised of two members from Ontario and Quebec, one member from each of the other eight provinces, the Dominion Archivist, and a representative of the National Museum of Man. No representative from the Canadian Historical Association was included. A chairman was appointed from among the provincial representatives and the Department provided a permanent secretary.<sup>118</sup>

Having full provincial representation entrenched in law was an enormous victory for the Board because the western provinces were underrepresented until the early 1940s. They did not have their own members in 1919 when the government created the Board. In the early years of the Board's existence, from 1923 until 1937 when Manitoba and Saskatchewan received their own provincial representatives, the representative for British Columbia, Frederick H. Howay was responsible for bringing forward proposals for all of the western provinces. The three western representatives were then collectively responsible for Alberta until 1944 when it received its own representative.<sup>119</sup> Board members were largely local, amateur-historians and they thus specialized in their home provinces. Giving each province its own representation helped address the geographic imbalance. The division of responsibilities for the remaining provinces and territories lacked any compulsory measure and Board members continued to designate largely their own research interests and home provinces. The new structure sought to rectify this trend.

The Department also made a shift toward including more scholars in its nominations for new Board members, as was forcefully suggested by the Massey Commission. The criteria did

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<sup>118</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Correspondence & Agenda 1953," C.G. Childe to Kaye Lamb, April 29, 1953.

<sup>119</sup> Programme Participants, "Provincial, Territorial and Departmental Members (1919-1996)," in *The Place of History: Commemorating Canada's Past*, ed. Thomas H.B. Symons (Ottawa, HSMBC, 1996), 345-356.

not specifically appear in the HSMA but the greater professionalization of the Board came swiftly after its passing.<sup>120</sup> The more practiced research techniques and better understanding of the historical discipline that scholars could bring would be beneficial to the Board. The Board also had more recognition nation-wide as a source of historical knowledge and public appreciation that raised its profile from when it began. The inclusion of more scholars gave the Board a better sense of the changing historiography of Indigenous history, which began in the 1930s, and social history that considered social lenses like class, gender, or ethnic background, which began in the 1960s.<sup>121</sup>

The clause concerning the ability of the Minister to acquire properties of historical value was among the most powerful of the HSMA. Its power stemmed from its vague wording. It read that “[the Minister is able to,] with the approval of the Treasury Board, acquire on behalf of Her Majesty in the right of Canada any historic places, or lands for historic museums, or any interest therein, by purchase, lease or otherwise.”<sup>122</sup> Necessary funding to do so would be additional to the Department’s budget in many cases. “Otherwise” implied that landowners could donate lands to the Department or that the minister could expropriate them.

In 1953, with the passing of the HSMA, Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (changed in 1953 from Minister of Resources and Development) Jean Lesage was also tacitly recognizing that the recommendations of the Board were not flawless, and that his signature would no longer be a mere rubber stamp. The Department had become wary of the inherent trust of past ministers in the recommendations of the amateur-historians whom they appointed to

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 345-356.

<sup>121</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 259-260, 262-263, 297-298.

<sup>122</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.



the Board as it moved toward implementing legislation and regulating the Board's behaviour. The first evidence of the minister not accepting all Board recommendations was in 1953, the year the HSMA passed.<sup>123</sup> Board minutes note that "not all of [the Board's] advice to the Minister has been followed without question," as some historic designations could "add to the Minister's vulnerability," suggesting some subjects were too controversial.<sup>124</sup> The changing relationship meant that better research and more consideration for the political climate would be required from Board members in order to ensure the success of their recommendations. Recommending historical subjects that were still controversial would be far more difficult for the Board without strong research and justification. As such, the Board resolved to devote itself more to research and the vetting of content, which contributed to the decision to establish committees.

The Board first struck the Fur Trade Committee in 1957.<sup>125</sup> The intent was to bolster the number of designations in the Western provinces by exploring the understudied Fur Trade in the west to match the well-documented eastern trade. This was a first step toward addressing the geographic imbalance between east and west. Utilizing such a prominent, well-respected subject in Canadian history to promote geographic balance was a thoughtful initiative.

The committee was composed of the provincial representatives from the four western provinces and the Dominion Archivist. Dr. Walter Sage, representative for BC at this time, was a noted advocate for Indigenous designations on the Board. He wrote reports on Indigenous subjects for the Board with Dr. Morden H. Long, the previous representative for the National Museum of Man.<sup>126</sup> His membership on the Fur Trade Committee was supportive of Indigenous

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<sup>123</sup> Pelletier, "Politics of Selection," 134.

<sup>124</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Correspondence + Meeting May 29-6 June 1956," 2.

<sup>125</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 1.

<sup>126</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1947," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 21 (91).

voices in the fur trade. There was an enormous Indigenous presence in the fur trade, but a significant disparity between their role and their recognition in historical writings. Other members of the original Fur Trade Committee were Joel K. Smith, a businessman from Alberta; Antoine d'Eschembault, historian and priest representing Manitoba since 1937; Richmond Mayson, a businessman from Saskatchewan; and Kaye E. Lamb, Dominion Archivist from 1949.<sup>127</sup>

The Fur Trade Committee showed promise, but it was the second committee struck in 1958 that helped usher in a new age for the inclusion of minority voices, or at the very least Indigenous voices. Up to the summer of 1958, the Board had made few Indigenous designations. Some of the most remarkable Indigenous men in history had been designated, Shawnee Chief Tecumseh for example, and groups of Indigenous peoples who took part in Euro-Canadian military engagements, such as the "Six Nations Indians" during the War of 1812.<sup>128</sup> Since the Second World War, though, there had been few, with the exception of those supported particularly by Sage and Long, such as Blackfoot Chief Crowfoot.<sup>129</sup> Indigenous designations were declining. However, the outlook for adequately recognizing Indigenous peoples changed in June 1958 when the Board struck the Indian Tribes of Canada committee.<sup>130</sup>

The ITC was the result of a very passionate letter written to members by Alfred G. Bailey, member for New Brunswick, in 1958, asking that a "monument be placed in a suitable location regarding the participation of each Indian tribe in the history of Canada."<sup>131</sup> Bailey was the Dean of Arts at the University of New Brunswick during his tenure on the Board. He was an

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<sup>127</sup> Programme Participants, "Members (1919-1996)," 345-356.

<sup>128</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Thematic Study of the War of 1812, Staff Report" in "Correspondence Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64," 33.

<sup>129</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1946," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 15 (50).

<sup>130</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 7.

<sup>131</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1424 File HS10-173 Pt.1 "Minutes 1958."

ethno-historian and studied Indigenous cultures in Canada throughout his academic career, becoming a strong advocate on their behalf in the historical discipline. He also spent time as chief curator of the New Brunswick Museum.<sup>132</sup> According to the Board's minutes, it was his desire that "a monument be placed in a suitable location regarding the participation of each Indian tribe in the history of Canada. [He] would take Dr. Jenness's map of Canadian Indian tribes as a basis. [He believed] that monuments in such an Indian tribe series, placed wherever possible in locations where they would be seen by many people, including tourists, would be of considerable interest."<sup>133</sup> In addition to his proposal to place monuments for all of the tribes in Canada, he noted that "the Eskimo [should] be included in his proposal which was intended to include the part these people played in the development of the country."<sup>134</sup> The ensuing discussion at the annual meeting revealed that the Board felt unqualified to designate Indigenous subjects because most of its members lacked experience with Indigenous cultures and there was a lack of writing on Indigenous history in Canada. A lack of knowledge or confidence among Board members, or possibly a lack of respect for Indigenous peoples disguised as ignorance, explains the hesitation to consider the marking of Indigenous tribes when the Board considered it years earlier. The marking of Indigenous tribes nation-wide was deferred in 1926 and 1927, and in perpetuity in 1928.<sup>135</sup> Beginning to focus on Indigenous history also forced Board members to explore the tension between recognizing and refuting the importance of the Noble Savage to national identity described by historian Phillip Deloria. In the twentieth century, many men did so by adopting elements of Indigenous life and dress, often through historical reenactments, but the Board would

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<sup>132</sup> M Travis Lane, "Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey," *New Brunswick Literary Encyclopedia*, [http://w3.stu.ca/stu/sites/nble/b/bailey\\_alfred\\_goldsworth.html](http://w3.stu.ca/stu/sites/nble/b/bailey_alfred_goldsworth.html), accessed December 1, 2016.

<sup>133</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 21.

<sup>134</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 21.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

have to explore it through its work.<sup>136</sup> The striking of the ITC was a sign of greater support for Indigenous history, but the Board would have to reconcile the existing tension to work effectively.

The ITC would be able to focus on Indigenous subjects in a way that the Board at large could not. Therefore, it was decided that “Dr. Bailey be appointed as Chairman of a Committee to make a further study of Indian Tribes and their participation in the history of Canada; that he have as members of his Committee, Dr. Sage, Dr. Fergusson, Mr. Mayson and Dr. Bazin.”<sup>137</sup> Dr. Fergusson, Provincial Archivist of Nova Scotia and Professor of History at Dalhousie University, wrote histories of several under-represented communities in his career, including Afro-Canadians, and on the Acadian Expulsion. There is also some indication that he wrote on Aboriginal Affairs, but this may be a result of his time on the ITC.<sup>138</sup> Dr. Richmond Mayson was a businessman and amateur-historian from Saskatchewan.<sup>139</sup> Jules Bazin’s work as an historian focused mostly on the Montreal area. His bilingualism made him an asset in examining relevant documents.<sup>140</sup> The Board also instructed the ITC to designate Indigenous peoples in a sensitive and appropriate manner.

The ITC was a powerful presence on the Board. It began with five of the twelve Board members, representing nearly half of the votes. It had the ability to sway the greater vote on any designation, provided the committee came to a unanimous decision. The ITC had a powerful voting block on an important and under-represented subject, which sent a clear message on the

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<sup>136</sup> Phillip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-9.

<sup>137</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File “Meeting May 27-30 1958,” 21.

<sup>138</sup> Nova Scotia Archives, “C. Bruce Fergusson Fonds,” *Nova Scotia Archives*, December 1, 2016, <https://memoryns.ca/c-bruce-fergusson-fonds>.

<sup>139</sup> Programme Participants, “Members,” 345-356.

<sup>140</sup> Archives du Québec, “Fonds Jules Bazin,” *Archives du Québec*, December 1, 2016, [http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17\\_ID\\_FONDS:20978](http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17_ID_FONDS:20978).

Board's intention to balance its themes, as suggested by the Massey Commission. The ITC was a commitment to represent a broader range of voices in Canadian history. The Board struck the ITC before Indigenous peoples formed the majority of their grassroots and national-level organizations, such as the Red Power Movement in the 1960s and the National Indigenous Organizations (NIO) in the 1970s.<sup>141</sup> Indigenous peoples began to mobilize following the government's failure to support Indigenous veterans, which affected public opinion to an extent, but in academia there was still little change. Stanley had yet to reissue *The Birth of Western Canada*, which would significantly impact academic perceptions of Indigenous peoples in the 1960s, so Barbeau and Jenness, as anthropologists, remained the authorities on Indigenous peoples in Canada.<sup>142</sup> The Board's work was also less politicized than Indigenous-related work carried out by larger government organizations, for example in administering reserve funds and band councils. This allowed it more freedom to discuss controversial or unpopular topics.

The ITC's first recommendation, following its first annual report, delivered in 1959, received unanimous support. It recommended, with the larger Board's support, that the Department designate the Mi'kmaq nation as being of National Historic Importance following a study of their culture and impact on Canadian history and Canadian territory, conducted by the National Museum of Man. The Mi'kmaq nation is a First Nation found across the Maritime Provinces. Although the Board only discussed the Mi'kmaq in 1959, it voted to "reaffirm its belief in the desirability of marking the Indian tribes of Canada."<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Michael Posluns, "Congress of Aboriginal Peoples," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed June 25, 2017, <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/congress-of-aboriginal-peoples/>.

<sup>142</sup> Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 55-57.

<sup>143</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 25-29 1959," 21.

Within its first year, the ITC developed processes for designating Indigenous tribes and people. The inscription criteria it developed consisted of “(a) when first encountered (b) the nature of the part played by the tribe at the time of its greatest and most significant influence, (c) the location, (d) the dominant feature of the culture, (e) the location and name of the present day representatives, etc.”<sup>144</sup> The inscription they envisioned was simple, comprehensive, and informative. It recognized both that the Indigenous tribes deserved to be remembered accurately and that the vast majority of the Canadian public was ignorant about the struggles and characteristics of Indigenous peoples. Despite the risks associated with being among the most prominent sources of information on Indigenous peoples if the designations were accepted and plaques cast, the ITC recommended in its annual report that “the work of marking should go forward whenever possible, without waiting to resolve the ambiguities that exist in some cases.”<sup>145</sup> They wanted to ensure that the process began as soon as possible. In the post-war period, citizenship and Canadian identity were popular topics and there were varying, though largely positive opinions on the place of Indigenous people in Canada, so positively including them in the sweep of Canadian history was a political statement. Indigenous peoples also became Canadian citizens in 1956 following an amendment to the Citizenship Act, which may also have been incentive to include them in a more significant way. The initial thought was that plaques or monuments for tribes should be placed on their traditional lands but the ITC was open to considering Indigenous tribes’ current territory, though each case would require consultation.<sup>146</sup> The ITC’s insistence that the Board recognize Indigenous peoples demonstrated that the Board was more willing to

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File “Meeting May 25-29 1959,” 22.

<sup>146</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 446, File “Agenda Papers March 1960,” 22.

include Indigenous peoples as a part of Canadian history and to reflect the social climate of the time.

Another important aspect of designating Indigenous peoples in Canada was the matter of what form the monument would take, whether a plaque or cairn would be suitable. The ITC felt that the Department should be looking for sculptors, for a more imaginative representation of Indigenous history that appropriately suited their culture as distinct from Euro-Canadians. The Board also felt that the Department should be seeking a sculptor for a national Indigenous monument in Ottawa, in conjunction with the approaching centennial of Confederation in 1967.<sup>147</sup>

One of the principal discussions that the ITC initiated during its first years was how to handle Indigenous languages. A much larger debate and program was dawning for official languages in Canada, but the ITC was more concerned with including Indigenous languages on plaques that concerned Indigenous peoples, or that were on recognized, traditional territory. It felt that “study should be made of the question of using adaptations of Indian languages as well as the prevailing language of the district on any monuments that might be rested in connection with this subject.”<sup>148</sup> By the 1970s, the Board's policy on using Indigenous languages became comprehensive and it implemented it fully for plaques in Indigenous communities and with Indigenous subject matter. The Board's recognition of the importance of Indigenous languages in connecting Indigenous peoples with government programming was well ahead of its time.

By the end of its first year the ITC had developed a thorough methodology for marking Indigenous subjects, offered several concrete suggestions for designation recommendations, and gathered the full support of the Board. In 1961, the Board passed the following resolution: “that

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File “Meeting May 25-29 1959,” 22.

the cultural characteristics and national contribution of seven identifiable tribes should be commemorated, namely the Micmac, Hurons, Six Nations Iroquois, Cree, Blackfoot, Haida, and Eskimo. For the purpose of the Board the Eskimo were to be considered as Indians.”<sup>149</sup> The ITC continued to meet annually, report to the Board, conduct research, and make designation recommendations to the Board until 1966.

In 1966, the Board merged the Indian Tribes of Canada Committee and the Fur Trade Committee to create the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples Committee (FTIP).<sup>150</sup> Both committees had continued to be productive, but it appeared logical to combine the two. Since the FTC had begun to focus more on Indigenous components. The new committee had three provincial representatives on it, the National Museum representative, the Dominion Archivist, and the chairman as an ex-officio member. Among the FTIP’s first discussions was the place of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade and how there had been a widespread failure to recognize it. There was explicit recognition that among those who had yet to receive designations in the Fur Trade were the “Indian participants.” There was an innate respect in amalgamating the fur trade and Indigenous subjects because of the prominence the fur trade enjoyed in Canadian history, and it ensured the longevity of the study of Indigenous peoples on the Board.

While the FTIP oversaw the inclusion of the fur trade and Indigenous peoples into the Board’s thematic framework, the Criteria Committee determined which of the FTIP’s recommendations it forwarded to the minister. The Board struck the Criteria Committee in 1959 and it consisted of only three voting members, plus the chairman and secretary.<sup>151</sup> The Criteria Com-

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<sup>149</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 446, File “Agenda + Papers + correspondence 1961,” 21.

<sup>150</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File “Minutes + Agenda 26-28 Oct. 1966,” 17.

<sup>151</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, HS1-MIN Pt.2 File “Meeting November 1959,” 9, T13510.



mittee's mandate was to review all recommendations and designations up to that date and to produce a report detailing what the criteria for designations had been, and to recommend criteria to the Board moving forward. The committee consisted of Dr. Kaye Lamb, Dr. Donald Creighton, Professor of History at the University of Toronto and a respected scholar, Dr. Fergusson, Dr. Antoine d'Eschembault, priest, historian, and Chairman of the Board for 1958-1959, and the secretary, provided by the Department.<sup>152</sup> Its smaller size allowed for a coordinated, streamlined assessment of designations using an inventory of designations, the types of commemoration, and their locations.

The following year, when its original mandate was complete, the Criteria Committee took on the responsibility to conduct thematic studies of subjects in Canadian history and, using the criteria its report had established, to set out a list of potential designations. Taking on the responsibility of conducting thematic studies was an important shift in its duties because this had the capacity to expedite the processes of the Board and to rectify the geographic imbalance of designations. The Criteria Committee decided which themes required research, prepared proposals, and guided the projects, while the Board hired external university or museum scholars to complete the research.<sup>153</sup> The first two thematic studies conducted by the committee were on the War of 1812 and on Arctic Exploration. The War of 1812 was an appropriate choice to study because Cruickshank made many of the earlier designations related to it with a narrower vision of the war in mind. Unfortunately, when the Criteria Committee completed the report on the War of 1812 in 1961, the Board at large was dissatisfied with the absence of a clear ranking system in recommending sites, so it requested one.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Programme Participants, "Members," 345-356.

<sup>153</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt.2 "Minutes 1959, November," 9, T13510.

<sup>154</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt.3 "Board Minutes 1961, November," 12, T13510.

The internally drafted 1963 report on the War of 1812 was a comprehensive and detailed account of existing designations and subjects that remained to be recognized. It made mention of Indigenous peoples who had taken part and were affected by the war, setting a benchmark for the inclusion of Indigenous voices. The report discussed Indigenous peoples as desirable allies to British military commander Sir Isaac Brock. Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief and leader of First Nations forces, had his own section of the report wherein his achievements were recognized and his designation in the first years of the Board discussed.<sup>155</sup> The 1963 report helped to reaffirm that thematic studies were the best means of establishing criteria within certain topics rather than using vague and generalized criteria, like proof of broad geographic impact, for a range of subjects.

Arctic Exploration was a less prominent theme in designations up to 1960 and had the potential to broaden the scope of designations drastically. Unfortunately and curiously, the study on Arctic Exploration lacked almost any mention of Indigenous peoples. The report instead addressed the Euro-Canadians who explored the North and glorified their discoveries. The Board recommended the men and their vessels for designation, but Northern peoples were not and neither were communities visited by explorers or individuals who may have aided them.<sup>156</sup> Without a ranking system, the study of Arctic Exploration proved to have the same practical problems that the War of 1812 thematic study had, making it unhelpful. However, the War of 1812 study made an effort to recognize the contributions and worth of Indigenous combatants, while the Arctic Exploration failed to shed light on important Indigenous voices in history.

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<sup>155</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Thematic Study of the War of 1812, Staff Report" in "Correspondence Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64," 33.

<sup>156</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Thematic Study on Arctic Exploration" in "Correspondence Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64," 33.

The dichotomy in Indigenous presence in the Board's first two thematic studies demonstrated a longstanding trend in its practices. In the War of 1812 thematic study, it praised Indigenous peoples for supporting the Crown and protecting British territory, and Indigenous peoples earned recognition for their bravery when it served the Crown.<sup>157</sup> The Arctic Exploration thematic study, though, largely erased Indigenous peoples to focus glory on colonial explorers.<sup>158</sup> Ignoring Indigenous peoples in the North also suggested that the lands discovered were uninhabited and therefore British territory by default. The studies minimized the contributions of Indigenous peoples in Britain's successes, and cast them in a role supportive of the Crown and ultimately, therefore, of their own assimilation. Including Indigenous peoples in military narratives also broadened the capacity of the Board to focus on military history. The Board began to consider more Indigenous subject matter, but continued to marginalize them within European or Canadian when the opportunity arose.

Chief Tecumseh's designation is a prime example of this trend of glorifying only assimilationist examples of Indigenous peoples, and of the Department's resistance to recognizing them in any significant capacity. In 1951, the Board composed a report on Tecumseh.<sup>159</sup> In 1931, the Board had recommended that the Department designate Tecumseh and that he receive a national memorial but stated that it lacked the funding to erect one. Suggestions for a national memorial initially included a 30-foot totem pole and a medallion portrait. The Department designated him but it took no action for a national memorial. In 1939, the Board recommended that \$6000 be put aside for Tecumseh's commemoration, and in 1944 again mentioned his worthiness to obtain a national memorial. In 1955, it was the Board that deferred Tecumseh's commemoration again for

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<sup>157</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Thematic Study of the War of 1812, Staff Report," 33.

<sup>158</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Thematic Study on Arctic Exploration," 33.

<sup>159</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting May 30- June 1 1951," "Supplementary Agenda," 7.

further discussion of the “question of the erection of a large memorial to Chief Tecumseh”,<sup>160</sup> and “it was agreed that an inspection of the area [on his reserve] should be made in the interval by Professor Landon.”<sup>161</sup> The difference between the Board’s and the Department’s visions of Indigenous history is demonstrated by the Board’s difficulty in securing funding to commemorate Chief Tecumseh.<sup>162</sup>

He was an ideal Indigenous person for designation because he contributed to assimilation by choosing to aid the British instead of pursuing his dream of preserving Indigenous culture and resisting British influence, as his 1958 inscription update stated:

Born in March 1768 near present Springfield, Ohio, Tecumseh emerged as a Shawnee chieftain in the 1790’s. Seeking to achieve unified Indian resistance to the white man’s advance, he travelled widely among the tribes promoting a Confederacy to defend Indian lands. Allied with the British in 1812, he supported Major-General Isaac Brock in the capture of Detroit in 1812. After the Battle of Lake Erie, 1813, and the abandonment of Fort Malden, Tecumseh and his warriors retreated up the Thames River with the British force. During the Battle of the Thames on 5th October 1813, he died about one half mile southwest of this monument.<sup>163</sup>

He was a brave warrior, renowned among Indigenous peoples and Euro-Canadians, and he supported the British in opposition to American invaders.<sup>164</sup> The Department also recognized his national historic importance but did not agree or was unwilling to allocate the resources to create an elaborate monument because it did not see him as being uniquely important. Notably, in his inscription update the Board chose to address Chief Tecumseh’s early life seeking political unity to resist the Crown, but the change from opponent to ally of the Crown only contributed to his image as an assimilationist figure. His inscription only discussed his failures as an ally to the

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<sup>160</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 30 - 3 June 1955,” 24.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting May 30- June 1 1951,” “Supplementary Agenda,” 7.

<sup>163</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File “Meeting May 27-30 1958,” 86.

<sup>164</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting May 30- June 1 1951,” “Supplementary Agenda,” 7.

Crown instead of glorifying him like British or Canadian war heroes. It notes Tecumseh's direct support of Sir Isaac Brock, a war hero in his own right, and then describes his abandonment of an objective, retreat, and death. The broader portrayal of Chief Tecumseh's life differed from earlier inscriptions that chose to identify only life events that supported assimilation.

In 1966, following its two failed thematic studies, the Criteria Committee planned to study Indigenous sites in Canada specifically, but ultimately decided that the subject was best suited for someone properly trained. The Committee felt that "the proposed thematic study of actual Indian sites as a better means of commemorating the Indian is considered to fall more within the area of anthropology than of history, for the purposes expressed, and will have to await the availability of qualified personnel whose work will come under the direction of the Senior Archaeologist."<sup>165</sup> The Committee perceived it as a thematic study focused on culture and archaeology rather than strictly the written historical record and therefore it fell outside of their area of expertise. The view that the Board or Department were not sufficiently qualified to determine the cultural value of sites was a sign of a growing sensitivity to or recognition of the political nature of representing Indigenous peoples. The Board, at least, chose to ensure that someone properly trained conducted the study. The decision also effectively relieved the Board of the sole responsibility for commemorating Indigenous peoples.

In 1968, the failure of the first two thematic studies of the Criteria Committee prompted the Board to create a formal Thematic Studies Committee (TSC) that could be fully devoted to more appropriately administering and guiding thematic studies.<sup>166</sup> The TSC was far more systematic about its approach to studying themes in Canadian history than the Criteria Committee

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<sup>165</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File "Minutes + Agenda 23-24 also booklet "National Historic Sites Policy" 1967," 1.

<sup>166</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File "Minutes 8-9 June 1970," 19.

had been, and would have Department staff or Board members conduct research, rather than contracted scholars. The TSC proposed to the Board the best sequence to thematic studies in its first report, after formation in the spring meeting:

In [the TSC's] view, the first priority should be topics which provide the Board with a framework for evaluating specific sites. Typical of this class of studies would be the papers on the fur trade and the definition of native culture areas and time periods. Next in importance, we would place studies which are thematically relevant to the [Parks Branch's] interpretive program; for example, a study of canals in conjunction with the proposed development of the Rideau System. In third place, we would put "feasibility" studies, i.e. preliminary papers designed to suggest ways of handling broad topics (e.g., the proposal for a thematic study of Indian cultures presented at the last Board meeting).<sup>167</sup>

The TSC made a clear priority of the fur trade and Indigenous cultures, and did not even mention its former military and political priorities. Its new priorities indicated that its members had a broader vision of 'Canadian' history, that it maintained its arms-length association with the government, and that fewer members had military backgrounds. Its statement informed the broader Board's priorities, and guided the TSC's direction.

With the creation of the new TSC, the Board cancelled all thematic studies planned under the Criteria Committee, with the explicit exception of the pending thematic studies of "Indian and Eskimo" cultures and peoples, which were to go through immediately once it put proper processes in place. The TSC also established a framework of broader thematic studies, in which Indigenous cultures were included. For example, the thematic study on "Law and Order" included a sub-section concerning Indigenous interactions with British and Canadian law enforcement.<sup>168</sup> Indigenous peoples were also included in the "Native, ethnic and folk art: important individuals,

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<sup>167</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "Minutes 28-29 November 1968," 50.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, 47.

works and trends” section of the thematic study on the Arts and Humanities.<sup>169</sup> An important step forward in Indigenous representation in Board designations was the inclusion of “colonization” as a factor under the “religion” header in the thematic study on Indigenous peoples.<sup>170</sup> The integration of Indigenous historical perspectives into broader thematic studies suggested greater equality in representation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Placing Indigenous peoples within broader studies on highly commemorated subjects had more potential for commemoration than studies on particular Indigenous cultures. The Board considered the effects of European contact on Indigenous cultures and peoples, and the differences between “Eskimo” and “Indian” cultures. Their decision, in order to expedite the process, was to divide cultures based on “existing ethnographic and archeological evidence,”<sup>171</sup> which in many cases was only partially sufficient because information on them was lacking or bias-ridden. The TSC also requested a study of “Eskimo” sites in the Arctic. The Board excluded the origins of existing communities from its general criteria, for example the founding of Winnipeg; however, the Board made an exception for Indigenous cultures under “former settlements and colonizing ventures.”<sup>172</sup> Making Indigenous communities an exception to the policy allowed for the Board’s inscriptions to explore colonial themes seldom acknowledged.

The only negative side effect of the organized, culturally considerate<sup>173</sup> remodeling of the thematic study process was the absence of a firm timeline for Indigenous designations. The Board wanted the Eskimo and Indian cultural thematic studies to proceed but its decision was

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 52-53.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “Minutes + Agenda 19-23 June 1968,” 34.

<sup>172</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “Minutes 23-24 Oct. 1969,” 16.

<sup>173</sup> To be culturally considerate is to be conscious and work to represent all cultures with respect and fairness in an informed way.

that “consideration of Indian sites should be deferred pending acceptance [by the Board] of the thematic study of Indian Cultures in Canada.”<sup>174</sup> The Board was making an effort to ensure that they were not making politically insensitive mistakes, but in doing so, they were impeding representation in the few years after the TSC’s creation.

The Inscriptions Committee, created in 1959 and consisting of only four members, proved to be the most influential committee for Board productivity. The four members were Dr. Fergusson, Jules Bazin, Dr. d’Eschembault, the chair, and the department secretary. Bazin was the curator for the city of Montreal and member for the Canada Council for the Arts during his time on the Board.<sup>175</sup> Dr. d’Eschembault had significant experience with the Board’s thematic priorities and developing inscriptions that met the government’s political standards. The Inscriptions Committee was responsible for drafting inscriptions for each approved recommendation, principally via correspondence between meetings, and presenting them to the Board for amendments. Members who brought forward proposals for approved recommendations could submit accompanying inscription drafts to expedite the process. The Committee then fact-checked the inscriptions. This Committee increased the Board’s capacity to handle proposals on an annual basis. The establishment of the Inscriptions Committee corresponded with a steady increase of designations. Increased capacity meant that the Board could consider subjects additional to Canadian history’s most popular or respected subjects, like Indigenous peoples, women in history, and arts and culture, in the additional time available.

In 1962, there was a surge of recognition among Board members that many inscriptions passed by former Board members were insufficient or inappropriate in the emerging socially

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<sup>174</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “Minutes + Agenda 19-23 June 1968,” 34.

<sup>175</sup> Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec, “Fonds Jules Bazin,” *Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec*, accessed August 1, 2017, [http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17\\_ID\\_FONDS:20978](http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17_ID_FONDS:20978).



conscious Canadian political climate. The Board occasionally expressed to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources the need to update inscriptions with the latter stating it would concern itself with updates “when the time came to replace the plaque” which would be long in coming given the 20 years of life expectancy of the bronze plaques.<sup>176</sup> The Board was eager to identify and resolve problematic language in inscriptions, while the Department remained generally indifferent.

Dr. Lamb also updated a number of problematic inscriptions for the Board in 1966, after Maxwell Sutherland, acting board secretary, advised the Board that complaints about language use, specifically the term “sauvage” in the French translation that was associated with an outdated and racist interpretation of Indigenous peoples, had been made and asked for its help in re-drafting them.<sup>177</sup> Lamb updated the English and French texts in their style, punctuation, and word choice but neglected the term “sauvage” in the French text, instead putting the responsibility for that change on Sutherland. Lamb made changes to inscriptions for la Bataille des Cèdres, designated in 1927, la Bataille du 6 Septembre 1775, designated in 1929, le Combat de la Coulée Grou, designated in 1925, Fort Laprairie, designated in 1923, la Seconde Bataille de Laprairie, designated in 1923, and Le Portage Mattawa, designated in 1930.<sup>178</sup> The necessity of updating many French inscriptions stemmed from the early difficulty in securing a reliable member for Québec. This small update project based in sensitivity to Indigenous representation would go on to prompt a much larger review of designations.

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<sup>176</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File “Minutes 23-24 Oct. 1967,” 5.

<sup>177</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Correspondence Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64,” Kaye Lamb to Maxwell Sutherland January 28, 1966.

<sup>178</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Correspondence Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64,” Maxwell Sutherland to Board members February 8, 1966.

In 1966, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, historian with the Archives du Palais de Justice in Montréal and Board member for Québec, brought the issue of complete bilingualism to the Board. Lamb had made changes to inscriptions before, but Lefebvre had a much more comprehensive goal in mind. At the fall meeting of the Board, Lefebvre "stated that he wished to go on record as strongly favouring bilingual inscriptions for any plaque that commemorates a subject of general interest to Canadians."<sup>179</sup> Placing a second language on all plaques from 1966 onward, and updating the plaques cast before would be an enormous undertaking, both in financial and personnel resources. The Board supported the initiative, unlike when Morin proposed it in 1923, demonstrating its changing attitude. The growing support for bilingualism also facilitated the review of Indigenous designations by turning the Board's attention to older inscriptions. Both bilingualism and Indigenous history were becoming more prominent in the work of the Board in the 1960s and 1970s. However, while the Board could take on drafting bilingual inscriptions in the future, it would prove difficult with current resources to update all previous inscriptions.

The effects of the Official Languages Act of 1969 further stimulated the move toward bilingual inscriptions. The responsibility of the Board's decision to draft henceforth bilingual inscriptions fell on the shoulders of a special committee, struck in 1973, with the intent of making all unilingual plaques cast to date bilingual in three years' time. Committee members also updated inscriptions to remove derogatory language and correct research. In some cases, the Board considered the drafting of an inscription in a third, Indigenous language. For example, Cree Chief Poundmaker, an Indigenous leader in the North-West Campaign, received a Cree inscription when the committee updated his plaque.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File "Minutes 23-24 Oct. 1967," 8.

<sup>180</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File "Master List of Affirmative Recommendations to 1972."

In 1968, the Board initiated another streamlining measure, the Executive Committee.<sup>181</sup> The chairman, the secretary, and relevant geographical Board members formed the Executive Committee to respond to emergencies, such as the impending destruction of historic property. The Board created the Executive Committee with a particular impending concern, the home of Mary Irene Parlby, a member of the group of women known as the “Famous Five,” who won the right for women to be appointed to the Senate in the 1929 Persons Case.<sup>182</sup> Parlby’s home, in Alix, Alberta was in danger of becoming a casualty of a development project, so the Executive Committee met outside of annual meetings to recommend the site and received a rushed response from Minister Arthur Liang, of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, to designate it, thereby protecting the property from destruction.<sup>183</sup> The Board and Minister Liang took a joint-interest in the property and collaborated to save it. The Executive Committee responded to other emergency designations over the years and further streamlined the designation process at annual meetings.

The Board’s relationship with the minister’s office changed drastically throughout the early 1960s because each was redefining the boundaries of its influence, periodically causing conflict. For example, in 1960 the minister’s office had changed a number of inscriptions finalized by the Board before placing the orders to cast them. This problem caused the Board to feel devalued, one member commenting that the Board’s position became “a farce if plaques bearing

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<sup>181</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File “Minutes 8-9 June 1970,” 19.

<sup>182</sup> Catherine Cavanaugh and Susanna McLeod, “Irene Parlby,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/mary-irene-parlby/>.

<sup>183</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File “Appendix” in “Minutes 26-28 Oct. 1966,” 1-2.

the Board's name carried inscriptions other than those approved."<sup>184</sup> Other issues discussed included whether a plaque was sufficient for a designation, the extent of the Board's authority, and the Board's role in non-governmental heritage and culture debates.

Throughout the early post-war period, the Board stretched its mandate by offering advice to the minister on the matter of Indigenous museums, all of which predominantly concerned the Métis narrative in the prairies. North-West Campaign sites were the most high-profile Indigenous sites, such as the Fort Battleford site, which was a North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) post where many took refuge from the conflict. In 1947, Dr. H.W. Lewis, of the Department of National Health and Welfare, appeared as a witness before the Board to discuss the prospect of both an Indigenous museum and a memorial to the NWMP.<sup>185</sup> Mr. J.A. Gregory, Board member for Saskatchewan, former president of the Prince Albert Historical Association, and Métis advocate, also spoke to the matter. The Board appointed Gregory, Sage, and Long to a sub-committee to study the proposal and develop an action-plan for the projects. They delivered their report in 1948, and in 1949, as a result of the report, came the recommendation that the Department

through the National Museum and [with] the co-operation of the Indian Affairs Branch, and the [Parks Branch], [Historic Sites Program] consider the establishment over the years of a series of local or branch Indian Museums at what seem to be strategic points, of which the committee appointed by this Board suggested that Battleford should be one.<sup>186</sup>

The Board carried the motion to recommend these measures; however, Colonel Eric Acland, on behalf of the Indian Affairs Branch, expressed his concern that the Indian Affairs Branch had in-

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<sup>184</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt.3 "Minutes 1960, September," 7, T13510.

<sup>185</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1947," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 21 (91).

<sup>186</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1949," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 11 (146).

adequate resources to supervise museum work and suggested that local interests should be responsible for the sites, particularly in the case of Battleford. Suggesting local interests care for museums was an effort to avoid responsibility for such sites and demonstrated that the Indian Affairs Branch did not believe Indigenous history was worth preserving, as it largely perceived Indigenous peoples as lesser humans. Resources were also limited since the government downsized the Department of Indian Affairs to a Branch in 1936.<sup>187</sup>

The Board appointed Gregory and Long to another committee to study the original proposal further. Its mandate was to investigate “problems raised by the request of the North West Mounted Police Memorial and Indian Museum of Western Canada”<sup>188</sup> and to prepare a report. The committee delivered its report in 1950 and provided several action plans. Thereupon the Board recommended that the Department of Resources and Development (changed in 1950 from the Department of Mines and Resources) acquire the NWMP memorial and Indigenous museum from Saskatchewan and develop them into a national park. In order to ensure that the Department took action, the Board detailed two lesser options in their report. The second option was that the barrack room on the site function as an Indigenous museum, as the government of Saskatchewan had previously offered. The third option was that the Department fund the National Museum of Man to “further [develop the] beginnings of an Indian Museum which [had] already been made.”<sup>189</sup> The Board was adamant that the Department take action and built contingency plans into its report to ensure that there would be some follow-through on an Indigenous museum.

Long moved that the Board recommend that the Department assess and acquire the artefact collections associated with Fort Battleford, if the price was reasonable. Mr. Campbell Innes,

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 394, File “Meeting May 31-2 June 1950,” 175.

the civilian lead on the Fort Battleford restoration project and later Board member for Saskatchewan from 1951 to 1954, advocated for their acquisition in a 1950 letter to the Board. He requested that those responsible for the site keep the interests and desires of the Fort Battleford people in mind if the Board acquired and displayed the collections.<sup>190</sup> Agreeing to do so reflected and encouraged a shift in NWC interpretation. Appointing Innes to the Board the following year, 1951, also demonstrated the Department's increasingly progressive vision for choosing members and awarding designations.

In 1967, the Board returned to the subject of Indigenous museum narratives when it approached the North-West Mounted Police. The NWMP completed the restoration of Fort Walsh in 1966, where it established a museum and interpretation centre for its history. The Board wanted the Cypress Hills Massacre considered part of the reason for the NWMP's creation and sweep to the west, to be included in the interpretation at Fort Walsh alongside the history of the NWMP. The Massacre was a mass slaughter of over twenty Assiniboine people by a group of American and Canadian wolf-hunters in 1873. The Cypress Hills Massacre had its own site in proximity to Fort Walsh, designated by the Board, but it was less accessible, did not have its own interpretation facilities, and generally received far less visitor traffic than did Fort Walsh. As the Cypress Hills Massacre plaque indicates, "[the] incident hastened the recruitment and dispatch to the Territories of the North West Mounted Police, whose officers arrested three of the alleged murderers and tried to secure the extradition of seven others. Although no convictions resulted, the efforts of the police convinced the Indians of the impartiality of the Force."<sup>191</sup> The inclusion

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>191</sup> Government of Canada, "Cypress Hills Massacre National Historic Site of Canada," *Parks Canada*, February 2, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1633](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1633).

of Indigenous peoples in such an iconic narrative as that of the NWMP, and sharing its interpretive space, would send a clear message of inclusion and support.<sup>192</sup> The Cypress Hills Massacre was ultimately included in interpretation at Fort Walsh. Its inclusion added to the integration of Indigenous history into broader, more popular Canadian historical narratives.

The Board supported more Indigenous history in projects beyond its mandate concerning national historic designations, like the establishment and development of museums. The Board's effort to establish Indigenous museums and, where possible, to include Indigenous history in greater narratives in Canadian history demonstrated a growing recognition of its importance in broadening the definition of 'Canadian' history. As did its support for FTIP and its selection of thematic studies. In its mandated work, its support for FTIP and its selection of thematic studies also demonstrated its recognition; however, its work recommending subjects for national historic designation continued to adhere to assimilationist trends, a topic explored in chapters 3 and 4.

However, not all external projects proved the Board's progressive views, as in the case of Mistaseni Rock in 1966. Mistaseni Rock was a sacred place connected to the mythology of the Indigenous tribes of Saskatchewan. Few people outside of Indigenous communities in the area knew of the rock's significance. It was at risk of the completion of the Gardiner Dam submerging it in what is now Lake Diefenbaker. Dr. Zenon Pohorecky, an archeologist, started a fund-raising campaign to have the rock moved to higher ground to prevent the dams from cutting off the communities' access to this distinct cultural site. Saskatchewan MPs, led by former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, spoke in support of saving it. Plans were made to move the rock to higher ground, until it was determined that it could cost up to \$200,000. The public would have

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<sup>192</sup> Lorne and Caroline Brown, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1978), 10.

none of it. The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration (PRFA) decided instead to blast it and saved portions of the rock.<sup>193</sup>

In the midst of the cost-analysis and backing from the Province of Saskatchewan, the Department asked the Board if Canada should give federal assistance to move the rock. Were Board members to recommend federal assistance it would be a drastically different form of preservation from that which they had offered before, both in method and in subject. The Board offered restorative and preservative assistance for compromised structures and for tracts of land on which battles had occurred but it had never offered to relocate something. It had also offered little assistance to the preservation of Indigenous designations, with the exception of a handful of petroglyph sites that falls under its policy on archaeological protection. In its 1966 meeting, the Board “recommended that the Minister should not give assistance toward [the] project.”<sup>194</sup> The Board’s inaction determined the fate of Mistaseni Rock. In December 1966, without sufficient funds to move the rock, a crew destroyed it and interested communities claimed its pieces.<sup>195</sup>

In 1955, the Board had passed a resolution that “steps should be taken to protect and preserve all totem poles, petroglyphs, and rock carvings existing on public lands, as memorials of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country,”<sup>196</sup> which marked a new approach to sacred sites. However, despite that resolution the Board afforded no support or protection to Mistaseni Rock, contradicting its previous position, especially when Mistaseni Rock became such a high profile site in the public eye. It chose to save money rather than protect the Rock. The Board’s decision

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<sup>193</sup> Ken Mitchell, “The Great Rock has gone and no Cree Cries,” *MacLeans Reports* (Toronto, ON), Feb. 1, 1967.

<sup>194</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File “Minutes 26-28 Oct. 1966,” 15.

<sup>195</sup> Mitchell, “Great Rock.”

<sup>196</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting Dec. 12-13 1955,” “Agenda for the Meeting for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 12th and 13th December, 1955,” 12-13.



both indicated that it did not value Indigenous history enough to preserve it and characterized its predisposition to marking history.

There was active discussion about the Board's capacity to create "official histories." Early Board members utilized their own research and were ignorant to their own biases being included in the recommendations made and inscriptions written. In the 1960s, the Board consciously decided that inscriptions should be impartial and continued its effort toward fair thematic and geographic balance.<sup>197</sup> The government-sanctioned Canadian history produced by the Board was the only context many Canadians had beyond a high school education, and thus the Board's work had influence. The Board considered its duty and took precautions to avoid controversial subject matter as it had learned to do following public outcry over the original NWC inscriptions in the 1920s.<sup>198</sup>

In 1968, there was a debate about two Indigenous archeological sites in the Greater Toronto Area. The Draper Site and Parson's Village were both ancient Indigenous camps. The debate about the sites rested on a cost-location comparison; the Draper site was farther from the urban core. The report on Parson's Village stated that it "would have national historic importance the moment it opened, with an immediate visitor attendance of at least a quarter of a million people. It also [had] the potential of portraying the true image of pre-white Indians."<sup>199</sup> The site was a major opportunity for tourism and for the broadening of the public's social consciousness regarding Indigenous affairs. However, the question of the land cost remained, despite the report's

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<sup>197</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File "Minutes + Agenda (only) 25-26 May 1966," 14.

<sup>198</sup> LAC, RG84, Vol. 979, File BA2, Part 2, Howay to Harkin, 3 July 1930, T-II 020.

<sup>199</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "Historic Sites and Monuments Board Agenda & Papers June 1968," 197.

claim that “the future potential [was] unlimited.”<sup>200</sup> The report recommended that the Department designate the site. It was estimated that \$500 000 would be required to secure enough land to reconstruct any significant portion of Parson’s Village and that archeological responsibilities could be shared with universities, schools, and potentially even the public as a part of the site’s programming. The Board made an effort to propose innovative savings methods but they were insufficient to gain Treasury Board or Parks Branch approval.

The Branch proposed the Black Creek Pioneer Village as an alternative site because the Toronto Conservation Authority had begun to develop it, and because it was farther, the land was less expensive.<sup>201</sup> In June 1968, the Board deferred Parsons’ Village for consideration by the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples committee after the completion of the thematic study on Indian cultures the Thematic Studies Committee had commissioned from the National Museum of Man. The Board deferred it and many other sites to wait for the thematic study.<sup>202</sup> In the end, none of the three sites received a designation. The Board continued to struggle to balance financial investment with the Division and Treasury Board’s perceived worth of certain designations, and to reconcile the intentions of written history in its reports that strongly favoured designations with the practice of public history that were restrained by financial and political realities.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the historic sites program consistently used part of its budget for preserving and restoring historic properties. These properties were mostly military in nature, like the Québec or Halifax Citadels, which the Department began preserving and

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>202</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “19-23 June 1968 Minutes,” 34.

restoring in a serious capacity in the 1940s with the Board's approval.<sup>203</sup> Preservation and restoration became even more central to the program following the Massey Commission's demand for a greater focus on preservation. The Department undertook sole and cost-sharing responsibility for sites and began to centralize historic sites that belong to other Departments. In 1958, for example, the Department pursued a cost-sharing agreement with British Columbia to restore Fort Langley; its restoration totalled \$250,000.<sup>204</sup> Large-scale restoration projects became an even bigger focus in the 1960s, consuming more of the Parks Branch's time and resources.<sup>205</sup> The marking of Indigenous sites competed for resources against the marking and restoration of sites seen as key to national histories.

In 1968, to further geographic balance, the Department put forward an amendment to the HSMA to include a Northern representative, one to represent the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The House of Commons struck down the amendment because it felt current provincial and territorial representation on the Board was sufficient.<sup>206</sup> Provinces were collectively responsible for considering proposals for the territories, which proved an ineffective system because Board members were strongly biased toward considering subject matter in their home provinces.<sup>207</sup> Members' involvement in their local heritage scenes also robbed citizens of the territories of an avenue of submission to the Board. The greater proportional representation in the North of Indig-

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<sup>203</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1948," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 20 (122).

<sup>204</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the December Meeting of the HSMBC, 1955," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 14 (343).

<sup>205</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 169-171.

<sup>206</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "Minutes 28-29 Nov. 1968," 30.

<sup>207</sup> Morgan, *Commemorating Canada*, 112-114.

enous people also meant that there was great potential in territorial representatives to bolster Indigenous subject matter with proposals both self- and community-generated, and offer greater insight on Indigenous considerations in other subject areas. The Yukon and Northwest Territories did not receive official representatives on the HSMBC until amendments to the HSMA in 1977.<sup>208</sup>

Alongside its amendment for a northern representative in 1968, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (changed in 1966 from the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources) introduced an amendment to return the representative from the National Museum of Man to the Board, and to allow the Governor-in-Council to change the honoraria at will rather than have a specific dollar amount in the HSMA. Originally, the Board lost its NMM representative, C.P. Wilson, in 1964 because the government transferred the museum out of the Department's portfolio. This was a significant loss because, while the Department had appointed more academics to the Board since the passing of the HSMA in 1953, they were largely historians, rather than anthropologists or social scientists. The loss of an anthropological voice on the Board weakened its authority to make judgements on cultural or archaeological affairs, the two areas that most involved Indigenous history. Parliament passed the amendment and the Board added a representative from the museum the following year, NMM Director and Archaeologist William E. Taylor.<sup>209</sup> This addition, in theory, helped to quell some of the anxiety surrounding recommending Indigenous subjects that existed on the Board.

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<sup>208</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File "Minutes 15-16 June Winnipeg Man. 1976."

<sup>209</sup> Programme Participants, "Members," 345-356.

The Board developed its capacity to handle proposals and to include more diverse subject matter over the first decades following the Second World War. The anxiety over designating Indigenous subjects revealed with the creation of the Indian Tribes of Canada committee is noteworthy.<sup>210</sup> Ignorance was the principle cause of the anxiety, along with the backlash received when commemorating the NWC.<sup>211</sup> The recruitment of more academics who sometimes had broader exposure to or training with Indigenous subject matter began to remedy the ignorance. However, the debates that resulted from the revealed anxiety in some cases led to time-consuming studies and drawn out processes that prolonged the process of designating Indigenous subjects.

Even with a revised mandate, reliable members, experienced academics and culturally considerate members, there remained a proportionate lack of Indigenous designations. Indigenous designations grew in relation to the Board's increasing capacity to recommend and draft inscriptions but not in a significant way when compared with other historical themes. The academics who joined the Board following the passage of the HSMA fostered in-depth discussion about important topics surrounding sensitivity to minority groups and diversity in designations. Although they fostered further discussion, resulting in mechanisms like the ITC and FTIP, most of their influence was never publicly visible because it was largely in discussions and studies. Dr. Bailey's position on commemorating Indigenous tribes brought a wave of concern for Indigenous subjects, leading him to become the first Chair of the Indian Tribes of Canada committee, but the committee became entangled in problems of representation and of 'identity politics' with its discussion about who to commemorate and how best to represent them, which dampened output. He and the ITC tackled enormously important and nuanced debates and established best

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<sup>210</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 21.

<sup>211</sup> McCullough, "Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance," 169.

practices for commemorating Indigenous subjects at the cost of results for the public due to their hesitation to commemorate without thorough review and extensive studies before making many of their recommendations. The Thematic Studies Committee followed the same trend, making few recommendations and extending the timeline for Indigenous designations, which led to few designations for a number of years.

The Board's administrative history in the 1950s and 1960s fostered a more professionalized Board with greater geographic and thematic balance for the coming decades. The infrastructure it developed and the temperaments of its newer members resulted in more sensitive language use, the use of Indigenous translations for some inscriptions, and a greater number of Indigenous sites considered, beginning largely in the 1960s as discussed in chapter 3. Although it lacked full geographic representation until well into the 1970s, the Board began to represent diverse designations in a more culturally considerate way, particularly concerning Indigenous peoples, and its tendency toward assimilationist and archeological recommendations began to break down. Chapters 3 and 4 closely examine the Board's language use, research practices, and recommendation trends.

### **Chapter 3: The Post-War Board to 1970: The Beginnings of a more Culturally Considerate Approach**

This chapter will explore, from 1945 to 1970, the internal discussions of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada concerning Indigenous proposals, its interactions with Indigenous communities, and the proceedings of the Indian Tribes of Canada committee, subsequently the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples committee. It will argue that, despite the Board's trend toward recommending Indigenous subjects that largely contributed to Indigenous assimilation, the Board's recommendations, research, and inscriptions demonstrated its intent to thematically diversify and include Indigenous history in lockstep with contemporary scholarship and public opinion. The Board recommended Indigenous subjects related to existing designations while it delayed more cultural and archaeological Indigenous recommendations with drawn-out discussions and poorly conceived thematic studies.

The Board's administrative history largely began with the Historic Sites and Monuments Act of 1953,<sup>212</sup> but the Board grappled with Indigenous subjects in 1944 when the government appointed Dr. Walter Sage and Dr. Morden H. Long in 1944. Sage and Long were the two greatest Indigenous advocates on the Board entering the post-war period. Sage earned his doctorate at the University of Toronto and in 1918 became a professor of history at the University of British Columbia, becoming department head in 1932. His focus was British Columbian history and he favoured biographical research, which lent support to the proposals for national historic persons.<sup>213</sup> Long became a professor of history at the University of Alberta in 1918. He became

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<sup>212</sup> Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Statutes of Canada 1953, c.H-6, s.3. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-4/page-1.html#h-4>.

<sup>213</sup> Christopher Hives, "Walter Sage Fonds: Fonds Description," University of British Columbia Archives 1987, accessed May 23, 2017, [https://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/u\\_arch/sage.pdf](https://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/u_arch/sage.pdf). Archives du Québec, "Fonds Jules Bazin," *Archives du Québec*, December 1, 2016, [http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17\\_ID\\_FONDS:20978](http://applications.banq.qc.ca/apex/f?p=200:17:8147926643145::::P17_ID_FONDS:20978).

head of the department in 1935 and maintained the position until 1952. In 1917, he co-authored *The Jubilee of Confederation* with future Newfoundland Board member J.W. Jeffrey.<sup>214</sup> Sage and Long quickly began advocating for and writing reports on Indigenous subjects and both exemplified the coming Massey Commission's vision of Board members, possessing doctorates and working in universities.

Chief Crowfoot's grave was Sage and Long's first project following the Second World War. Chief Crowfoot was the Blackfoot chief who signed Treaty No. 7 and persuaded his people not to participate in the North-West Campaign in 1885.<sup>215</sup> Chief Crowfoot's inscription was Long's responsibility, which he presented to the Board in 1946. The inscription called Chief Crowfoot "fearless in war but [a] lover of peace"<sup>216</sup> glorifying him in much the same way as the Board did with British and Canadian military personnel. Chief Crowfoot's decisions were supportive of the assimilationist agenda that was still prevalent in the post-war period, partially explaining his glorification. Chief Crowfoot's actions recognized in his inscription include loyalty to Canada during the NWC, leadership in ceding Indigenous lands to the Crown, and the encouragement of a more sedentary lifestyle for his people, all contributing to Indigenous assimilation.<sup>217</sup> Commemorating Chief Crowfoot raised the profile of Treaty No. 7 and the Board placed his plaque on the Treaty No. 7 monument in 1948, unveiled that year in Gleichen, Alberta.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> University of Alberta, "Morden Long," University of Alberta Centenary, 2008, accessed May 23, 2017, [http://wayback.archive-it.org/1830/20140930214245/http://www.ualbertacentennial.ca/cgi-bin/people/displaybio.php?bio\\_id=722](http://wayback.archive-it.org/1830/20140930214245/http://www.ualbertacentennial.ca/cgi-bin/people/displaybio.php?bio_id=722).

<sup>215</sup> Parks Canada, "Isapo-Muxika (Isapó'ó'mahsika - Chief Crowfoot) National Historic Person," *Parks Canada*, May 23, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=878](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=878).

<sup>216</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1946," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 15 (50).

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File "Master List of Affirmative Recommendations 1971."



In 1945, Long was also responsible for updating the inscription for the plains buffalo. His updated inscription spoke to his perspective on Indigenous peoples. As it stated that since “time immemorial [the plains buffalo]... played a central part in [Indigenous] social and ceremonial life.”<sup>219</sup> In considering an Indigenous presence since “time immemorial” the Board was ahead of its time since this issue remains frequently debated by courts and governments into the twenty-first century because of the rights to land use and ownership inherent in recognizing Indigenous presence in perpetuity.

The Honourable John Norquay, Métis premier of Manitoba from 1878 to 1887, had his inscription approved in 1945 with a pending tablet for Claresholm, Manitoba. Long’s approval of the text was required before the Board made a final decision. The inscription noted that Norquay “[symbolized] the contribution of the Métis to civilization.”<sup>220</sup> This was an important, high-profile recognition of the Métis contribution to Canadian political life, especially given the dominant national narrative that vilified Louis Riel, the most famous Métis person. The inscription was indicative of a change in the perception of Board members because he was Métis but maintained Frederic Howay’s 1930 recommendation that the Board ignore the commemoration of the NWC events or sites. Norquay was the first major, recognized politician from the Red River area. Unfortunately, the inscription trivialized all Métis contributions by commemorating a largely assimilated man who supported the Canadian electoral system and made him solely indicative of the Métis in general. Norquay did not take part in the Red River Campaign in 1869-70, preoccupied himself with party politics during the NWC, and received the support of Prime Minister Sir John

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<sup>219</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1945," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 33 (33).

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, 20 (20).

A. MacDonald throughout his time in office.<sup>221</sup> Norquay's career was divorced from the NWC because of the overwhelming association of the Métis with rebellion.<sup>222</sup> Selecting Norquay as a representative for the Métis in national history portrayed the Métis within the assimilated Canadian framework, which supported the government perception of Indigenous peoples more than it did the slowly changing academic or public.<sup>223</sup>

In 1950, John Diefenbaker, Member of Parliament for Prince Albert, stated his position on national historic sites and Indigenous peoples in the House of Commons, which differed from the treatment of Indigenous peoples through policy. He signified the importance of the Fish Creek and Batoche sites by mentioning the lost and buried Indigenous combatants. He suggested that the Department designate and preserve Watrous Lake for its healing properties. He stated that "as early as 1750 Indians... made pilgrimages [to Watrous Lake] to take advantage of [its] medicinal properties."<sup>224</sup> He also stated that "if we are to have unity with no division because of race, colour or creed, nothing will contribute as much as the preservation of sites and areas which are so much a part of our history and tradition."<sup>225</sup> Diefenbaker's respect for Indigenous peoples and history indicates at least some understanding among Parliamentarians, though government policies and programs did not reflect it.

In 1951, the Board recommended that the Department update the interpretation at the Cut Knife Hill site, and that it move the site's cairn from its original location to the actual site of the

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<sup>221</sup> Barry Glen Ferguson and Robert Alexander Wardhaugh, *Manitoba Premiers of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Regina: CPRC Press, 2010), 51-53, 63-65.

<sup>222</sup> Gerald Friesen, "Norquay, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed August 1, 2017, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/norquay\\_john\\_11E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/norquay_john_11E.html).

<sup>223</sup> Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 216-218.

<sup>224</sup> Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 21st Parl., 2nd sess., 3 (1950) : 3051, [http://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates\\_HOC2102\\_03/979?r=0&s=1](http://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2102_03/979?r=0&s=1).

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

battle. Chief Thomas Favel of the Poundmaker Reserve, the site of the plaque, approved the moving of the cairn and sent an updated inscription to the Board for consideration. The new inscription identified Chief Fine Day and did not glorify colonial troops to the same degree as the original.<sup>226</sup> The Board replaced the original Cut Knife Hill site inscription with this one in the 1950s demonstrating that it was willing to reinterpret its work to meet contemporary research and understanding, work with Indigenous peoples on inscriptions, and portray Indigenous peoples in a culturally considerate way.

The commemoration of Emily Pauline Johnson, known as Tekahionwake in Mohawk, and the preservation of her home, Chiefswood, were among the most prevalent Board debates in the 1950s but were not as well received by the Board as was the Cut Knife Hill site. Pauline Johnson was Métis, the child of a Mohawk-European father and a British mother, and a writer and poet from the Six Nations Reserve in southern Ontario. She published a series of poetry books, including *The White Wampum* in 1895, *Canadian Born* in 1903, and *Flint and Feather* in 1912. She integrated Mohawk cultural practices into her speaking tours to promote her poetry and share her heritage.<sup>227</sup> The Board had previously designated her and ordered an inscription in 1945.<sup>228</sup> However, the Board deferred consideration of the inscription at the Board meetings of 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1950 when the Board finally voted to strike her from the list of distinguished Canadians, the former “National Historic Person” designation. The Board argued that other organizations had already suitably commemorated her at her grave in Vancouver and with

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<sup>226</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting May 30 - 1 June 1951,” 4.

<sup>227</sup> Government of Canada, “Emily Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake),” Library and Archives Canada, accessed 24 May, 2017, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/Pages/pauline-johnson.aspx>.

<sup>228</sup> Historic Sites Division, “Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1945,” in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 29 (29).

a tablet at the Brantford public library, near the Six Nations Reserve.<sup>229</sup> Pauline Johnson's initial recommendation did not follow the Board's assimilationist and military trend. She was an artist who devoted herself to sharing her Indigenous heritage rather than adhering to purely Canadian tradition, and a woman. The Board had recommended few artists to that point. The Board had also recommended very few women to that point, especially Indigenous women, and she was an unexpected designation in that respect, as well. Pauline Johnson did not have the right sex, the right assimilationist values, or involve herself in military conflicts, making her an entirely undesirable historical figure to the Board. The Board minutes do not reflect Long and Sage, Indigenous advocates, coming to Pauline Johnson's aid, and Sage took part in deferring her inscription in 1947.<sup>230</sup>

In 1951, the Board discussed the proposal to preserve Chiefswood, located on the Six Nations Reserve as a means of commemorating Pauline Johnson nationally. The debate over Chiefswood forced the Board to reconsider her worthiness for further national recognition. When the debate was renewed, the Board initially only considered affixing a small tablet to the building, even though its full restoration and preservation were proposed.<sup>231</sup> The City of Brantford and the Six Nations Reserve intended to undertake the restoration of Chiefswood themselves if the Board refused because it had become a home for elderly and destitute Indigenous community members.<sup>232</sup> Fred Landon, chairman and member for Ontario, proposed that if that was the case, then the Board should designate and protect the site after the restoration was complete, with no

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<sup>229</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting May 30 - 1 June 1951," 8.

<sup>230</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1947," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 27 (97).

<sup>231</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting May 30 - 1 June 1951," 8.

<sup>232</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Correspondence & Agenda 1953," C.G. Childe to Doris A. Moore, April 23, 1953.

cost-sharing agreement during the restoration.<sup>233</sup> Cost-sharing plans were an equal local-federal contribution to the restoration and preservation of a property or landmark, usually with local interests assuming physical maintenance responsibilities.

In 1953, after much debate, the Board recommended that the Department designate Chiefswood and that it erect a roadside iron standard, and approve an inscription for it; however, it refused to recommend that the government offer any financial support for the building's restoration. The inscription described Chiefswood as "the birthplace, 10th March, 1861, of Pauline Johnson (TE-KA-HION-WA-KE), Mohawk Indian Poetess, who died in Vancouver, B.C., 7th March, 1913."<sup>234</sup> The inscription described her simply and objectively, and used her Mohawk name, aligning with the Board's shift toward more respectful interpretation. The Board's unwillingness to direct the Parks Branch to assist in the Chiefswood restoration when it received such strong community support served a practical purpose for local Indigenous people reflected the Board's poor treatment of Pauline Johnson's designation but did not match its resolve toward other Indigenous designations under the guidance of Sage and Long. The refusal of a cost-sharing agreement is indicative of the Department's resources and contrasted with the Board's enthusiasm for the creation of Indigenous museums.

In 1955, the Board revisited Chiefswood and after a structural review by the legal advisor of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources recommended that "the care and maintenance of 'chiefswood' should be taken over by this department in connection with our his-

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<sup>233</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting May 26 - 29 1953," 18.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid, 10.

toric sites work. It is understood that the restoration of the structure [will be] carried out with Indian funds.”<sup>235</sup> This meant that the restoration would use money from Indigenous-specific funding out of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, which housed Indian Affairs, rather than the Parks Branch. To the Department there was a clear difference between Canadian history and Indigenous history, and Indigenous history therefore qualified for separate funding altogether. Differentiating between the histories of the two populations perpetuated the notion that Indigenous people were institutionally separate. However, without access to separate funding, there would be no way for the Parks Branch to have secured funding for Chiefswood.

In 1956, Richard Pilant of the Six Nations Reserve wrote to Kaye Lamb, member for the National Archives of Canada, on “behalf of...local groups here who are interested in seeing the ancestral home of Pauline Johnson, Chiefswood, become Canada’s first national Memorial to one of its own authors.”<sup>236</sup> The reserve wanted Pauline Johnson restored to national historic importance and further commemorated at her home but the Board maintained that others suitably commemorated her. The Board never reinstated her designation.

In 1952, the Board considered the Pilot Mound in Manitoba, created by the Mound-builders, an ancient Indigenous people.<sup>237</sup> Local organizations including the Pilot Mound District Board of Trade, and the Southern Manitoba Associated Chamber of Commerce supported the Pilot Mound proposal for its tourist-attracting potential. These organizations gave it broader, more corporate support than some archeological or Indigenous sites that received only grassroots Indigenous support. Universities and museums also excavated parts of the Pilot Mound, and the Manitoba Museum displayed several artefacts from the projects, which gave the site an extensive

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 19 - 6 June 1956,” Lamb to Pilant, May 18, 1956.

<sup>237</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Agenda 1953,” 1.

research base. It had both ancient significance as one of the few remaining mounds in North America, and modern significance as a landmark for settlers and an 1855 battlefield between the Sioux and buffalo-hunters.<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless, the Board did not recommend it despite this strong support and accessible research base. The recognition of touristic value by non-Indigenous organizations indicated that the public was willing to spend money on and think about Indigenous history as part of Canadian history, which indicated some public support. The Mound did not have an assimilationist angle for the Board to exploit, as it did with Chief Tecumseh, for example.

Recommended in 1949, the Piegan Post, or Old Bow Fort, in Alberta, was a unique proposal and process for designation.<sup>239</sup> The Board, in association with the Department, engaged with the local Indigenous community. The major barrier to designating the Piegan Post was that “permission [would] have to be obtained from the Indians to erect a monument on the site and to hold an unveiling ceremony there.”<sup>240</sup> Discussions with the Morley First Nation forced the Board to consider the perspective of Indigenous people living on a reserve. Gooderman, of the Parks Branch, wrote that he had received “a statement from the Chief of the Wesley Band to the effect that his people [were] opposed on the basis that no land [could] be spared anywhere on the Reserve.”<sup>241</sup> The monument required a standard five-acre plot, an access road, and temporary space for restoration resources, but the Board criticized the reserve for impeding its work. Members thought that “it [was] possible that the reluctance of the Indians to co-operate [was] a bargaining

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1949," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 16 (150).

<sup>240</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting May 26 - 29 1953,” 59-60.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

technique and that, if a fair price were offered for the land involved, and if some additional incentive were offered, their attitude might change.”<sup>242</sup> The Board offered the community a space on the future site for a storefront so that the community could benefit from the tourism that it would generate.<sup>243</sup> It was a step forward for the Board, to seek to help the band and directly negotiate use of land, even though the Board’s questioning of Indigenous intentions and seeming ignorance of the indispensability of reserve land was unhelpful. The Department did not designate the Piegan Post and the Board removed it from its unaddressed recommendation list in 1973.<sup>244</sup>

C.E.A. Jeffrey, member for Newfoundland added by order-in-council in 1950 after the province had joined Confederation the year before, proposed William Epps Cormack for designation in 1953.<sup>245</sup> Cormack was a scientist and explorer in the early 19th century who mapped and recorded flora and fauna in the Newfoundland interior. In the research report that Jeffrey wrote to accompany the proposal, he highlighted the importance of Cormack’s partner, Joseph Sylvester, described as a “Micmac Indian.”<sup>246</sup> The Board cast two plaques for Cormack, one at the starting point of his journey across the province, and one at its end. Both plaques stated that he was “accompanied by Joseph Sylvester, a Micmac Indian”<sup>247</sup> while the rest of each inscription focused on Cormack’s scientific endeavour. Neither mentioned the assistance that Sylvester may have offered in the form of navigation or knowledge of how to locate and make use of the flora

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File “Minutes 15017 Nov. 1973,” 4.

<sup>245</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting May 26 - 29 1953,” 9-10.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 10.



and fauna of the island, referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge. The inscription mentioned Joseph Sylvester but did not acknowledge his contributions. This indicated that the Board was prepared to acknowledge Indigenous presence but not Indigenous knowledge.

In 1953, the Board recommended that the Wyandot Council House be designated and receive an iron standard large enough for a secondary plaque, a smaller version of the standard plaque. Its proposed inscription read “near this spot stood the ancient Council House of the Wyandot Indians (descendants of the early Hurons), consistent allies of the British during the War of 1812. Many of the tribe are buried in the cemetery near by (sic).”<sup>248</sup> The Council House’s inscription followed the Board’s trend of recognizing Indigenous people who served the Crown. It received its designation in 1953, but in the late 20th century, the Board rebranded the Wyandot Council House to represent the Wyandot people broadly with a new inscription that defined their origins and territory.<sup>249</sup> The rebranding of the Wyandot designation demonstrated the Board’s eventual shift toward recognizing culture rather than focusing on Indigenous support of British and Canadian narratives.

In 1954, the Board recommended Mademoiselle Onésime Dorval, a Métis educator in the Red River and Battleford settlements during the late nineteenth century. The Department designated her the same year.<sup>250</sup> Her inscription, prepared in 1956 and considered in 1957, stated:

Institutrice intelligente et amie fidele arriva pour enseigner a la Rivière-Rouge en 1877 de la a Battleford de 1880 a 1896 pour aller a Batoche en 1915 et a St. Michel jusqu’en 1921. Ne le 3 aout 1843 dans la Province de Quebec Decede la 10 décembre 1932 a Duck Lake, Saskatchewan (sic).<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting June 7 - 11 1954,” 34.

<sup>249</sup> Parks Canada “Wyandot (Hurons) National Historic Event,” Parks Canada, accessed May 25, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1175](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1175).

<sup>250</sup> Historic Sites Division, “Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1954,” in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 307 (27).

<sup>251</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1179 File HS1-MIN 1957/1 Pt.1 “Minutes of the HSMBC June 3-7 1957,” 71, T13510.

The Board approved the inscription in its anglicized form and accents were added later.

Her inscription was simple and only detailed the locations in the prairies in which she worked. Selecting her for recommendation demonstrated a greater departure from the Board's work than did the inscription it drafted. Of course, as an educator at Oblate missions she contributed inherently to the assimilation of Indigenous peoples, but demographically her recommendation was a departure. Dorval became the first Indigenous woman designated in the post-war period, following Pauline Johnson's removal from the list of distinguished Canadians in 1950. Dorval's recommendation was arguably more controversial than Pauline Johnson's because the Board had avoided recommending subjects related to the NWC since receiving criticism for it in the 1920s.

In 1955, the Board considered the Indian remains at Lake Mazinaw for recommendation. The Lake Mazinaw site sparked a debate and resolution that affected all future considerations of Indigenous and archaeological sites. It argued that while the site was inherently historic, it lacked what made it overtly nationally important due to degradation and vandalism.<sup>252</sup> The Lake Mazinaw site was the spark for the discussion of Indigenous preservation that resulted in greater support of all future Indigenous archeological sites. The board passed the following resolution:

That in the opinion of this Board steps should be taken to protect and preserve all totem poles, petroglyphs, and rock carvings existing on public lands, as memorials of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Mines Departments of the Dominion and Provincial Governments for such consideration and action as they may be disposed to take with reference to such remains of the character mentioned as are situated in their authority.<sup>253</sup>

On its surface, the resolution was a bold stance on the protection of Indigenous history because it targeted governments nation-wide. Few resolutions or recommendations of the Board involved

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<sup>252</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting Dec. 12-13 1955," "Agenda for the Meeting for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 12th and 13th December, 1955," 12-13.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

bodies external to the Department. Protecting Indigenous history had not been a priority for the Board during the interwar years, so a resolution engaging other government bodies toward that goal demonstrated increased consideration for Indigenous sites.

In 1955, the Board commissioned a geological survey of the Sheguiandah Archeological Site on Manitoulin Island in Ontario, after the Department designated it in 1954. It was one of the first sites to benefit from the resolution to protect ancient sites and demonstrated the Board's growing interest in top-quality research and archeology. The Board utilized its resources toward investigating and investing in Indigenous and archeological sites. The Board approved the site's inscription in 1956.<sup>254</sup> The inscription described how "through many thousands of years...large stone hammers were used to strike off pieces of the bed rock"<sup>255</sup> and Indigenous people created tools out of them. It described the site's functionality and important place in the livelihood of Indigenous peoples. However, despite its zeal and quick approval, the Department never cast a plaque for the Sheguiandah Archeological Site even though it had an approved inscription. The Sheguiandah Archeological Site is example of another way in which the internal efforts of the Board struggled to become public.

Mr. Campbell Innes, former Battleford museum curator, recommended the "Indian Surrender" and "Indian Woman" in connection with the NWC. Innes's work at Battleford was incentive for him to advocate its greater recognition, but it was nonetheless important that he chose to support Indigenous-specific subjects. The Indian Surrender inscription prepared in Innes's proposal offered further detail than was available in the Cut Knife Hill inscription from 1923.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Correspondence & Meeting May 29 - 6 June 1956," 14.

<sup>255</sup> Parks Canada "Sheguiandah National Historic Site of Canada," Parks Canada, accessed August 1, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=421](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=421).

<sup>256</sup> Historic Sites Division, "Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1951," in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 4 (200).

The inscription for the Indian Woman, written by Innes, described how “early explorers and fur traders of Western Canada relied greatly on her resourcefulness, courage and usefulness in their development of their new economy on the Prairies. This [was] well shown in modes of transportation, domestic skills, trading and tribal relations.”<sup>257</sup> The respect shown for the work of Indigenous women in the inscription demonstrated a greatly increased understanding of the role of Indigenous peoples in Canadian history. Accepting it would show that the Board intended to communicate this to the public. However, Innes withdrew his advocacy for the sites, indicating that influential Board member(s) did not feel that they were worthwhile recommendations, or perhaps that the Department did not want them designated.<sup>258</sup> The Board’s unwillingness to recommend the Indian Woman continued a precedent set by its failure to recommend Pauline Johnson. The Board at large often did not see Indigenous women who did not make high-level military or political contributions as important, despite their very significant contribution to the lives of Indigenous communities. The Indian Woman debate also subtly demonstrated the Board internal political machinations that further shaped the Canadian historical narrative.

The Board deferred Louis Riel’s recommendation in 1952 and 1955 for further discussion, and in 1956, the Department designated him as having national historic importance.<sup>259</sup> His designation affirmed that the vilifying narrative was changing and that he had significance not only in the formation of Manitoba and Saskatchewan but through them, of the Canadian nation; the affirmation was increasingly supported with each iteration of Riel’s inscription. The Board deferred Riel’s inscription in 1957 and 1958, and decided that Father d’Eschambault, member

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<sup>257</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 2 “Minutes of the 1956 Meeting of the HSMBC May 29 - June 6, 1956,” 7, T13508.

<sup>258</sup> Historic Sites Division, “Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1949,” in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 16 (150).

<sup>259</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 29 - 6 June 1956,” 33.

for Manitoba, should prepare a brief on Riel for the Board to ensure that the inscription was based on the best available research.<sup>260</sup> Due to d'Eschambault's illness that resulted in his leaving the Board in 1959, the Board deferred the brief until 1964 when it redrafted the inscription.<sup>261</sup>

The inscription originally proposed for Louis Riel in 1956 did not vilify him and instead adhered to the academic interpretation that began to emerge in the 1930s that portrayed Riel as a victim. The inscription stated:

Leader of the Metis of the Red River in the argument for their rights before the Union with Canada, he formed a "Provisional Government" of which he was President (1869-1870). In 1885 some inhabitants of the N.W.Territories entrusted him with the redress of their grievances. The movement turned into an armed conflict. He was tried, and victim of circumstances, condemned to death.<sup>262</sup>

The inscription framed the Red River Campaign as being over an “argument for [Métis and Indigenous] rights”, which was a very diplomatic description of events, and somewhat trivialized the actions of both parties. It also referred to the entirety of the North-West Campaign simply as an “armed conflict.”<sup>263</sup> Riel himself was referred to as a “victim of circumstances”<sup>264</sup> rather than a rebel or villain, signifying the changing discourse, much like Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada* that classified him as unstable or subject to influence. The diplomatic description of events surrounding a very galvanizing historical figure indicated that the Board had learned from the controversy over the original inscriptions for NWC sites in the 1920s.

In 1964, after almost a decade later without a plaque, the Board redrafted the inscription. The new inscription interpreted events less apolitically:

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Correspondence, Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64,” Appendix II, 2.

<sup>262</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 29 - 6 June 1956,” 45.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

Born at St. Boniface, October 27, 1844. When the Hudson's Bay Company ceded Rupert's Land to the Canadian Government in 1869-70 he led the Metis of Red River and established a "Provisional Government". Following the execution of Thomas Scott, he fled to the United States. He returned to Canada in 1884 and the next year led the Metis uprising. Following military defeat at Batoche he surrendered and after being found guilty of treason he was hanged at Regina, November 16, 1885. Riel is recognised as one of the founders of the Province of Manitoba.<sup>265</sup>

The newly drafted inscription referenced Scott's execution and Riel fleeing the country while the original did not, which provided greater detail but framed Riel as a murderer. Most importantly, the inscription recognized Riel as a founder of Manitoba, which represented the longstanding local interpretation of Riel.<sup>266</sup> Riel's inscription represented a change in the Board's work to match contemporary scholarship and public opinion. Its work continued to change in lockstep with scholarship, only tempered periodically by political climate.

Apart from Riel, the designation of the Beothuk, an Indigenous population in Newfoundland driven to extinction by colonial activity, was one of the most significant Indigenous designations in the 1950s. It was one of the last designations for Newfoundland under the province's first Board member, C.E.A. Jeffrey. He was an Indigenous advocate, evidenced by his proposals that led to some of the first Newfoundland designations being at least in part Indigenous subjects, like William Epps Cormack's partner John Sylvester. Jeffrey wrote a research report on the Beothuk that focused on the life of Shanawdithit, the last surviving Beothuk. The report also described the mutual brutality of the Beothuk and European colonizers, presenting a balanced perspective of Indigenous people rather than supporting the perception that explorers and colonists were discovering and falling victim to savages. This was a departure from previous designation

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<sup>265</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Correspondence, Memoranda, Agenda + Papers + Minutes 1963-64," Appendix II, 2.

<sup>266</sup> Morgan, *Commemorating Canada*, 97.

because inscriptions and research tended to prioritize the glorification of Europeans and the Crown.<sup>267</sup>

In 1955, the original inscription, named “The Last of the Beothuk,” was drafted and focused on Shanawdithit:

Believed to have been the last of the Beothuks, the aboriginal tribe of Indians in Newfoundland, Shanawdithit, aged about 22 when captured in 1823, lived with white families until her death, 6th June, 1829, and was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery in St. John's.<sup>268</sup>

The inscription demonstrated a change in naming practice as early as 1955, substituting “aboriginal” for the former general term of “Indian” and instead using “Indian” to describe “First Nations.” This was the language used in the 1982 Constitution Act.<sup>269</sup> Recommending another Indigenous woman successfully, following Onésime Dorval in 1954, began a competing, culturally considerate and diverse trend alongside the Board’s assimilationist trend. Shanawdithit’s designation coincided with a spike in Newfoundland designations as the Board attempted to create some geographic balance directly after the province joined Confederation in 1949, and thus it is possible that the Board accepted some proposals that would otherwise have failed. The Board later decided that recognizing the Beothuk generally was more suitable and thus changed the inscription and designation to reflect simply the “Beothuks.”<sup>270</sup> Similar to the Wyandot designation, the Board later decided to represent the Beothuk culture and people more generally rather than as a part of a Euro-Canadian narrative, further demonstrating its culturally considerate shift in the late twentieth century

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<sup>267</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 30 - 3 June 1955,” 21.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, Constitutional Documents, Part II, s.35. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-16.html>.

<sup>270</sup> Parks Canada, “Beothuks National Historic Event,” Parks Canada, accessed August 15, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1048](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1048).

The resolution to protect and preserve archeological and Indigenous sites saved several of them in the 1950s and 1960s; the Marpole Midden, in Vancouver, is one such site. Middens are ancient, human dumping sites and are thus often rich in artefacts. The Marpole Midden is one of the largest pre-contact middens on the Pacific coast of Canada, and contains artefacts up to 2900 years old. The Department designated the Midden in 1933 as a site of national historic importance, but the Board revisited the site to discuss its protection. The Board originally recommended it as the site of early Spanish occupation and archeological value, and updated research on the site in 1956.<sup>271</sup> A letter from Arthur Laing, an MLA from Vancouver, and a future minister of northern affairs and national resources, prompted the update. Laing described the work of scholars excavating the site in recent years and the overwhelming support for its protection on the part of business interests and the Marpole Chamber of Commerce, among other bodies. A newspaper quoted in the report described the Midden as having “revealed the richest Indian findings in B.C.” and the report dated the Midden as at least 2000 years old. Developers built a hotel nearby, causing concern for the site’s preservation.<sup>272</sup> In 1957, the Department decided that the four-and-a-half acre site should be preserved and protected.<sup>273</sup> Concerted support for the site’s protection and a resolution to protect more archeological sites were incentive for the Board and Department to act. Unlike the Pilot Mound, one that business interests had failed to persuade the Board to act on, the Marpole Midden was in a higher profile urban centre with political, academic, and economic support behind it.

In 1958, W.P.B. Pugh, Superintendent of the Stony-Sarcee Indian Agency, wrote to the Board proposing Indian Chiefs Yellowface, John O’Chiese, and Sunchild be recommended as

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<sup>271</sup> Parks Canada “Marpole Midden National Historic Site of Canada,” Parks Canada, accessed May 25, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=81](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=81).

<sup>272</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Correspondence & Meeting May 29 - 6 June 1956,” 33.

<sup>273</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File “Meeting June 3-7 1957,” 16.



being of national historic importance. Pugh advised the Board that the Agency firmly believed in the chiefs' national importance and had already secured plaques suitable for a standard Board cairn. He also compiled extensive biographical reports on each chief. The Board still survived on limited funding and major restoration projects, like the Halifax Citadel, had greatly limited its annual budgets in recent years, so the proposal of cost sharing in this unique way helped propel the proposal forward. The Board decided to refer the chiefs to the newly established ITC for further consideration.<sup>274</sup> Pugh was informed in 1959 that the chiefs were only of provincial historical importance.<sup>275</sup>

In 1959, the Indian Tribes of Canada committee delivered its first report and a list of recommendations to discuss after its creation in 1958. With the support of the entire Board, it recommended that the Department designate the Mi'kmaq tribe. The ITC stated that "the Committee felt that study should be made of the question of using adaptations of Indian languages as well as the prevailing language of the district on any monuments that might be rested in connection with this subject"<sup>276</sup> and this resulted in several Indigenous proposals, mainly designated chiefs in the years that followed, receiving third-language plaques. The Board accepted the ITC's first full list of recommendations. The work of the ITC was further evidence of a trend that began with advocates like Sage and Long. The ITC was the Board's opportunity to institutionalize inclusionary commemorations further and address the criticisms of the Massey Commission surrounding thematic and geographic imbalance. While the ITC improved overall Board practices

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<sup>274</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 47.

<sup>275</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-8-a, Vol. 1424, File HS10-173 Pt. 1, J.D. Herbert to W.P.B. Pugh October 21, 1959, T-13510.

<sup>276</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 6 "Minutes of the May 1959 Meeting of the HSMBC," 21, T13510.

with regard to Indigenous designations in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and began many conversations, it did not significantly overhaul the subjects chosen until much later, in the 1970s.

The bulk of Indigenous content remained assimilationist Indigenous figures.

Between 1961 and 1962, the Board revised the Frenchman Butte's inscription and interpretation to match contemporary research and perception. The narrative of the North-West Campaign had changed considerably in academia. In 1961, Board members questioned the revised inscription, which read:

After pillaging Fort Pitt, several hundred Crees, led by Big Bear, entrenched themselves here late in May, 1885. They were followed by Major-General T.B. Strange, commanding the Alberta Field Forces, about 300 men, including units of the Winnipeg Light Infantry, 65th (Montreal) Voltigeurs, Alberta Mounted Rifles, Steele's Scouts, and North-West Mounted Police. After a sharp engagement on May 28th, both sides quit the field. The Indians withdrew northward, but Big Bear returned, and on July 2nd, surrendered at Fort Carlton.<sup>277</sup>

The word "pillaging" had a negative, barbaric connotation. In 1962, however, demonstrating a recognition of questionable language, the newly updated inscription read "Big Bear and a force of several hundred Crees took prisoner all civilians and entrenched themselves here on May 28, 1885."<sup>278</sup> In another notable shift, the inscription did not avoid mentioning Canadian failures.

The last portion of the 1962 inscription read "after a sharp engagement on May 28th, both sides quit the field. Big Bear fled northward, but on July 2nd returned to surrender near Fort Carlton."<sup>279</sup> It was a more balanced interpretation that dampened the glorification of Canadians, though it still had its bias.

In 1964, the Board reviewed the proposal for the Rainy River Burial Mounds in Stratton, Ontario. The Board considered the Mounds to be one of the most significant archeological sites

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<sup>277</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 4 "Minutes of the HSMBC November 26-28 1962," 3, T13510.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

in all of Canada, but in 1964 when it originally discussed the site, the Board decided that research on the Mounds was insufficient.<sup>280</sup> The Mounds, however, after the Branch conducted further research, received a national historic designation from the Department in 1969.<sup>281</sup> The value of research to the Board was increasing. In the Board's early years, members often used their own research to justify the designation of certain subjects. In the post-war period, with the resources of the Parks Branch behind them they were better able to scrutinize research and request its completion before recommending subjects, or conducted it themselves under more strict regulations.<sup>282</sup> Improved procedures meant better-informed designations and more thorough, informed interpretation.

The value of the Old Woman's Buffalo Jump, though, was certain from the beginning and was the source of one of the most high stakes negotiations for a historic site in the Board's history. It became a long-standing debate, beginning with its proposal in 1960. The Department designated the Jump in 1960 to be of national historic importance. The aim of the Board was to develop the Jump into a formal National Historic Site with interpretive services. However, the government of Alberta was unreceptive to the Department's purchase offers for the land and negotiations lasted for more than a decade.<sup>283</sup> Alberta wanted to maintain mineral rights to the land if it sold it to the federal government, but the Board and Department opposed Alberta's terms. Alberta was also rumoured to have been establishing its own provincial interpretation services,<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>281</sup> Parks Canada "Kay-Nah-Chi-Wah-Nung National Historic Site of Canada," Parks Canada, accessed May 27, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=373](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=373).

<sup>282</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "HB 3010-5 1963-64 Historical Committees/External Historical Sites and Monuments Board Committee(s)," "Minutes Meeting of October 27-29, 1964." 2.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

but negotiations were still underway in 1967. The interest of both parties indicated their recognition of the importance of Indigenous history and culture. Although the Board approved an inscription in 1974 while negotiations continued,<sup>285</sup> it erected no plaque at Old Woman's Buffalo Jump.<sup>286</sup>

In 1968, the Board began to pursue other Indigenous sites in Alberta because negotiations persisted. The Board recommended Head Smashed in Buffalo Jump for designation and that the Department develop it into a national historic site with interpretive services of the same calibre envisioned for Old Woman's Buffalo Jump.<sup>287</sup> Choosing an alternative Indigenous site while continuing land negotiations instead of abandoning negotiations without a replacement site, demonstrated the determination of the Board to represent Indigenous history and important cultural sites.

The Board and Branch conducted extensive research on the Head Smashed-in Buffalo Jump site. The chief of an Indigenous community adjacent to it, whose ancestors used the site, detailed its mythology and the Indigenous tradition of the buffalo jump.<sup>288</sup> The Glenbow Foundation, the University of Calgary, and the Geological Survey of Canada all conducted studies and excavations at the site and determined that the site was "the largest and most ancient of all known bison jumps so far excavated in the Northern Plains." The Board decided that "Head Smashed-In thus [offered] an unparalleled opportunity to develop in Alberta an integrated interpretive program, entering on prehistoric cultures and their utilization of the changing Plains environment over the past 5,700 years."<sup>289</sup> The Board utilized academic resources and the knowledge

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<sup>285</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File "Minutes 18-20 May 1974," 16.

<sup>286</sup> Parks Canada "Old Women's Buffalo Jump National Historic Site of Canada," Parks Canada, accessed May 27, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=17](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=17).

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>288</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "Papers 28-29 Oct. 1968," 191.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

of Indigenous communities. Consultation with Indigenous peoples was becoming a regular occurrence for the Board. A new era in Indigenous designations was beginning.

In 1968, the Board discussed Rocky Mountain House as another alternative site to the Old Woman's Buffalo Jump in Alberta. It originally received a designation in 1926 but the Board considered developing it into a national historic park for Indigenous interpretation. The Board decided on three themes for the interpretation of Rocky Mountain House, "the fur trade, David Thompson, and the role of the Piegan (Blackfoot) Indians."<sup>290</sup> The Board made a continued effort to maintain a balance between Indigenous and settler voices. The Board also agreed it had not adequately commemorated the "Indian participants" in the fur trade, further proving its intent to balance its interpretation, and Rocky Mountain House was an opportunity to demonstrate their importance.

In 1966, the Board discussed the "Site of the Last Indian Battle (Indian Battle of 1870)," near Lethbridge, Alberta. The Board, further to designating the site and events with exclusively Indigenous participants, "recommended that the Minister review the general possibility of creating at the site a national historic park."<sup>291</sup> The initiative to preserve the site and develop it into a higher traffic area was significant because it showed the Board's recognition of the site's touristic value. In 1966, it received a national historic designation. In 1967, the Division ordered a feasibility report on the site's potential for a park "as soon as staff resources [permitted],"<sup>292</sup> but no park was developed. This was another example of the differing opinions of the Board and Department, the limited potential of Parks Branch resources, and the struggle of the Board to make its internal efforts public facing.

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<sup>290</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "23-24 Oct. 1969," 19-20.

<sup>291</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File "Minutes & Agenda 26-28 Oct. 1966," 15.

<sup>292</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File "Minutes & Agenda 23-24 Oct. also booklet "National Historic Sites Policy" 1967," "Appendix A," 1.

In 1966, the Board also continued to review older inscriptions with the 1813 Battle of Beaver Dams. The Department originally designated it in 1921 and its original inscription stated “warning of the approach of the Americans was given by the heroic Laura Secord as well as by an Indian.”<sup>293</sup> The updated inscription “warned of their approach by an Indian scout and by Laura Secord”, identified the Indigenous forces as Iroquois, and read that Indigenous forces “compelled [American forces] to surrender.” It glorified the actions of Indigenous forces, and identified the Indigenous combatants rather than homogenizing them as “Indians.” But this also followed the pattern of legitimizing Indigenous peoples only if they had demonstrated loyalty to the Crown, so while the tone of inscriptions began to change for the better the subjects themselves remained assimilationist due to internal struggles to complete thematic studies and find anthropological expertise to handle more cultural Indigenous subjects. The Board represented Indigenous people better in inscriptions, but the public only learned about Indigenous figures intimately tied to European and Canadian histories, and this had a limited ability to change public perception of them.

In 1967, Cree Chief Poundmaker received a designation, and the Board immediately approved an inscription:

Outstanding Cree chief and spokesman, he sought better treaty terms for the bands of this area. During the 1885 Rebellion he repulsed Lt. Col. Otter’s attack on his reserve at Cut Knife but exercised restraint upon his followers. Imprisoned as a rebel, he died in Alberta after his early release.<sup>294</sup>

The Board approved the inscription with the caveat that the earlier phrase “Cree chief, orator and statesman” be replaced with the phrase “outstanding Cree chief and spokesman.”<sup>295</sup> The word

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<sup>293</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 397, File “Minutes & Agenda (only) 25-26 May 1966,” 6.

<sup>294</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 6 “Minutes of the Second 1967 Meeting of the HSMBC October 23-24, 1967,” 22, T13510.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

“statesman” implied the statehood and sovereignty of Indigenous peoples and therefore the Board removed it. Notably, complimentary language rather than neutral language replaced it. The inscription fully endorsed the victory narrative at Cut Knife Hill, whereas the original inscription for Cut Knife Hill unjustifiably glorified Lt. Col. Otter’s actions and largely ignored the Indigenous combatants.<sup>296</sup> It also spoke to Poundmaker’s tempered leadership, combating the narrative of Indigenous peoples as savage in battle. The inscription used glorifying language that the Board originally reserved for those battling on *behalf* of the government. The Board commissioned a third version of Poundmaker’s inscription in Cree in 1969 after passing a resolution that allowed for the periodic use of a third, Indigenous language for Indigenous plaques in subject or location.<sup>297</sup> The Cree inscription demonstrated a cultural consideration for those involved in the history the Board portrayed.

In 1967, the Board revised the inscription for the attack at Grand Pré. In February 1747, a group of French, Acadian, and Indigenous peoples launched a surprise attack on Colonel Arthur Noble and New England militiamen, killing Colonel Noble and several dozen militiamen.<sup>298</sup> The inscription’s final amendment was to add that there were Indigenous troops at the engagement, alongside the French.<sup>299</sup> The Board made an active effort to include Indigenous people, whereas before members chose to provide more detail on European actors. Indigenous peoples at last became standard subject matter for inscriptions, just like any other participant group.

Another significant revision, in 1964, was conducted on the Nootka Sound Spanish Settlement, which began with the recommendation that the Division undertake an archaeological

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<sup>296</sup> McCullough, “Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,” 174.

<sup>297</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “23-24 Oct. 1969 Minutes,” 25-26.

<sup>298</sup> Marsters, “Grand Pré,” 39.

<sup>299</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 6 “Minutes of the Second 1967 Meeting of the HSMBC October 23-24, 1967,” 7, T13510.

survey of the site. The Board originally designated it in 1923, making it one of the first national historic sites in Canada.<sup>300</sup> It was a site of antagonism between Britain and Spain and of significance to both, as recognized in the original inscription. In 1967, the Nootka Sound Settlement was identified by the Board as the best place for a national historic park to symbolize “the first contact between Indian and white men and also to accent the history of the Spanish in British Columbia. Such a park would also commemorate the Indian way of life in B.C.”<sup>301</sup> The initiative of the Board to bring the Nootka Sound Settlement site from a Spanish and British plaqued site to a full national historic park that showcased an important point of contact between Indigenous peoples and settlers demonstrated its growing respect for Indigenous peoples and its desire to reinvent designations and update research. The relationship between the Parks Branch, the Board, and the National Museum of Man strengthened the anthropological lens on National Historic designations, and heightened the archeological profile of the Board is Indigenous representation.

The Nootka Sound Settlement site was a tremendous step forward for Indigenous interpretation, but it had consequences. Its Indigenous content was a result of a significant update in its inscription and interpretation rather than the creation of a new site. In 1968, the Board rejected the Indian Fort Site at Ocean Park and the Echachis Island sites, both significant sites for Indigenous peoples, because it decided that the Nootka Sound Settlement site sufficiently represented West Coast Indigenous peoples.<sup>302</sup> These were areas densely designated with military or political subjects, so the Board’s decisions appeared biased against Indigenous subjects, although each site offered obstacles. The decision to pass over the Indian Fort Site at Ocean Park also

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<sup>300</sup> Parks Canada “Yuquot National Historic Site of Canada,” Parks Canada, accessed May 25, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=54](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=54).

<sup>301</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1180 File HS1-MIN Pt. 6 First 1967 meeting of the HSMBC, 4

<sup>302</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “Historic Sites and Monuments Board Agenda & Papers June 1968,” 197.



stemmed from its cost. The National Museum of Man also wrote to the Board and stated that scholars and archaeologists had documented the Echachis Island site well and therefore it could easily develop interpretive services but that it was not historically impressive. George F. MacDonald, from the National Museum of Man, also accused the Clayoquot Band that had brought forward the Echachis Island proposal of wanting the designation for tourism rather than historical preservation purposes.

In 1967-1968, the Board shifted its thematic priorities through policy and the creation of a new committee. In 1967, the Board passed a resolution to designate less military history:

Since militarism has not been a dominant theme in Canadian history...and since it is desirable that a more appropriate thematic balance be established; therefore, it is proposed that the Board should advise the Minister to take appropriate steps to examine the allocation of resources...[to reduce] the emphasis upon military establishments and to [increase] the emphasis upon more significant themes of our history.<sup>303</sup>

Many of the thematic studies begun by the Criteria Committee focused on cultural and Indigenous aspects of Canadian history, enforcing the Board's shift away from military history, which left more room to designate minority groups and under-represented or unrepresented historical themes. The resolution and shift away from military designations correlates with the anti-war movement that accompanied the United States' entry into the Vietnam War. There was a powerful anti-war movement in both Canada and the US, and many American citizens came to Canada to dodge the draft, and contributed to the Canadian anti-war movement.<sup>304</sup> The Board's resolution on military subjects seemed to reflect public opinion. The shift away from military designations that to that time consumed the bulk of Board recommendations and commonly glorified war, allowed greater consideration for other subject matter areas, including Indigenous content.

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<sup>303</sup> Parks Canada, RG84, A-2-a, vol. 1179 File HS1-MIN Pt. 26 "Minutes of the First 1967 Meeting of the HSMBC October 23-24, 1967," 7, T13509.

<sup>304</sup> Jessica Squires, *Building Sanctuary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 228-231.

The broadening scope of the historical discipline was also affecting the Board's shift away from military history. Social history was on the rise in the 1960s and 1970s. Historians underwent a significant shift in perspective from that of a national character to one of a particular class, locality, gender, or ethnic background. Historians instead sought to recount histories of under-represented groups. The number of historians also increased, increasing with it the diversity in perspectives. Indigenous history became popular as the social history movement gained momentum because historians wanted to dilute the prominence of elite narratives with those of under-represented demographics, which facilitated the broadening of the Board's definition of "Canadian" history.<sup>305</sup>

In 1968, the Board discussed Chief Walking Buffalo for recommendation. The Branch wrote a report on Chief Walking Buffalo that determined him to be of provincial rather than national historical importance. Despite noting that "there [was] surprisingly little on Walking Buffalo in the Public Archives,"<sup>306</sup> as there was for many Indigenous leaders and individuals, the report detailed his life down to who held him at birth. The Board and the Branch's researchers learned how to research Indigenous subjects better by using Indigenous communities and descendants as resources, and thus they wrote reports that were more comprehensive and culturally considerate. Better research practices allowed them to justify better Indigenous subjects as being of national importance.

The Board's engagement with Indigenous communities and consideration for Indigenous cultures in their recommendations and inscriptions increased from the beginning of the post-war period to 1970, with few exceptions. Sage and Long, with the support of the Board, advocated

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<sup>305</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 259-260, 262-263, 297-298.

<sup>306</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File "Papers 28-29 Oct. 1968," 95.

for Indigenous subjects. The Board chose to institutionalize Indigenous advocacy with the creation of the ITC in 1957, proving that it valued Indigenous history. The ITC centralized expertise and created certainty that Indigenous proposals would be considered, rather than leaving it to provincial representatives and any interest they might have in Indigenous history. The increased capacity of the Branch to support the Board also contributed to the increase in successful Indigenous proposals. The Branch's staff benefitted from improved research methodology and a greater respect for Indigenous research sources, like local records and oral histories.

The Board demonstrated consideration for a more nuanced interpretation of Indigenous history. In the beginning of the period, subjects with connections to wars, like Chief Tecumseh, to treaties, like Chief Crowfoot, or to the Canadian government, like John Norquay, were designated and made legitimate by their relationship to the dominant European narratives surrounding Indigenous peoples. However, as the period progressed, the Board designated Indigenous subjects more independent of military or political connections or older than first contact with Europeans. For example, many more archeological sites were preserved, and resolutions were passed to protect them, and Indigenous women with no military connections were also designated. The progression of subjects is linked both to the Board members' own shifting mentalities as academia became more inclusive of Indigenous subject matter, and also to the support for Indigenous subjects from the public, as in the case of Pilot Mound and Marpole Midden. Moreover, the Board also moved away from older national narratives as demonstrated by Louis Riel's inscription in 1956 that directly contradicted the dominant, vilifying narrative in force for more than 70 years.

The negotiations between the Department and Alberta over the Old Woman's Buffalo Jump, and the contingency plans of the Board also speak to the development of Indigenous content on the Board. When its original choice fell into jeopardy, the Board chose to investigate alternative sites to designate with national historic value, and conducted additional research on the sites to prove their worth. In the end, the Board recommended all of the sites, rather than the most significant site, to increase Indigenous representation in designations.

The post-war period, but especially the 1960s, presented the Board with debates and decisions that forced it to consider Indigenous history and Indigenous peoples in a different light. Discussing more Indigenous proposals and interacting with Indigenous communities for research conditioned Board members with a degree of cultural competency. The Board was equipping itself with the tools and experience necessary to continue its trajectory toward the inclusion of Indigenous subjects in Canadian commemoration on the same level as other major Canadian cultural groups, though even in the 1970s all subject areas would continue to compete with military and political designations. Chapter 4 will examine the Board's work in the 1970s, including Indigenous recommendations, reports, inscriptions, and policies.

#### **Chapter 4: The Board during the 1970s, and the Impact of the National Museum of Man**

This chapter will explore the work of the Board during the 1970s. It argues that the assimilationist trend in the Board's recommendations and inscriptions began to break down throughout the decade, which contributed to a more nuanced interpretation of Indigenous peoples and their historical contributions. It does so by examining language use in inscriptions including research content and terminology use. It will also argue that the evolution of the Board's language policy was an indicator of the break down and furthered the Board's representation of Indigenous peoples. Finally, it will argue that collaborating with heritage institutions like the National Museum of Man improved the Board's research quality and helped diversify the subjects considered.

The 1970s were productive for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The Parks Branch hired regional staff who pressured the Board to better balance the geographic distribution of designations. The Board and the NMM conducted many more thematic and individual studies, creating a broader, deeper research base for decision-making. It also studied much more diverse Indigenous subjects, including leaders, villages, cultural artefacts, and prehistoric sites. Indigenous subjects recommended and discussed by the Board continued to increase in the 1970s as the Board became more culturally competent and more trusting of partner organizations like the NMM that had the expertise that the Board lacked.

The 1970s were turbulent for Indigenous peoples in Canada because of targeted legislation that resulted in dramatically increased Indigenous activism. In 1969, the *White Paper* on Indigenous policy was introduced by Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean

Chrétien, to begin the process of repealing the Indian Act of 1876 and other legislation as the first step toward the assimilation of Indigenous people into the Canadian population.<sup>307</sup>

The *White Paper* did not consider the socio-economic instability of Indigenous peoples in Canada when it proposed removing support systems. Its spirit was that of equality, stating that “To be an Indian must be to be free - free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians.”<sup>308</sup> The *White Paper* claimed to represent the position of Indigenous leadership, but that was not the case despite 16 consultation sessions held in 1968-69. Indigenous peoples in Canada were largely against the *White Paper*, though reasoning was not clear at the time. Many Indigenous peoples preferred the idea of a heavily amended Indian Act to its repeal.<sup>309</sup>

There was widespread public outcry in response to the *White Paper*, and Harold Cardinal, leader of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA), along with the IAA staff published the *Red Paper* as a direct response on behalf of Indigenous people.<sup>310</sup> The *White Paper* also coincided with the formation of the Canadian Métis Society (CMS) and the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), which represented the Métis and First Nations, respectively, both of which disagreed with the *White Paper*’s principles and advocated for its termination. Both organizations succeeded the National Indian Council (NIC), which Canada helped create to give a voice to Métis and non-

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<sup>307</sup> Government of Canada, “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy,” Ottawa, 1969, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191>. Hereafter referred to as the *White Paper*.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> David Hunter, “The White Paper: The Failure of a Policy” (published report, University of Ottawa, 1975), 3-5, 10.

<sup>310</sup> Leon Crane Bear, “The Indian Association of Alberta’s 1970 *Red Paper* Published as a Response to the Canadian Federal Government’s Proposed 1969 *White Paper* on Indian Policy” (Master’s Thesis, University of Lethbridge, 2015), 100.

Status Indigenous people, but were significantly more independent.<sup>311</sup> The introduction of the *White Paper* and the founding of Indigenous organizations was empowered by the beginnings of Red Power, an Indigenous social activism movement in the United States. It was a social, legal, political, and ideological movement. Following the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, activists predicated Red Power on the notion that Indigenous peoples' destiny was in their own hands.<sup>312</sup> These factors in Indigenous activism and visibility coincided with growing sensitivity to and consideration for Indigenous subjects in the Board's policies and recommendations. This was unlike the interwar years when the government responded to Indigenous peoples' attempts to organize politically by making it illegal in 1927, and when Indian Agents exerted more power on reserves.<sup>313</sup>

In 1969, Sidney Wilsdon, a citizen of North Battleford, Saskatchewan, wrote to Chrétien to suggest that Canada commemorate the Indigenous people hanged at Battleford, and the Minister's Office forwarded the letter to the Board. In 1970, the Board considered the issue and called for a re-examination of the Batoche interpretive material for the inclusion of Indigenous voices.<sup>314</sup> The Board revisited the majority of the North-West Campaign material in the 1950s, but in the intervening decades, the research capacity and cultural consideration of the Board had increased dramatically. For example, the Branch was able to write a comprehensive report on Chief Walking Buffalo with little help from archival material by trusting and seeking out Indigenous and non-standard sources.

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<sup>311</sup> Posluns, "Congress of Aboriginal Peoples."

<sup>312</sup> Bowles, *The Indian*, 24-27.

<sup>313</sup> Shewell, "Canadian Indian Policy," 173-174.

<sup>314</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File "Minutes 8-9 June 1970," FTIP Report, Appendix C.2.

In its June 1970 meeting, the Board requested a report from the Parks Branch on Indigenous people in the NWC and it prepared “Indians and the North-West Rebellion of 1885” for the November meeting. The report cited “current scholarship and changing public attitudes” as the reason all involved sites required a reassessment.<sup>315</sup> The report recommended that the Board commemorate Chiefs Big Bear, Fine Day, and Wandering Spirit for their military prowess equal to that of Canadian forces. The Board consequently requested a staff report on Chief Big Bear, who it then recommended in 1971, and markers for the Battleford hangings as requested in Wilsdon’s letter.<sup>316</sup> The Board wanted to recognize Indigenous voices in the NWC and its inscriptions and interpretive material to be consistent with contemporary scholarship and public opinion. The complaints made to the Board in its early days, particularly over the early interpretation of the NWC, still loomed.

The 1970s presented an opportunity to apply contemporary research to the NWC. This research did not fully abandon the themes of Canadian expansion as progress and loyalty of Indigenous peoples to the Crown but focused more on the Indigenous peoples themselves. During the reinterpretation process, Cut Knife Hill, Fort Battleford, and Batoche received the majority of the attention. The inscription for Cut Knife Hill, revised in 1971, created more of a narrative than a factual retelling of events. It made Colonel Otter’s defeat clear, declaring it a “failed” attack, and highlighting the effectiveness of the Indigenous combatants.<sup>317</sup> The reinterpretation of Fort Battleford focused more on the narrative of the North-West Mounted Police, which the Board always intended. It did not remove the Indigenous content, but minimized it throughout the entire

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<sup>315</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File “Papers 8-9 June 1970,” Indians and the North-West Rebellion of 1885 Staff Report, 1.

<sup>316</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File “Minutes 8-9 June 1970,” FTIP Report, Appendix C.2.

<sup>317</sup> McCullough, “Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance,” 174-175.



site in favour of explaining the role of the NWMP.<sup>318</sup> In 1972, Parks Canada wrote a plan for the Batoche interpretive update and prioritized informing the public of the Métis side of the NWC narrative.<sup>319</sup> The NWC sites all continued to develop their narratives independently, some focusing on the Métis perspective, others on the Canadian figures who took part, but the Board passed policy with specific regard to Batoche to emphasize the Indigenous narrative. The Board continued its shift away from strict glorification of Canadian figures and actions in favour of balanced, comprehensive inscriptions.

In 1970, the Board recommended the Indian Treaty of 1778, and approved its inscription. The treaty was among the last of the Peace and Friendship Treaties signed in the eighteenth century.<sup>320</sup> The Department designated it the following year in 1971. The inscription noted that the treaty of “peace and friendship...did much to ensure the loyalty of the Indians...during the Revolutionary War.”<sup>321</sup> The Board identified Pierre Thomas, Supreme Sachem of the St. John tribe, which continued its trend toward identifying significant Indigenous historical figures. However, the inscription continued to use the term “Indian”, despite the term “Indigenous” appearing in the Board’s Indigenous Committee title and the NMM’s use of “Aboriginal” in its research report titles. The Board’s focus on loyalty to the Crown continued its trend of recognizing Indigenous subjects that contributed to assimilation. The inscription received two revisions, the first to “reduce the emphasis on the Abbé Mathurin and to give due place to the Indian,”<sup>322</sup> and the second,

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<sup>318</sup> Ibid, 181-182.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, 184-185.

<sup>320</sup> Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “Peace and Friendship Treaties,” *INAC*, accessed September 19, 2017, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028599/1100100028600>.

<sup>321</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes 11-12 June 1973,” 34-35.

<sup>322</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes 11-12 June 1973,” Secretary’s Report, Appendix A.

in 1973, to give “due recognition to the Indian participants as well as those mentioned in the existing inscription.”<sup>323</sup> The Board demonstrated its shift toward emphasizing Indigenous peoples in inscriptions by making multiple revisions. Its inscription practices continued largely to reflect Indigenous history in a more culturally considerate way than its choice of Indigenous subjects.

In 1970, the Board relinquished responsibility for thematic studies on Indigenous cultures, first commissioned in 1960, to the NMM and made Taylor, member representing the NMM, the consultant on the subject.<sup>324</sup> Recognizing that, despite the increasing cultural consideration and good intentions of the Board, it was not as qualified as the NMM to research and administer Indigenous subject matter was a significant statement step in its own right. Taylor would have additional influence on Indigenous subjects on the Board, but the Parks Branch largely conducted the research reports and thematic studies by the 1970s, so it was more a matter of transferring the workload from one institution to another, with the Board retaining the final decision. The NMM was more experienced with Indigenous history and archaeology than the Branch. However, in 1971 when the report, “Early Man in Canada” written by Richard E. Morlan<sup>325</sup> of the NMM, was delivered, it was deemed inadequate by the Board because “while interesting and valuable, [it did] not give the Board sufficiently precise information to adequately effect commemoration of Indian peoples.”<sup>326</sup> It detailed the archeological and contemporary literature on Indigenous peoples in Canada. The Board requested a revised study for 1972, but George MacDonald explained that a “computerized inventory of pre-historic sites was underway and

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<sup>323</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes 14-15 Oct. 1971,” 3.

<sup>324</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File “Minutes 8-9 June 1970,” FTIP Report, Appendix C.2.

<sup>325</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “27-28 May 1971 Papers,” Early Man in Canada Staff Report.

<sup>326</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes May 27-28 1971,” 13.

should be completed within two years” and offered the Board complete access to it.<sup>327</sup> The solution Taylor proposed when the Board judged the report harshly was that he personally conduct the thematic study of “Eskimo Cultures” and that the Board use it as a model for all Indigenous studies.<sup>328</sup> The Board accepted both proposals, further delaying a proper assessment of Indigenous cultures and continuing to limit limiting Indigenous subjects considered.

In 1970, the Board discussed a report about all of the passes through the Rocky Mountains and their historical significance. The report began by stating, “the earliest use of the Rocky Mountain passes as routes of travel is shrouded in the mists of Indian history. One, the North Kootenay, was certainly used by the Indians before the white man’s appearance.”<sup>329</sup> The Crowsnest Pass was also noted to have “sometimes [been] used by the Indians, but not favoured by them.”<sup>330</sup> The report did not make sufficient use of the sources that had recently been given credit in reports, namely Indigenous knowledge. The notion that historical facts were “shrouded in the mists of Indian history”<sup>331</sup> discounted the historical record that existed in Indigenous communities through oral histories and stories, which the Board made use of in the 1950s and 1960s, for example when preparing the research report on the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump.<sup>332</sup> Dr. L.H. Thomas, Board member for Alberta, wrote the report on the Rocky Mountain passes and demonstrated that not all Board members possessed the necessary Indigenous research expertise, further justifying the NMM’s involvement.

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<sup>327</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes Oct. 14-15 1971,” 6-7.

<sup>328</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes May 27-28 1971,” 13.

<sup>329</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Papers May 27-28 1971,” 6 Rocky Mountain Pass Staff Report.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 398, File “Papers 28-29 Oct. 1968,” 191.

In 1971, the Board recommended Skookum Jim for designation. Skookum Jim was the Indigenous man who first discovered gold, sparking the Yukon Gold Rush. The Board recommended that a plaque should “be erected not later than 1973” and that he be included in the interpretation of the Gold Rush.<sup>333</sup> Skookum Jim ultimately did not receive a designation until 1994, but the Board’s decision to recommend him was a prime example of its recognition of Indigenous importance to broader Canadian history, especially such a popular Canadian narrative. Skookum Jim’s claim to first discovery was also highly debated. In 1972, Alex Stevenson, observer for the Northwest Territories and Administrator of the Arctic for the Canadian government,<sup>334</sup> requested that the Board remove the words “Jim struck gold”<sup>335</sup> from the Discovery Claim plaque for fear of local controversy in the Yukon. The Board decided to support Skookum Jim’s place in the narrative and refused to remove the phrase unless Stevenson could provide research to the contrary, rather than appeasing the request for revised language.<sup>336</sup> The Board actively chose to construct the narrative using research rather than allow political or social pressures, internal or otherwise, to sway it. However, the Department did not designate and utilize the plaque for the Discovery Claim until 1998. The preparation of an inscription nearly two decades earlier suggests that the Department found the recommendation disagreeable and delayed designating the Claim despite the Board’s position, further differentiating the attitude of the Board and Department on the subject of Indigenous history. The Board was prepared to credit an Indigenous man with a traditionally Canadian discovery while the Department was not.

In 1971, the Board approved the inscription for Plains Cree Chief Big Bear. It stated:

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<sup>333</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File “Minutes Oct. 14-15 1971,” 3.

<sup>334</sup> Alexander Stevenson, “Foreword,” in Minnie Aodla Freeman, *Life among the Qallunaat* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1978).

<sup>335</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Minutes 19-20 Oct. 1972,” 16.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid*, 16-17.

Big Bear, noted warrior and hunter, was one of the foremost champions of the northern plains Indians. As a leader of the Plains Cree he refused to sign Treaty No. 6, and, after 1884, was with Poundmaker the focus of attempts to unite the treaty bands in the Battle River-Fort Pitt area. Notwithstanding his attempts to restrain his followers at Frog Lake and Fort Pitt in 1885, he was imprisoned following the Rebellion. Released in 1887, he died the following winter on the Little Pine reservation.<sup>337</sup>

The inscription continued to substitute the word “Indian” for “First Nation,” as using “First Nation” had become common practice. The inscription recognized Chief Big Bear’s attempt to act in the interest of peace in 1885, but focused on his guilt and resistance to assimilation and treaties. Commemorating Chief Big Bear’s life in a balanced way, detailing his resistance to assimilation with his refusal to sign a treaty and then support of assimilation by trying to restrain his people from entering combat in the NWC, was a continued departure from the Board’s inscription practices that previously ignored any resistance. The Board, while maintaining its assimilationist trend, was portraying a different side of Indigenous peoples.

The same year, Hugh A. Dempsey delivered his report on the Blackfoot Crossing pass. It differed greatly from the report on the Rocky Mountain passes in method and content. It demonstrated the quality of research possible by collaborating with heritage institutions, which the Board previously discounted due to unusable thematic studies. Dempsey was the Director of History at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Board member for Alberta from 1975 to 1978. Dempsey was a well-respected ethno-historian who studied Indigenous people in Canada extensively and received such honours as an honorary chieftom from the Kainai Nation in 1967, home nation of his wife, Pauline Gladstone.<sup>338</sup> His report demonstrated his potential contribution to the

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<sup>337</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Minutes 19-20 Oct. 1972,” 18. See also Parks Canada, “Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) National Historic Person,” Parks Canada, accessed August 10, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1479](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1479).

<sup>338</sup> George Melnyk, *The Literary History of Alberta: From the End of the War to the End of the Century* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999), 112-113.

Board. The report used Indigenous languages when naming historical figures, quoted directly from Chief Crowfoot's journal, and discussed practical and cultural uses of the pass. The report also included the history of treaty negotiations at the site, the excavations conducted there, and its uses.<sup>339</sup> Despite the comprehensive and culturally competent methods, the report did not succeed in convincing the Board to recommend that the Department develop a national historic park at the Blackfoot Crossing site, or even to designate it, and instead it recommended that it conduct further research on the Cluny Earthwork Village site within the Crossing site.<sup>340</sup> It perceived only a part of the larger site to be of national historic significance. The report nonetheless demonstrated Dempsey's potential and formed an expert example of Indigenous research. The Department finally designated the Blackfoot Crossing in 1992.<sup>341</sup>

In 1972, the Board discussed the research conducted on the Cluny Earthwork Village site.<sup>342</sup> The 1972 report included a letter from R.G. Forbis, an archaeologist and professor at the University of Calgary who studied the Earthwork and similar sites in Alberta extensively and who was the source of a number of articles used.<sup>343</sup> Recommending the Earthwork site rather than the entire Crossing removed the possibility of a higher profile Indigenous designation, that of a national historic park. The proposal for the Earthwork was for the Department to rebuild a portion of the site to present to the public, which was an opportunity to present a very specific

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<sup>339</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File "Papers May 27-28 1971," 9.1 Blackfoot Crossing Staff Report.

<sup>340</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File "Minutes May 27-28 1971," 6.

<sup>341</sup> Government of Canada, "Blackfoot Crossing National Historic Site of Canada," Parks Canada, accessed August 10, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=7](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=7).

<sup>342</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File "Minutes May 29-30 1972," FTIP Report, Appendix C.

<sup>343</sup> Leslie B. Davis, "Richard George Forbis 1924-1999," Society for American Archaeology, accessed June 27, 2017, <http://www.saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/Publications/SAABulletin/18-2/saa14.html>.

image of Indigenous peoples. Archaeologists dated the site at almost 4000 years old and the image presented would be a static, historical interpretation of Indigenous peoples, maintaining the idea of the “disappearing Indian.” It ultimately received no plaque and no development.<sup>344</sup>

In 1972, the Parks Branch released a report on “The Conservation of Historic Resources in Canada” (CHRA).<sup>345</sup> The report discussed the mandate and direction of the Parks Branch’s historic sites program and placed importance on the issue of thematic and geographic balance, which was a criticism that the Board began to address in the 1950s. The CHRA report addressed recently designated Indian and Eskimo sites like Port au Choix and Hopedale as examples of a favourable direction for the Board and Branch. It recommended that the Department develop the sites in some way, or at least consider a distinctive or elaborate monument. Neither Port au Choix or Hopedale received a plaque until more than a decade later. The report’s recommendation was idealistic, as evidenced by a more than 40-year delay in delivering a distinctive monument for Shawnee Chief Tecumseh, and the general lack of monuments for Indigenous subjects. The report also stated that the Department had placed fifty plaques for Indigenous people up to 1972 while military subject matter had received 157 plaques, government had received 162, and “exploration, colonial and social development” had received 203 plaques up to the time of the report. Indigenous peoples were fourth lowest in designations of twelve categories, following religion, education, and law and order.<sup>346</sup>

In 1972, MacDonald delivered a thematic study on “Aboriginal Peoples Haida and Tsimshian” to the Board.<sup>347</sup> The Haida and Tsimshian were both Pacific Northwest coast First Nations

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<sup>344</sup> Government of Canada, “Earthlodge Village National Historic Site of Canada,” Parks Canada, accessed August 10, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=8](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=8).

<sup>345</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 400, File ““The Conservation of Historic Resources in Canada” C 1971-72.”

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>347</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Thematic Study - Aboriginal Peoples - Haida and Tsimshian.”

studied by the famous anthropologist Marius Barbeau throughout his career in the first half of the 20th century. Artist Emily Carr also studied the Haida and helped bring their culture before the public. MacDonald's study included large appendices detailing village structures and totem poles. The report used specific cultural details, places of cultural significance, Indigenous terminology, and included illustrations and photographs for reference. The report discussed the potlatch, a cultural ceremony essential to the organization of a number of Pacific Northwest coast First Nations — a practice that Canada had banned from 1885 to 1951.<sup>348</sup> He called the potlatch “long misinterpreted by zealous Victorians as a flagrant example of conspicuous consumption, [but] currently...anthropologists see the potlatch as a highly articulated mechanism for distributing people and resources.”<sup>349</sup> In the report, he wrote, “the commemoration of this cultural pattern, through site designations and...interpretive on-site displays would be an important addition to the national fabric, a stimulus to Indian cultural revival, and a significant cultural statement to the rest of the world.”<sup>350</sup> MacDonald emphasized the significance of Indigenous people in Canada and his reports bolstered their historical recognition. The Board accepted his report on the Haida and Tsimshian people, and hailed it as an example for future reports. The detail and tone of his report set a precedent for Indigenous research for the Board.<sup>351</sup> MacDonald's report further demonstrated the quality of research the NMM could provide to the Board. The Board recommended Kitselas Canyon, Metlakatla Pass, and New Gold Harbour out of Macdonald's report, all of which the Department designated.

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<sup>348</sup> John, Lutz, "After the Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia, 1849-1890" in *Labouring Canada: Class, Gender, and Race in Canadian Working-Class History*, eds. Brian D. Palmer & Joan Sangster (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28.

<sup>349</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Thematic Study - Aboriginal Peoples - Haida and Tsimshian,” 3.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 4-5.

<sup>351</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Minutes May 29-30 1972,” FTIP Report, Appendix C.



On February 22, 1972, INA Minister Chrétien spoke in the House of Commons on the subject of culture. He stated that “ignorance about the culture and history of the various groups that make up our population has had more to do with dividing [Canadians] than any other single factor.” Much like John Diefenbaker’s 1950 speech in the House of Commons, Chrétien’s words offered direction to the Board. He continued: “our cultural heritage is a vital part of the quality of our life. We must not simply preserve. These things must be available to all Canadians.”<sup>352</sup> He made a priority of the preservation of Canadian heritage, including Indigenous history, the latter being a source of public ignorance.

In 1972, the Board revisited the inscription for the preservation of the plains buffalo. It made few changes during the update, but it removed an important passage. The Board removed the phrase “time immemorial,”<sup>353</sup> a key phrase that demonstrated government-sanctioned recognition of the perpetual existence of Indigenous peoples on what is now Canadian land. The removal of the phrase coincided with *Calder et al. v. Attorney General of British Columbia* (Calder case), which went to court in 1969 over the claim that the Nisga’a people maintained the rights to their land in northwestern British Columbia. The Calder case facilitated the birth of the comprehensive land claims system (in use at the time of writing), whereby Indigenous peoples may file modern land claims based on historical precedent.<sup>354</sup> Removing the phrase “time immemorial” removed any precedent on the part of the government in recognizing Indigenous claims to land. In general, the Red Power movement facilitated growing political organization and protest by Indigenous peoples in Canada, empowered by controversies like the release of the *White Paper*.

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<sup>352</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Correspondence 1972,” Speech Notes for the Honourable Jean Chrétien Minister of IAND in the House of Commons on the “Quality of Life” February 22, 1972, 9.

<sup>353</sup> Historic Sites Division, “Minutes of the May Meeting of the HSMBC, 1945,” in ATIP request by Parks Canada (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2017), 33 (33).

<sup>354</sup> Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, 332-333.

The decade between the *White Paper* and the Constitution Act of 1982 was fraught with protests, confrontations between Indigenous peoples and law enforcement, and political disputes.<sup>355</sup> Indigenous activism and the comprehensive land claims system motivated the government to ensure that it unified messaging across all platforms.

In 1973, the Board accepted the thematic study on “Aboriginal Peoples - Plains Indians”, written by William J. Byrne, member of the Archeological Survey of Canada.<sup>356</sup> The Board continued to ask the NMM to handle its Indigenous content and used MacDonald’s report as a basis. MacDonald’s oversight of Indigenous content and the Board’s trust in him based on the quality of his report helped to guide further Indigenous research and reporting. The report separated tribes geographically and distinguished them from one another linguistically. The report explored the history of the Plains Indians through material culture, including details like the introduction of the bow and arrow. The report’s focus on material culture and more broadly on Indigenous peoples aligned with the burgeoning field of social history that had become popular by the 1970s.<sup>357</sup> It recognized that

with the rapid influx of Euro-Canadian settlers in the late 1800s...native [cultures] were [largely] eradicated before they could be properly recorded, and we possess only a few tantalizing accounts of what must surely have been a rich and varied non-material manifestation of human inventiveness. This loss makes us all the more aware that if we are to preserve even a token amount of what remains, concerted action must be taken quickly.<sup>358</sup>

The report considered three factors in its recommendations: to ensure different types of sites were included in the ‘sample’ of Plains Indians’ culture, the prospective public appeal of certain

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<sup>355</sup> Ibid, 400-402.

<sup>356</sup> Jack W. Brink, "Dr. William J. Byrne," *Canadian Archaeology*, accessed June 27, 2017, <http://canadianarchaeology.com/caa/about/awards/recipients/smith-wintemberg-award/dr-william-j-byrne>.

<sup>357</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 260-264.

<sup>358</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File “Thematic Study - Aboriginal Peoples - Plains Indians 1973,” 21.

sites, and the assumption that the Department would develop recommended sites in some capacity rather than only designating them and potentially giving them a plaque. The report recommended 16 sites for designation or further development. Two recommendations were Old Woman's Buffalo Jump in Alberta, for which the Department was negotiating terms with the Government of Alberta, and Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, which the Board recommended and designated in 1968 following extensive research. The report described how the Alberta government had fenced off a large portion of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump and erected a cairn, but that these measures had "only accelerated the looting and vandalism", which federal protection could help to prevent through a potentially more significant security investment and greater trespassing penalties.<sup>359</sup> It also recommended the Cluny Earthwork site with reference to the earlier report on it, further supporting its development, as well as the Suffield Tipi Rings, Linear Mounds, Gray Burial Site, and British Block Cairn, all of which the Department designated that year. The Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples Committee also reaffirmed its recommendation of Treaty No. 3 from 1943 when deliberating on the sites from the report.<sup>360</sup> The Department never designated Treaty No. 3. The report represented a further refinement of Indigenous research practices.

In 1973, the Board requested three thematic studies to complete the study of Indigenous cultures so that it could begin deliberating on a number of deferred subjects. It chose James V. Wright, archaeologist with the NMM and its representative on the Board from 1976 to 1978, to write a report on Indigenous cultures in Ontario and Quebec. It chose David Keenlyside, an archaeologist and historian with the NMM,<sup>361</sup> to write on the Atlantic Provinces. MacDonald was

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>360</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File "Minutes 15-17 Nov. 1973," 4.

<sup>361</sup> David L. Keenlyside and Jean-Luc Pilon, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush: Papers in Honour of James Valliere Wright* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2009).

the logical choice to write on the West Coast and Arctic because he had already written on the Haida and Tsimshian peoples.<sup>362</sup> The studies were well intentioned but resulted in more research reports and fewer Indigenous subjects recommended for more than a decade.

In 1973, MacDonald was an FTIP member and raised concern with the committee that just giving Indigenous sites plaques was insufficient because they were different from other sites. He argued that designating Indigenous sites without offering some form of protection or development with interpretive services or a park promoted civilians scavenging for artefacts, as in the case of the buffalo jumps in Alberta. Amateur and provincially led excavations for archeological artefacts and other unaddressed materials on designated lands became a problem, as noted in the thematic study on Plains Indians. In 1975, MacDonald also raised his concern that provinces would designate and excavate undesigned archaeological sites if the Department did not designate and properly protect them.<sup>363</sup> The provinces had fewer resources, placing sites at greater risk of degradation. Reports and letters written to the Board supported MacDonald's concerns and raised further awareness of the issues.

In 1973, the Board proposed an update to Chief Crowfoot's inscription, originally drafted by Morden H. Long in 1946. The new inscription stated:

The great warrior, orator and peacemaker who won the title *manistokos*, "Father of his People", was born a Blood, but became a leading chief of the Blackfoot among whom he was raised. Convinced that peace best served the Blackfoot interest, he promoted inter-tribal amity, adopting the Cree, Poundmaker, as his son. He persuaded the Blackfoot to sign Treaty No. 7 in 1877 and held them aloof from the rebellion of 1885, pursuing a policy of wary co-operation with the white authorities during the difficult transition to reservation life.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File "Minutes 18-20 May 1974," Appendix D.3.

<sup>363</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File "Thematic Study - Aboriginal Peoples - Plains Indians 1973," 34.

<sup>364</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File "Special Committee on Inscriptions," Leslie Harris to Board Members 30 November, 1973, 23-24.

The renewed inscription demonstrated the Board's shift in cultural competency. Long was one of the Board's greatest Indigenous advocates entering the post-war period and he demonstrated the greatest understanding of Indigenous cultures at the time. The update exemplified the Board's increased research capacity and trend toward using Indigenous languages in plaques, titling the inscription "Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot)" rather than only "Chief Crowfoot", and stating his title as "manistokos" in Blackfoot, and following it with the English translation. The Board also came to better identify Indigenous peoples, acknowledging that Chief Crowfoot was born a Blood and only raised by the Blackfoot. It also acknowledged Chief Crowfoot's wariness in cooperating with Canadian authorities and the difficulty of transitioning to life on reserve. Chief Crowfoot's update demonstrated the Board's increased cultural consideration in comparison to 1946. It was a vast improvement.

Chief Joseph Brant's inscription approved in 1973 after his 1972 designation also reflected the Board's greatly improved Indigenous inscription methodology, but reinforced the Board's trend toward recognizing Indigenous figures who supported the assimilationist agenda. Chief Brant was a British ally during the American Revolution as Chief Tecumseh had been during the War of 1812. Chief Brant's inscription stated:

Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea)

This celebrated Mohawk chief of Canajoharie Castle and Johnson Hall grew up in the Mohawk Valley...He and his Mohawks actively supported the British during the American Revolution. His vision of a new social and economic order to protect the Indian way of life vanished at the Sandusky Council after the war. He then led his people to Upper Canada where they settled on the Grand River. He died at Wellington Square, now Burlington, Ontario.<sup>365</sup>

The title of Chief Brant's inscription used his Mohawk name, "Thayendanegea", though it did not also include his title as chief. Chief Brant's inscription continued the Board's trend toward

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<sup>365</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 402, File "Minutes 15-17 Nov. 1973," Appendix A, 4.

designating Indigenous figures who had aided the Crown, though it recognized his efforts to protect Indigenous cultures and lifestyles. The Board's recommendation of Indigenous figures, including Chief Tecumseh, Chief Brant, and Chief Big Bear, among others, were largely figures who supported the British or Canadian ownership claim over modern Canadian territory, either actively by allying themselves with colonial troops against American invasion, or passively by signing land treaties. This trend persisted throughout the period but policies about language, thematic studies on Indigenous peoples, and a desire to protect archaeological remains continued to contradict it.

In 1974, Board members reviewed a collection of twelve draft inscriptions on Arctic explorers. None of the twelve inscriptions on Arctic explorers included interactions with northern Indigenous peoples or the recognition of Indigenous peoples in their expeditions.<sup>366</sup> The erasure of Indigenous peoples in the north supported the Board's tendency to glorify British or Canadian action and life. Arctic exploration was an accomplishment, but Indigenous peoples in the north had already explored, discovered, and lived there long before European intrusions. The Board increasingly addressed the absence of northern Indigenous voices in inscriptions as the 1970s went on, with the help of regional staff and the advice of northern representatives, as it continued to work to represent contemporary scholarship and public opinion, despite some of its 'old school' tendencies as far as the Arctic was concerned.

In 1974, the Board updated the inscription for Indian Treaty No. 1. The new inscription stated:

To promote peaceful settlement of the newly acquired western territories after 1870, Canada negotiated a series of treaties with the native peoples. Here, on 3 August 1871, the first of these treaties was signed by Miss-kee-ke-new, Ka-ke-ka-penais, Na-sha-ke-penais, Na-na-wa-nanan, Ke-we-tay-ask, Wa-ko-wush and Oo-za-we-kwun, on behalf of

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<sup>366</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File "Correspondence - including Inscriptions Cttee reports, Commemoration of Prime Ministers, etc.," J.S. Scott to Board Members December 29, 1974.

the Objibway and Swampy Cree people of Manitoba, and Wemyss Simpson for the Crown. In return for reserves and the promise of annuity payments, livestock and farming implements, the Indians ceded the land comprising the original province of Manitoba.<sup>367</sup>

The only individual named in the original inscription was Wemyss Simpson, British-born, on behalf of the Crown, and it referred the Indigenous people only as the “Chippawa and Swampy Cree Indians.” Naming all of the Indigenous signatories in the updated inscription was a significant step forward. The inscription continued to use the term “Indian” then established as synonymous with “First Nations” and specified terms of the treaty, unlike the original, which only claimed that the treaty “ended the restlessness of the natives.”<sup>368</sup> Up to the 1970s, few of the treaties signed between the Crown and Indigenous peoples received recommendations or designations. The treaties, too, represented one aspect of nation building, along with other topics such as the railroad, Confederation, or the repulsion of invasion. Therefore, the absence of treaty recommendations, especially in the context of the Board’s trend of assimilationist subjects, was an anomaly. The Board continued to chronicle the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada, recommending Treaty No. 1 following its centennial.

In 1974, the Old Woman’s Buffalo Jump had an inscription drafted, despite continued negotiations over mineral rights between the Department and Alberta. It stated:

For centuries the bison was the principal sustenance for the people of the North American plains. Before the introduction of the horse one of the commonest methods of hunting buffalo was to stampede a herd over a low cliff, killing or maiming numbers of the animals, which were then butchered on the spot. Native hunters returned repeatedly to suitable sites such as this one, now known as Old Woman's Buffalo Jump. Archeological evidence indicates a kill here as early as A.D. 100, and the historical record suggests that the site was still in use as late as the 1790's.<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File “Minutes 18-20 May 1974,” 13.

<sup>368</sup> Parks Canada, “Indian Treaty N° 1 National Historic Event,” Parks Canada, accessed June 3, 2017, [http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=1538](http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1538).

<sup>369</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File “Minutes 18-20 May 1974,” 16.

The inscription explained the purpose of the site, for those visiting and unfamiliar with its function, and provided an archeological timeline far beyond European contact to demonstrate the site's longstanding historical significance. It framed Indigenous peoples as historical, but the Board continued to avoid phrases like "since time immemorial." Its only shortcoming was that it did not take note of what the Indigenous people of the area called it in their language. The Board used Indigenous languages more often for Indigenous figures whose names were recorded, rather than terms that required engaging local Indigenous communities for single research details that may have been perceived as optional. The Board's interest in the site's proposed inscription was a departure from the two biggest Indigenous trends recommended, military-focused Indigenous contributions or archeological sites. The Old Woman's Buffalo Jump indicated use well after contact and focused on cultural value and survival.<sup>370</sup>

In 1974, the Board recommended Thayern (Charlie Edenshaw) and an inscription was approved. It stated:

Charlie Edenshaw was the foremost of the Haida carvers at the time when their art first achieved international recognition. Born at Skidegate, he acquired the traditional carving skills from his uncle and translated them into brilliant artistry. His subjects, executed in a personal, "modern" style, in argillite and silver, depart from tradition and are not typical of Haida art. Edenshaw acted as a consultant to many anthropologists and provided numerous illustrations for Boas' Primitive Art. His work is represented in museums in North America and Europe.<sup>371</sup>

Edenshaw's recommendation and designation aligned with the Board's tendency to recommend Indigenous figures who supported Canada or Canadians, usually through combat or by signing a

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<sup>370</sup> Ibid.

<sup>371</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 403, File "Minutes 15-16 Nov. 1974," Inscriptions, Appendix A.



treaty, but in this case he supported academic work. The Board still shied away from recommending subjects who achieved great feats entirely independently of Canadians or Europeans. The cultural and academic dimensions to Edenshaw's work were a departure from standard Indigenous subject matter for the Board and his recommendation represented the beginning of a shift toward more cultural Indigenous subject matter. It also recognized the international significance of his work independent of settlers, which was a departure from representing Indigenous people within a Canadian or British narrative, such as assisting with a military operation.

In 1974, Cuthbert Grant received a recommendation and an inscription. It stated:

Son of a Scots trader and an Indian mother, Grant became a clerk in the North West Company and leader of the Métis in their struggle against the Selkirk Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1816 he led the party which killed Governor Semple and his followers at Seven Oaks and captured Fort Douglas; but after 1821 he became reconciled with the colony. The Company named him "Warden of the Plains", and charged him with keeping order on the southern prairies. In 1839 he became a Councillor of Assiniboia and magistrate, capping a life dedicated to the native people of the West.<sup>372</sup>

Grant's recommendation followed the Board's trend of recognizing Indigenous military figures and those who contributed to the assimilationist agenda. Grant supported the growth and success of the Hudson's Bay Company, after attacking the company early in his life. Grant was among the first Métis figures designated independently from the North-West Campaign in 1885, but it was for his success in changing and allying himself with Canadian business interests. Grant's inscription demonstrated the balance and comprehensiveness in representation the Board began to adapt. The Board's improved Indigenous commemorative practices were largely in the inscriptions that they wrote, which were largely supported by the research of the National Museum of Man, while the subjects they chose continued to follow the same assimilationist trend, with the

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid.

exception of some sites proposed in NMM reports like Kitselas Canyon, Metlakatla Pass.<sup>373</sup> In this way, the NMM assisted in furthering an agenda increasingly open to less traditional Board subject matter.

In 1975, Terence Smythe, of the NMM, presented to the Board the prospective update for the Indian Treaty No. 6 commemoration. He stated that "in order to have the names of all Indian signatories it would be necessary to have two plaques" because the treaty was signed at Fort Pitt and at Fort Carlton.<sup>374</sup> The Board immediately recommended that each location receive a plaque in order to honour all of the signatories.<sup>375</sup> In this respect, the Board valued Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants in events equally and ensured due representation.

At the November 1975 meeting, Dr. Lewis H. Thomas, member for Alberta from 1968 to 1974 and professor of history at the University of Alberta, presented the Criteria Committee's proposal, subsequently approved by FTIP, to study "twenty-one prehistoric sites [in Ontario]...representative of a major prehistoric cultural expression."<sup>376</sup> An archeological investigation into each would be conducted when the Parks Branch's resources allowed, and one of four actions taken for each site, ranging from reverting to its former, undesignated status to being declared of "outstanding significance that...should be considered for interpretation and preservation in perpetuity."<sup>377</sup> The phrase "prehistoric cultural expression" meant the explicit Indigenous presence at the sites and a significant research project with a clear Indigenous focus.

In 1981, MacDonald revised the report. The refined study, completed with the help of the NMM and the Department, retained just 12 of the 21 sites in the initial study for their historical

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<sup>373</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File "Minutes May 29-30 1972," FTIP Report, Appendix C.

<sup>374</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 404, File "Minutes 9-10 June 1975," 8-9.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>377</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File "Minutes 28-30 Nov. 1975," 5.

significance. The revised framework further considered themes and cultures already identified in prehistoric history in National Parks and by the Board in order to narrow prospective sites, and its secondary objective was to create a site selection basis that the NMM could apply to the entire country.<sup>378</sup> In 1982, the NMM used the same research process in Québec, which identified eight sites, and in southern Ontario, which identified 14 sites.<sup>379</sup>

During the 1970s, the Board was contending with negative reactions to its historical interpretations. Recently hired Parks Branch regional staff interfered with Board research and inscriptions, as did historical and advocacy associations, and individuals supporting or consulting on proposals. Forms of interference included protests, the rewording of approved texts, and the “outright refusal to allow plaques to be erected unless a preferred text prepared by an individual was struck.”<sup>380</sup> The Board submitted a recommendation to the Department to inform the regional staff of the Board’s independent status and control over inscriptions.<sup>381</sup> The increasing public and non-government involvement in the interpretive process, solicited or otherwise, complicated the interpretive process and the Board’s ability to remain objective.

In 1975, the Board recommended and drafted an inscription for the Inukshuk, and it received a designation. The draft inscription stated:

Inukshuk "likenesses of men" are found all across the Canadian Arctic. Built by the Inuit, they served as landmarks, monuments, trail markers, meat caches, or caribou fences. Some may have had a ceremonial function. At Enusko Point these cairns, totalling about 100, lie in groups about 450 feet apart. They vary from a single stone set vertically to complex arrangements up to seven feet high. They show the ingenuity and the artistry of the Inuit in making use of the resources of his environment.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>378</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 482, File “Correspondence 1981,” Northern Ontario Prehistoric Sites Staff Report, 2.

<sup>379</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 493, File “Minutes Saskatoon, Sask. 12-18 June 1982,” 2-8.

<sup>380</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File “Minutes 28-30 Nov. 1975,” 6.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File “Minutes 28-30 Nov. 1975,” Appendix Inscriptions, 10.

There were very few Inuit-specific designations and many of the northern designations involving arctic explorers and trade routes failed to recognize the Inuit. Choosing to recognize the Inukshuk continued the trend toward a greater number of cultural designations in the 1970s. The inscription identified them as the “Inuit” rather than the “Eskimo” as had been common practice. The Board showed consistent improvement in identification. It also highlighted the Inuit as culturally nuanced and artistic but the uncertainty in the phrase “some may have had a ceremonial function” demonstrated a failure on the part of Parks Canada and the Board to consult with the Inuit. The Board deleted the phrase before it finalized the inscription in 1976. The Inuit were the most under-represented Indigenous group in designations and recommending the Inukshuk sent an important inclusionary message.

In 1975, Chief Tecumseh received an updated inscription, finalized in 1976. The updated inscription stated:

Born in a Shawnee village in what is now Ohio, Tecumseh became in the 1790's co-leader with his brother, the Prophet, of a movement to restore and preserve traditional Indian values. He believed a union of all the western tribes to drive back white settlement to be the one hope for Indian survival and preached this idea the length of the frontier. Seeing the Americans as the immediate threat, he allied himself with the British in 1812, assisted in the capture of Detroit and was killed near here at the Battle of the Thames on 5 October 1813 while helping to cover general Procter's retreat from Amherstburg.<sup>383</sup>

Chief Tecumseh's revised inscription from 1957 focused more heavily on his experiences with the British military, touching only briefly on his resistance to the Crown that the Board characterized as “a vision before him of unified Indian resistance to the white man's advance.”<sup>384</sup> The 1975 revision did not shy away from Chief Tecumseh's desire to resist European encroachment and preserve his Indigenous culture. The revision more accurately represented Chief Tecumseh's

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<sup>383</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File “Minutes (Procès Verbal) 6-7 November 1976 Ottawa 1976,” Appendix 76-42.

<sup>384</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File “November 3-7 1958,” H.S. 9-12-13.

resistance by identifying and explaining the contributions of his brother, the Prophet. It also provided his motivation for collaborating with the British. The 1975 inscription revision focused on his efforts to organize politically and unite Indigenous peoples, which was a very unpopular narrative for designated Indigenous figures until the 1970s. Recognition of his political mind focused on Indigenous empowerment coincided with the Red Power movement of the 1970s centred on social activism and advocating for equity, therefore reflecting contemporary social values of the subject matter well.

In the mid-1970s, commemorating sporting figures became a Board priority as it coincided with Canada's first time hosting the Olympics, in Montreal. The Olympics heightened the profile of sporting in Canada and encouraged both public enthusiasm for sporting and new government funding for it.<sup>385</sup> In 1976, the Thematic Studies Committee began to focus on commemorating figures in Canada's sporting history. The TSC immediately returned to Tom Longboat, an Indigenous long-distance runner from the Six Nations reserve who won the Boston Marathon in 1907 and the title of Professional Champion of the World in 1909.<sup>386</sup> Longboat remained on the list of Canadians considered for recommendation after the Board deferred him in 1954, and he fit into the new thematic priority perfectly. The Board immediately considered Longboat as an ideal recommendation under the newly established sport priority and the Department designated him the same year.<sup>387</sup>

In 1978, FTIP requested the report on the "Commemoration of Native History," written by David Lee of the Parks Branch. The report focused "under three different headings: persons,

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<sup>385</sup> Bruce Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," *Sporting in Society* 16, no. 4 (2013): 478-479.

<sup>386</sup> Bruce Kidd, "Tom Longboat," Canadian Encyclopedia, accessed June 29, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/tom-longboat/>.

<sup>387</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File "Minutes 15-16 June Winnipeg Man. 1976," FTIP report, 4.

events and cultural areas.”<sup>388</sup> Studying diverse subjects was an opportunity to represent Indigenous peoples under a broader array of categories, like more mainstream Canadian history. The report also summarized Indigenous designations to date, identifying 35 plaques related to “native history” to 1977. Of the 35 plaques, only four had inscriptions, and the Board had approved 11 additional texts waiting for the Department to cast. There were 22 Indigenous designations up to 1977 that were never commemorated, and focused largely on prehistoric history. The report criticized the Board, stating that “less definitive, individual decision-making power and an oral rather than a written history [predisposed] native cultures to be less recognized by a board so focused on those things.”<sup>389</sup> It characterized the Board’s tendencies accurately. The Board was further encouraged by the new Parks Branch guidelines to recommend Indigenous subjects, following NMM advocacy and assistance in the early 1970s.

In 1979, following the “Commemoration of Native History,” the Board discussed the recognition of Indigenous leaders. It addressed the criticisms of the report by deciding that it was necessary to “strike a balance among the various types of leaders,” those whose leadership assisted Europeans, assisted their own communities, and contributed to resisting Europeans.<sup>390</sup> With balance in mind, MacDonald consulted with Gordon Day, of the Canadian Ethnology Service and the NMM. He also requested copies of all existing Indigenous inscriptions so that FTIP could review them.<sup>391</sup> MacDonald led FTIP’s effort to give serious consideration to the leadership of Indigenous people, and the inclusion of acts of leadership independent of European life. Over the course of the 1970s, the Board began to present Indigenous figures less as contributors to assimilation and more as independent actors, in lockstep with academic trends that began to

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<sup>388</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Minutes of Meeting - June 19-20 1978,” 8.

<sup>389</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Agenda + Papers June 19-20 1978,” 571-572.

<sup>390</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 482, File “Minutes 13-14 November 1981,” 4.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*

re-evaluate Indigenous history like the North-West Campaign to represent Indigenous peoples more positively. The Board's recommendations and inscriptions therefore integrated academic developments into its public education function and had the capacity to change public perceptions of Indigenous peoples. In the 1970s and 1980s, a greater focus on writing new and unexplored perspectives led to considerable writing on Indigenous history and on Louis Riel himself. Many historians also found influence in the social sciences, which facilitated further writing on Indigenous history in Canada. There was a greater focus on regional histories, which facilitated the revisiting of the historiography of Louis Riel. Scholars wrote dozens of publications on Riel in the period, all with a more positive interpretation of his life and the NWC. Improved perceptions of Riel bolstered general perceptions of Indigenous peoples.<sup>392</sup>

In 1979, the Board recommended the Kitwanga Village Totem poles as a separate designation from the Kitwanga site, designated in 1972, as "historical artifacts relating to the Kitwanga Fort National Historic Site."<sup>393</sup> The NMM wrote a report on the poles and they received a recommendation in the same year. The poles were a cultural and artistic designation within an existing site, further highlighting the importance of the site and people, and protecting objects of worthwhile aesthetic and cultural value with tourism potential. The Department the Environment (changed in 1978 from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) ultimately did not approve the totem poles, which continued the Board's struggle to make its culturally considerate efforts public facing.

In 1979, the Board commissioned biographical reports on Chief Donnacona of the Laurentian Iroquois and Matonabee of the Chipewyan, written by David Lee, as examples of how to compile a biography for Indigenous figures with the intention of creating a series. The Board

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<sup>392</sup> Berger, *Canadian History*, 283-287, 298-302.

<sup>393</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 481, File "Minutes 16-21 June 1980," 8.

also recommended that, “where possible, Agenda Papers on native leaders should weigh the contribution of the individuals to their own people.”<sup>394</sup> Evaluating Indigenous figures for their contributions to their own people was a significant departure from the way Indigenous figures were designated before 1979, which typically had been in relation to contact with Canadian or British authorities, explorers, or colonists. The following year, David Lee, who wrote the Commemoration of Native History report, composed nine Indigenous leader biographies including the example biographies; ultimately, the Department designated eight of nine leaders.<sup>395</sup> The Board’s shift from evaluating Indigenous subjects based on their contribution to the Crown to their contribution to their own people was significant in two ways. First, it marked a major departure from its trend of recommending Indigenous subjects that contributed to assimilation or otherwise assisted Canada or the Crown. Second, it indicated that Indigenous peoples were seen as Canadians helping Canadians and their actions were therefore of national historic importance. The public increasingly accepted the idea that Indigenous peoples were simply Canadians, a notion enshrined in the Constitution Act of 1982.<sup>396</sup>

Throughout the 1970s, the debate for Board representatives from the territories also contributed to the breakdown of previous trends as territorial members tended to interact more with Indigenous peoples and represented a higher proportion of them. In 1970, the Board invited “observers,” Reverend Ken Snider from the Yukon and Alex Stevenson from the Northwest Territories to circumvent their lack of official representation because the territories were not included in the Historic Sites and Monuments Act.<sup>397</sup> Reverend Snider was an Anglican priest who worked

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<sup>394</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 448, File “Minutes of Meeting May 21-22 1979,” 6.

<sup>395</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 482, File “Minutes 13-14 November 1981,” 5-6.

<sup>396</sup> Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, Constitutional Documents, Part II, s.35. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-16.html>.

<sup>397</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 399, File “Minutes 8-9 June 1970.”



with and was considered a friend by Indigenous community members.<sup>398</sup> Though they were not yet full members, they acted as such.<sup>399</sup> Members representing the North who worked with Indigenous communities encouraged further consideration for Indigenous subjects and general geographic balance.

In 1976, the minister introduced Bill C-13 in the house. The Bill was an amendment to the Historic Sites and Monuments Act to create official representatives for the Yukon and Northwest Territories.<sup>400</sup> In early 1977, the Bill passed and their first representatives, Reverend Ken Snider and Guy Mary-Rousselière, respectively, became Board members.<sup>401</sup> Mary-Rousselière was a priest who worked with the NMM and had a profound interest in and learned about Indigenous peoples.<sup>402</sup> Fully representing the country geographically and electing two new members whose regions housed the most under-represented Indigenous subgroup was an important step forward for the Board. Both of the new members worked closely with Indigenous peoples and were thus more likely to consider Indigenous culture and history in recommendations.

In 1976, following the introduction of Bill C-13, the Board travelled to the area of the country with the highest concentration of Indigenous peoples: the Yukon and northern British Columbia. It had passed a motion early in the year, deciding that “the necessity...seeing the problems of native associations, the Board [requested] that the long-scheduled visit...June 1977 be proceeded with.”<sup>403</sup> Beyond the lack of geographic focus on the arctic as a whole, there was

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<sup>398</sup> Ashley Joannou, “Northern priest remembered,” *Yukon News*, accessed June 12, 2017, <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/northern-priest-remembered/>.

<sup>399</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 401, File “Minutes 19-20 Oct. 1972,” 1.

<sup>400</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 405, File “Minutes 15-16 June Winnipeg Man. 1976.”

<sup>401</sup> Programme Participants, “Members,” 345-356.

<sup>402</sup> Bryan C. Gordon, “Father Guy Mary-Rousselière (1913 –1994),” *Arctic* 47, no. 3 (1994): 318.

<sup>403</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File “Minutes (Procès Verbal) 6-7 November 1976 Ottawa 1976,” 18.

ignorance about the Indigenous peoples of the north, which the Board specifically recognized, and in some measure felt it was acknowledging or acting upon by collectively deciding to visit.

In 1975, while the Board struggled to acquire official territorial representatives, it also struggled with how to navigate the use of Indigenous languages in inscriptions. The Board requested full responsibility regarding "[proposals] to have a third indigenous (native) language on certain plaques" because of the logistics of fitting three inscriptions on a single plaque.<sup>404</sup> It also halted the commemoration of Louis Francois Chevalier de la Corne, Fort McPherson, and Fort Resolution until it could address their language requirements. Its decision to provide languages continued to impede the commemoration of Indigenous subjects, much like the delayed thematic studies in the previous decade, despite good intentions.

In 1976, the Board changed its policy about Indigenous language to "where it is appropriate and significant, the native language of the community where a plaque is to be located, may be added at the discretion of the Inscriptions Committee."<sup>405</sup> The policy amendment contained two principle changes. First, the discretion for the provision of an Indigenous inscription passed from the Board as a whole to the Inscriptions Committee, simplifying the process and making the use of Indigenous languages more dependent on the values of fewer Board members, though the larger Board would have the opportunity to question the committee's decisions. Second, the amendment changed the language considered from the community or traditional language of the territory, if it differed, to strictly the language that best suited the community where the Department placed the plaque. The amendment clarified any ambiguity in selecting Indigenous lan-

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<sup>404</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 404, File "Minutes 9-10 June 1975," 9-10.

<sup>405</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File "Minutes (Procés Verbal) 6-7 November 1976 Ottawa 1976," 17.

guages and expedited the process of finding language experts to translate the inscription. Altering the language policy that way made incorporating Indigenous languages significantly easier by making it part of the regular inscription process.

In 1978, the Board reaffirmed its amendments to the third language policy made the previous year and took action to demonstrate its respect for Indigenous languages. The Board recommended that:

on the plaque commemorating the Fifth Thule Expedition, only French, English and Inuktitut should be used; that on the plaque commemorating Ile-à-la-Crosse both Cree and Chipewyan should be used, as well as English and French, since speakers of both languages, both historically and at present, inhabit the area.<sup>406</sup>

The Board chose to use up to four languages, for the first time in its history, and immediately pushed the boundaries of its amendment. It demonstrated equal respect for all Indigenous communities and set an important precedent for future plaques, in the event that Indigenous peoples cohabited designated land. Inuktitut was also a very rarely considered language for inscriptions because of the largely under-represented north. The Board continued to move toward a comprehensive representation of languages, and set precedents for future considerations.

In 1975, as the Board continued to update its policy, so too did the Parks Branch, to remain in-step with contemporary perceptions of heritage and preservation. That year, INA Minister J. Judd Buchanan announced a five-year plan for the Parks Branch. The plan focused on major preservation and conservation projects like the Fortress of Louisbourg, Lower Fort Garry, Artillery Park, Les Forges du St-Maurice, the Niagara Complex, and the Halifax National Historic Parks, including the Halifax Citadel. The Branch undertook many preservation projects in the

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<sup>406</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File “Minutes of Meeting - June 19-20 1978,” 6.

early post-war period, so its renewed focus remained at odds with the Board's more marking oriented priorities. Beyond the major projects at high-profile sites, the plan allowed for development at 28 other National Historic Parks and Sites.<sup>407</sup> The plan characterized the priorities of the Parks Branch as being focused on larger-scale projects and completing long outstanding ones, largely the preservation of military installations. The completion of previous priorities would make resources available for newly assigned ones and enable the Board to put several prominent subjects to rest.

In 1975, the Branch was also expanding and decentralizing its oversight of historical parks and services. It established research, conservation, and interpretation divisions for each region of Canada.<sup>408</sup> The Branch's expanded capacity meant it could oversee the development of more interpretive services for sites, both in quantity of sites and depth of interpretation, and that it would constantly apply pressure for geographic balance. The expansion and professionalization of the Branch also reflected the Board's own development in the two preceding decades. Dedicated regional staff would also allow resources for negotiations with Indigenous communities and more in-depth research for all subjects.

The Parks Branch's policy renewal placing greater focus on preservation aligned more with the policy developed by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in the early 1970s. Its general criteria in 1978 was that commemoration should include "places which shed light on or illustrate effectively the culture of a prehistoric people, or are associated with important archeological discoveries."<sup>409</sup> It further institutionalized the inclusion of Indigenous and archeological sites that

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<sup>407</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 404, File "Minutes 9-10 June 1975," Secretary's Report, Appendix A, 1.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>409</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 447, File "Parks Canada Policy, Draft for discussion 1978," 36.

often directly referenced Indigenous peoples and it was an important step beyond a committee or motion specific to the Board.

The Parks Branch took part in drafting the policies of the UNESCO Heritage and Culture Division concerning World Heritage Sites in 1972-73, likely drawing inspiration from them for its own more preservation-focused policy renewal in 1975.<sup>410</sup> Canada played a significant role in the development of UNESCO World Heritage and consequently became one of its first 15 committee members. UNESCO sought the help of its member nations and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to develop global cultural policy following its decision to protect the Abu Simbel temples in Egypt and Sudan. Some 50 countries donated funds and UNESCO transferred the temples outside the range of a dam reservoir Egypt was constructing after 1959, demonstrating a global interest in preserving heritage.<sup>411</sup>

In 1976, the Board received a copy of the finalized world heritage protection policies of the UNESCO Heritage and Culture division.<sup>412</sup> “Cultural heritage,” one of the two primary features evaluated among considered sites, was defined as “works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.”<sup>413</sup> UNESCO Heritage and Culture elected the World Heritage Committee (WHC), of which Canada prioritized becoming a member. Becoming a member of the WHC demonstrated Canada’s desire to be at the

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<sup>410</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File “Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 1976,” Joan Mackie to Board Members November 19, 1976, 1.

<sup>411</sup> UNESCO, “World Heritage Information Kit,” *UNESCO*, accessed August 15, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/567/>, 7-8.

<sup>412</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File “Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 1976,” Joan Mackie to Board Members November 19, 1976, 1.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*, 2-3.

forefront of historical and cultural preservation, and the guidelines established by the United Nations focused on sites related to Indigenous subject matter, being largely archeological, ethnological, and anthropological in nature.

In 1977, based on the UNESCO World Heritage Site criteria, Wilfred I. Smith, Dominion Archivist and member of the Board from 1969 to 1984, wrote to Henri Têtu of the Department about the former's efforts to find Canadian sites that were of UNESCO standard. Smith wrote that he would "doubt if there is a building which would qualify on the grounds of architectural significance, [he] eliminated all of the battles and forts, then all political figures...etc. until I had eliminated all Canadian individuals."<sup>414</sup> Smith thought that "if one [looked] for Canadian sites which [had] international significance there are possibilities in exploration, transportation, native cultures."<sup>415</sup> Eliminating the vast majority of post-contact history as eligible for a UNESCO designation demonstrated at least one Board member's recognition that the elements of universal value in Canada lay mostly with Indigenous peoples and their experiences on the land, and the early colonial people whose actions were often focused on Indigenous peoples and exploring their land. The classification of only Indigenous sites and natural phenomena as universally significant when for a long time the Board considered Indigenous sites to be less significant than British or Canadian content was a paradigm shift. The Board began to re-evaluate Indigenous content, as with its 1979 shift to judging Indigenous figures on their contributions to their own people rather than to the Crown, but UNESCO's statement was even grander. While UNESCO did not directly affect Board or Department policy, though the Department did have a hand in creating the UNESCO World Heritage policy, its work represented a new standard of heritage.

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<sup>414</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 406, File "Minutes 8-9 June 1977," Wilfred I. Smith to Henri Têtu March 7, 1977.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

In 1979, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee identified sites that it was considering for World Heritage designations. The sites included the Nistints Haida Village at Anthony Island, B.C., the Bering Land Bridge Sites at Old Crow, Yukon, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump at Fort MacLeod, Alberta, and the Grand Banks Fishing Grounds off the coast of Newfoundland.<sup>416</sup> All of the sites were prehistoric and involved Indigenous peoples in their history. The Department had not designated Nistints Haida Village, so Peter Bennett of the Parks Branch requested that the Board recommend it for designation, thereby making it eligible for a World Heritage designation. That year, MacDonald wrote a report outlining the history and significance of the village, and the Board recommended it at its first meeting in 1980.<sup>417</sup> In this way, UNESCO, through Canada, affected some Board decisions as it related directly to its own goals.

In 1982, Canada passed the Constitution Act, part of which was the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Act set a new standard for rights afforded to citizens. Section 35 of the Act, titled “Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada,” stated that “the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.”<sup>418</sup> Recognition of inherent rights formerly denied to Indigenous peoples changed legal and political bases for every interaction with government.<sup>419</sup> The renewed relationship was a turning point for interactions and representation in policy and legal affairs significantly and thus makes an optimal end point for this research.

Throughout the 1970s, the Board continued to present a more nuanced interpretation of Indigenous people in Canada by portraying subjects in a more comprehensive light and by shifting

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<sup>416</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 481, File “Correspondence 1980.”

<sup>417</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 481, File “The Haida Village of Ninstints Queen Charlotte Islands.”

<sup>418</sup> Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, Constitutional Documents, Part II, s.35. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-16.html>.

<sup>419</sup> Richard Ogden, “Existing Aboriginal Rights in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982,” *Canadian Bar Review* 88, no. 1 (2009): 68-69.

away from recommending Indigenous subjects within a narrow range of topics. During the 1970s, the Board portrayed Indigenous figures more dynamically, some resisting the Crown, rather than serving as the Crown's accessories. Chief Tecumseh's update, for example, focused more on his resistance to the Crown and portrayed his partnership with British forces as a calculated decision rather than an inevitability.

The Board began to break down its longstanding trend of recommending and interpreting subjects in relation to British or Canadian actions. The Board also began to move into a more multi-faceted topic base. Cultural and academic recommendations became more prominent as designations on Canada's greatest political figures and moments slowed and military action became a less popular subject to commemorate.

The Board's most progressive efforts during the 1970s were in the inscriptions it revised and the thematic studies it commissioned with the help of the National Museum of Man. The Board increasingly varied its Indigenous recommendations and its inscription and research practices surged ahead. Until 1974, the Board designated numerous Indigenous subjects, with as many as 11 of the 37 total designations in 1972. Designations were proportionally lower in the second half of the decade, with the exception of a spike in 1978, with 10 of 14 designations being Indigenous in nature that year.<sup>420</sup> Its recommendations were not all accepted by the Department, skewing the relationship between the Board's actions and intentions and the register of National Historic Designations. Despite its inconsistent success in designating Indigenous subjects, the Board's research and policy amendments during the 1970s demonstrated a desire and a shift toward inclusive recommendations.

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<sup>420</sup> Numbers generated using the Directory of Federal Heritage Designations (DFHD) (<https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/culture/dfhd>).



The sensitivity to and representation of Indigenous people on the Board increased dramatically during the 1970s with the help and influence of national institutions like the National Museum of Man that wrote reports for and offered guidance to the Board. Its focus on Indigenous and prehistoric subjects demonstrated one facet of a broadening representation of Canadian history. The Board undertook an enormous inscription update process that included many of its earlier designated Indigenous sites and figures. It created a more balanced interpretation of many subjects by relying heavily on the NMM for advice and updated research. The Board's reallocation of responsibility for Indigenous research to the NMM in 1970 marked a turning point in the Board's consideration for Indigenous subjects. In combination with the professionalization of the Parks Branch that allowed for a broader support base and dedicated geographically distributed staff, the NMM's anthropological training and research skills helped to enhance the cultural consideration of the Board, as demonstrated in the inscriptions and policies produced by the Board throughout the 1970s.

### **Conclusion: The Board's Improvements from 1945-1982 and the Breaking Down of Trends**

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was and continues to be a key player in commemoration in Canada. Its practices have improved dramatically with specific regard to commemorating Indigenous subject matter, though certain negative trends persisted in the post-war period from 1945 to 1982. This thesis has argued that the Board improved its inscription language, its policies, and its research practices but continued to recommend Indigenous subjects that contributed to assimilation and archeological sites divorced from the present, and that these trends began to break down in the late 1970s. The archaeological sites tended to refer to Indigenous peoples historically, perpetuating the popular misconception that their population was disappearing. It has also argued that the Board's demonstrated improvements for considering Indigenous subject matter were largely internal. There was only a significant departure from the Board's trend of recommending Indigenous subjects with assimilationist tones toward the end of the period and thus, despite internal improvements, I have concluded that the image of Indigenous peoples it portrayed was similar throughout the period.

Perceptions of Indigenous people affected the Board from its inception. Public perception was in flux but remained largely benign into the twentieth century while the Department's perception, which exerted a stronger influence in the early years of the Board, remained highly assimilationist, creating a negative atmosphere for public servants.<sup>421</sup> Academic influences became more prevalent as the Department appointed more academics from various disciplines and the Board professionalized, which tempered the Board's assimilationist perception. Canadians had mixed perceptions of Indigenous peoples for much of the twentieth century that were regionally dependent until the 1960s and 1970s when artistic representations and social activism began to

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<sup>421</sup> Sheffield, *Warpath*, 20.

promote a more positive image. The Board began as a heavily British-focused institution but as the decades passed the Board's collective perception and values became more culturally considerate, and it began a broader range of discussions and recommendations.

There is tension concerning the Québécois perspective on Indigenous history largely unexplored in the scope of this research. Québec has a history of denying Indigenous peoples right and land and therefore there is often significant tension between them.<sup>422</sup> The Québécois voice on the Board was powerful, holding two votes on all final Board decisions. However, bilingualism on the Board was a priority for Quebec Board members until the 1960s when it gained support from the Board and Canada passed the Official Languages Act of 1969. The creation of the Indian Tribes of Canada Committee in 1958 minimized Québec's influence on the selection of Indigenous subject matter because its members did not sit on the ITC for the majority of the research period, perhaps indicative of their aversion to it. The Board secretary stopped recording names of members who "proposed" and "seconded" decisions and thus there is limited analysis on Québec's support for decisions available in the minutes themselves. The primary archive for this research was composed of the documents of the dominion archivists of the period, all of whom were Anglophone men and therefore relevant correspondence to this end may exist and be unavailable.

This thesis has argued that the Board underwent a transformation during the 1950s that became the basis for broader thematic and geographic balance and shifting priorities in the subsequent decades. The critiques of the Massey Commission greatly influenced the direction of the Board. It established committees, appointed more scholars, added a second annual meeting to

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<sup>422</sup> Alain Beaulieu, "'An equitable right to be compensated': The Dispossession of the Aboriginal Peoples of Quebec and the Emergence of a New Legal Rationale (1760–1860)," *The Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (2013): 15-17, 20.

consider more proposals, and all of these measures contributed to both a greater influx of Indigenous subjects, and better reinterpretations of existing Indigenous designations. The decision to establish the Indian Tribes of Canada Committee was largely a result of Dr. Alfred G. Bailey's advocacy, a scholar and representative of a shift toward greater consideration for diverse subject matter, although advocating for Indigenous representation aligned with his research interests.<sup>423</sup> The Criteria Committee, established to create standards for recommendations, and eventually the Thematic Studies committee served the same purpose as the ITC, in a more generalized way. Committees formed the basis for every progressive action the Board made from the 1960s onward, including decisions to recommend more diverse subjects and to study under-represented topics in Canadian history.

Following its transformation, the Board used its committees and over two decades, the 1960s and 1970s, broke down the trends in existence since the Board began in 1919 that prevented the designation of diverse subject matter. From 1945, the Board improved its inscription and research practices and policies, and continued to recommend more Indigenous subjects; however, an overwhelming number of recommendations remained assimilationist or archeological in nature. Most Indigenous figures recommended by the Board had supported assimilationist principles, turning on their own traditional or cultural values in favour of British- or Canadian-dictated 'progress.' The archeological sites recommended, while important to acknowledge and preserve, firmly placed Indigenous people in the past, supporting the perception of the "disappearing Indian" and allowing the public to dissociate itself from Indigenous people. Problematic thematic studies and lengthy discussions of Indigenous representation that delayed the examination of more cultural subjects and actions independent of Euro-Canadian narratives reinforced

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<sup>423</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 27-30 1958," 21.

these trends. This thesis has argued that in that time external influence from academia helped facilitate the Board's progressive recommendations, and that the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples committee channeled academic influence, in particular through the National Museum of Man's representatives.

The language used by the Board when drafting inscriptions improved during the 1960s and 1970s, though many of their subject selections did not. Biographical sketches became more comprehensive and began using more specific, sensitive language. Its terminology changed leading up to the Constitution Act of 1982 that referred to "Aboriginal" people as an umbrella term for the "Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada."<sup>424</sup> It also made a greater effort to identify all Indigenous peoples involved in military engagements or events. The capacity to research Indigenous subjects improved greatly during the period to include broader archives and more diverse sources, like oral history based on traditional Indigenous knowledge.<sup>425</sup> The inscriptions revision project took advantage of the greater research capacity to improve language practices and reinterpret many of the early Indigenous subjects. It also inserted Indigenous voices where it previously ignored them in other designated subjects. The NWC was a prime example of reinterpretation, where the Board focused more on the narrative of the Métis in revised inscriptions.<sup>426</sup>

This thesis has argued that Board policy was indicative of the positive changes it was making to include more Indigenous recommendations and research, too. In 1955, the Board resolved that protection and preservation should be offered to totem poles, petroglyphs, and rock carvings "as memorials of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country"<sup>427</sup> indicating a greater level

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<sup>424</sup> Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, Constitutional Documents, Part II, s.35. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-16.html>.

<sup>425</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting May 26 - 29 1953," 59-60.

<sup>426</sup> McCullough, "Rebellion/Uprising/Resistance," 191.

<sup>427</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 395, File "Meeting Dec. 12-13 1955," "Agenda for the Meeting for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 12th and 13th December, 1955," 12-13.

of respect for Indigenous heritage than in its early years and a shift in the direction of preservation demanded by the Massey Commission. The Board's policy on adding Indigenous languages to already English-French bilingual plaques also demonstrated its desire to include Indigenous peoples in the enjoyment of commemoration in Canada.<sup>428</sup> Though these languages were mostly endangered, many Indigenous people on reserves or in remote regions spoke only an Indigenous language and the decision to translate inscriptions into local languages gave a broader public the opportunity to read the history that the Board wrote and interpreted in their region. In at least one case, the Board utilized four languages on a plaque to ensure broad Indigenous readability. Language policy facilitated the inclusion of Indigenous people in the enjoyment of their commemoration.

The number of Indigenous recommendations and designations increased over the period, regardless of trends within them. Designations became more consistent in the 1970s than ever before. The Board succeeded in making at least one Indigenous designation every year for over a decade from 1966 to 1978, the previous record for consecutive years in the post-war period being four years from 1953 to 1956. The beginning of the 1980s marked a significant increase in Indigenous designations, 1981 and 1982 both surpassing 1972's record-high of 11. Table 1 shows the increase in Indigenous designations throughout the period

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<sup>428</sup> LAC, RG37F, Vol. 396, File "Meeting May 25-29 1959," 1.

Table 1: Indigenous Designations per Year <sup>429</sup>

Year		Indigenous Desig.	% Indigenous
1945	24	2	8
1946	14	0	0
1947	9	0	0
1948	10	1	10
1949	11	0	0
1950	15	1	6
1951	18	0	0
1952	14	0	0
1953	18	4	22
1954	29	5	17
1955	23	2	8
1956	6	2	33
1957	12	0	0
1958	18	0	0
1959	21	0	0
1960	11	1	9
1961	6	0	0
1962	14	1	7
1963	4	1	25

Year	Total Desig.	Indigenous Desig.	% Indigenous
1964	9	1	11
1965	8	0	0
1966	22	2	9
1967	6	1	16
1968	21	1	4
1969	26	6	23
1970	12	3	25
1971	34	4	12
1972	37	11	29
1973	42	6	14
1974	56	1	1
1975	27	1	4
1976	48	4	8
1977	15	2	13
1978	14	10	71
1979	10	0	0
1980	3	0	0
1981	61	14	23
1982	26	12	46
<b>Total</b>	<b>754</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>13</b>

<sup>429</sup> (These statistics do not consider fur trade designations to be Indigenous designations unless Indigenous people are central to the inscription associated. They do largely consider archaeological designations as Indigenous designations because archaeological sites often involved Indigenous people in a pre-contact capacity. It must also be considered that these statistics are drawn directly from the Federal Directory of Heritage Designations and thus do not consider recommendations of the Board not accepted by the Minister nor does it take into consideration designations that have since been deleted from the Directory. The Board was not fully active during the 1979-1980 year and thus the designation numbers are skewed.)

At the end of the period, the Constitution Act of 1982 enshrined Indigenous citizenship rights, and Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in legislation.<sup>430</sup> Indigenous representation became more prominent as perceptions changed and Indigenous peoples secured greater legal and political protection and recognition. Some of the recommendations of the Board in the 1960s and 1970s were a departure from the assimilationist and archeological narratives, and it is possible that these alternative types of content became more common as the twentieth century ended, given shifting perceptions in all realms of Canadian society.

A lot of ignorance surrounding Indigenous history and issues remains in Canada. This thesis demonstrates one way in which the federal government shaped the public's perception of history and national identity through the appropriation of voice. The Board made an effort to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the dominant Canadian narrative in its early years and over time incorporated more Indigenous voices in its research and represented Indigenous peoples independently of Canadians. The Board made an effort to improve its practices to reflect academic and public opinion, and has continued to develop. In an era of reconciliation, where it is a government priority, exploring missteps and seeking out ways to improve is key. Being critical of Canadian bodies that have facilitated ignorance and recognizing positive steps forward are important in developing solutions.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Call to Action 79 speaks to the need for an Indigenous representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to address the government's deficiency in the shaping of Canadian history properly.<sup>431</sup> The larger Canadian

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<sup>430</sup> Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, Constitutional Documents, Part II, s.35. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-16.html>.

<sup>431</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action," TRC, June 2015, [http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls\\_to\\_Action\\_English2.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf).



commemorative framework would also benefit because of the Board's prominent place within it. Adding Indigenous representation to the Board would send a powerful message to all minority groups in Canada that it could represent their history equally alongside Euro-Canadian history.

I undertook this thesis to examine one dimension of minority representation in commemoration in Canada, and sought to argue first that the Board made an effort to portray Indigenous peoples better throughout the post-war twentieth century and second that there was more to do. It has identified subject selection as the central obstacle to Indigenous designations and argued that subject selection began to improve slowly in the second half of the 1970s supported by policy and inscription language.

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