

Creating a Living Fortress: the development of the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site.

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Abstract: The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site was one of the federal government's early big heritage development projects. This study sets out to explore the development of the Halifax Citadel as a tourist destination and provides a good case study which situates the Citadel within the larger framework of Parks Canada's network of similar historic sites and the evolution of themes in the academic discipline of history. The development of the Halifax Citadel reflects the evolving practices in the field of historical museum interpretation and situates itself at a time when the Canadian government was investing considerable resources in promoting the country's heritage, yet there were several challenges to its progress. Issues raised about its interpretation program reflect the evolving historiographical developments in the discipline and wider social issues relating to gender and race.

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Introduction

The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site (HCNHS) is one of Parks Canada's top visited sites and is a major tourist attraction in Halifax, Nova Scotia, ranking as the top visited historic site in the Atlantic Provinces.¹ Visitor count statistics compiled by Parks Canada show that the Halifax Citadel saw 451,499 visitors in the 2016-17 season, making it their sixth most visited National Historic Site in the country. It ranks as the top visited historic site in the Atlantic Provinces by a wide margin, with the second most visited site being Prince Edward Island's Green Gable House which drew 187,662 visitors that year. The historic Citadel fortress has been a key player in the history of Halifax since the city was founded in 1749 when Edward Cornwallis chose the site as the location for a new British fortification and settlement. The Citadel was an active garrison for the British military from 1749 until 1906 and saw four different versions of fortifications built throughout that time. Little military activity took place at the Citadel after 1906 until the Department of National Defence transferred custody of the site to the Canadian Parks Service and the Citadel received an official designation as a National Historic Site on May 16, 1951.² The site then went through a boom-bust series of restoration projects from 1951 into the late 1970s while its new custodians attempted to restore the site to its mid-nineteenth century appearance. It had to overcome challenges created by austerity budgets, the freeze-thaw climate of Nova Scotia, and the desire for the restoration to be

¹ Parks Canada, "Parks Canada Attendance – National Historic Sites and other designations," Government of Canada, last modified March 30, 2017, available: <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/docs/pc/attend/table2>.

² Jay White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park, 1951-1979: a narrative history*, (Halifax: Parks Canada, Halifax Defence Complex, 1984): 3.

historically accurate.

While it has been a key figure in the historical narrative of Halifax for over 250 years, the Citadel's popularity among visitors is relatively recent as it was only during the 1980s that it began to be promoted heavily as a place to visit in tourist marketing publicity. In fact, well into the 1970s those responsible had not fully thought out how the site should be interpreted or finalized an interpretation plan. Furthermore, following its establishment as a full fledged tourist destination the Citadel's interpretive program was plagued with controversy as it tried to address pressures to better reflect Nova Scotia's population diversity and male-female representation. Nevertheless, eventually the major restoration project was completed, an interpretive program was set in place, and the HCNHS cemented its place as *the* major tourist attraction in Halifax. This case study tracks these developments by focusing on how Parks Canada transformed the Citadel into a historic site, how it has been interpreted and presented to the public, and how that interpretation has evolved over time. In doing so, it is possible to confirm that the development of the HCNHS reflects the evolving practices in the field of historical museum interpretation and situates itself at a time when the Canadian government was investing considerable resources in promoting the country's heritage.

A study on the actual transition of the Citadel from inactive military garrison to its status as a commemorative historic tourist site has yet to be undertaken. A review of literature demonstrates that there has been no previous analysis – scholarly or otherwise – of the Citadel as a tourist site, rather it is only the historic Citadel fortress' role as a military garrison and its significance in the larger narrative of the history of Halifax that has gained attention. Indeed, early historical studies feature the Citadel in one of two

ways: by providing a historical chronology of the fortress' construction and use or by focusing on the Citadel's role in the general history of settlement in Halifax. The first written history of the Halifax Citadel fortress by Harry Piers in 1947 provided a detailed factual account of the various buildings and structures erected at the Citadel fortress.³ Piers was the curator of the Provincial Museum and librarian of the Provincial Sciences Library and he worked on this manuscript for forty years. He died before his work was published, but D.C. Harvey, the archivist at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia directed Dr. G.M. Self and Phyllis Blakeley to edit and revise it as he felt it "would be a great pity" if so much information was to be kept from public availability. It was published posthumously by the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.⁴ Following that, the only other studies to provide more in-depth information on the history of the Citadel fortress are a series of reports and documents prepared by Parks Canada staff historians and researchers during their site restoration project in the 1960s and 1970s. These documents covered topics such as the history of the fortress erection and construction, the military stationed there, and the archaeological and architectural details of the buildings and grounds. While these documents contain a wealth of information on the Citadel's history, they are unpublished government documents not intended for the general public. The most recent history of the Halifax Citadel fortress was written by historian Brian Cuthbertson. Like Piers, Cuthbertson provided an account of the Citadel's history, but in a much more

³ Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928*, GM Self and Phyllis Blakely, eds., (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1947).

⁴ Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress*, preface.

general presentation.⁵ This illustrated text explores the fort as it exists today: discussing its buildings, fortifications and displayed artifacts. While there is not an abundance of texts where the history of the Citadel fortress is the primary focus it is often discussed in the broader historical narrative of Halifax.⁶ Cuthbertson outlined the early history of Halifax and the importance of the historical fortress to the city's founding. The Citadel's designation as a National Historic Site, its restoration project, and a description of its animated interpretive program are also presented. However, the author simply offered basic facts and did not include any detailed analysis of the fort's transformation into a historic site. Cuthbertson credited Piers' *The Evolution of the Halifax Citadel* as one of his main sources for the Citadel's construction history. He also credited the Parks Canada Manuscripts Reports which were produced by staff researchers on various topics relating to the Citadel's construction, archeology, and history. Cuthbertson described his sources in the book's "Acknowledgements," but there are no specific citations throughout the text and no bibliography which suggests that he had public, rather than specialist, readers in mind.

The Citadel's transition into a tourist site is discussed by historian C.J. Taylor, who in 1990 explored the creation of historic sites at the national level by discussing the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMB) and its influence

⁵ Brian Cuthbertson, *The Halifax Citadel: Portrait of a Military Fortress*, (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2001).

⁶ Thomas Akins, *History of Halifax City*, (Halifax: Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1895); Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford and David Sutherland, *Halifax: the first 250 years*, (Halifax: Formac Publishing Ltd, 1999); Thomas Raddall, *Halifax: Warden of the North*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1948).

on heritage in Canada. Taylor argued that what the Board was choosing to designate was heavily focused on Canada's British Imperial past and the values associated with it. He pointed out that after the 1950s Parks Canada started to give importance to architectural preservation and site restoration – a period he called the “era of the big project.”⁷ Others who have studied the HSMB have also shown interest in the motivations behind their selection process. While they do not directly discuss the Citadel, these studies help illuminate how the Citadel became such a large project for Parks Canada. Historians Shannon Ricketts and Yves Yvon Pelletier provided analysis of the historic designations established by the HSMB. They concur with Taylor that the “ideological dominance of the British imperial mindset” influenced Board member’s interests, and thus their recommendations for historic designations.⁸ Ricketts provided examples to demonstrate that increased academic specializations in the field of architectural history began to influence the priorities of heritage commemoration to include more preservation.⁹ These shifting interests were reflected in the preservation and restoration efforts launched in Parks Canada’s era of the big project.

Taylor used the Citadel as an example of this new focus on restoration, as it was one of the first major restoration projects undertaken by Parks Canada. He also situated the Citadel within the larger context of Parks Canada’s other “big projects,” such as the

⁷ C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: the Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 141.

⁸ Yves Yvon 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* 17:1 (2006): 127.

⁹ Shannon Ricketts, “Cultural Selection and National Identity: Establishing Historic Sites in a National Framework, 1920-1939,” *The Public Historian* 18:3 (Summer 1996): 23.

restorations of Lower Fort Gary, Old Quebec City, and the Fortress of Louisbourg. While Taylor examined the Citadel's physical restoration, he does not offer analysis of the development of its living history interpretive program. Jay Anderson, an authority on open air and living history museums, chronicled the evolution in museums from being *showcases* for artifacts to *experiences* for visitors and followed the spread of open air museums throughout Europe and North America. Living history is an interpretive method used at museums and historic sites where interpreters dress in costume relative to the period, people, and place that is being commemorated. These costumed interpreters, or animators, tell stories to visitors about their characters and the site while also simulating life in the past. This type of interactive interpretation was first employed in 1891 by Artur Hazelius, the founder of the Swedish site Skansen, which is considered the prototype for open-air museums. Open air museums are typically set in large outdoor landscapes and may specialize in the collection a reconstruction of old buildings, and many employ living history as an interpretive method.¹⁰ The importance and evolution of living history museums in the Canadian context has been studied by historian Alan Gordon. By considering living history museums as historical artifacts themselves, he examined the political and cultural constructs that shaped their evolution. While the focus of Gordon's analysis is on other historic sites, the Citadel does come up in his discussion. In fact, he argued that the living history programs at Parks Canada's "megaprojects" like the Citadel and Fort Henry in Kingston, Ontario, set examples for smaller museums and "helped mould people's expectations" of living history should be.¹² He provided a brief account of

¹⁰ Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: the World of Living History*, (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1984): 21-22.

¹² *Ibid*, 103.

the Citadel's military history and the initial stages of Parks Canada's work at the site. He demonstrated that from the outset, tourism was a motivating factor behind the Citadel's development. Gordon used both Louisbourg and the Halifax Citadel as examples of "historic tourism," a strategy used by Nova Scotia to "capitalize on its own past."¹³

Although the Citadel's contemporary role as a tourist site had been overlooked prior to Gordon, other similar sites had attracted considerable attention from tourism scholars. One such site is the Fortress of Louisbourg which was reconstructed in the 1970s by Parks Canada – during the "era of the big project." Analysis of other sites help position the Citadel within the larger framework of the network of Parks Canada's historic sites. Louisbourg's interpretive program has been the subject of academic work. It has been praised as a "particularly good example" of a living history program that recreates a historically accurate atmosphere.¹⁴ Gordon specifically highlighted the federal government's influence at Louisbourg because of motivations to create regional economic development and promote tourism.¹⁵ One of the key goals of Louisbourg was historical authenticity. Because of the outstanding depth of its research team, Gordon praised Louisbourg as the "most sophisticated example" of a living history museum.¹⁶ The research and development of the Louisbourg tourist site has also been the topic of

¹³ Ibid, 96-97.

¹⁴ Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: the World of Living History*, 61.

¹⁵ Alan Gordon, *Time Travel: Tourism and the Rise of the Living History Museum in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016): 161

¹⁶ Ibid, 190.

analysis by historian Terry MacLean.¹⁷ He argued that Louisbourg set the Canadian standard for historic site interpretation. By drawing comparisons to the first open air museum Skansen in Sweden and the American site Colonial Williamsburg, MacLean situated Louisbourg in the wider context of the developments in museology. In addition, the contributions to the final product of archaeological work has also been studied by archaeologist Bruce Fry. He explored the political and economic motivations at work while the site was being restored.¹⁸ Fry revealed a clash of interest between the engineers in charge of the restoration and the historic sites division of Parks Canada, which led to challenges in the archaeological research being conducted at Louisbourg. This study brought to light the competing priorities of those involved in these “big project” restorations.

Historians have shown some interest in how women have been represented in interpretive programs at sites such as Louisbourg and Fort Henry. Erna MacLeod studied the living history program at Louisbourg and how the military themed interpretation created an “overwhelming atmosphere” of a military fort. She explored how Louisbourg had included groups other than the military within its living history program by bringing to life “Mi’kmaq relations, slavery, and the active roles of women in society.” She argued that these facets of Louisbourg’s history seem to have been added as “an afterthought” to

¹⁷ Terry MacLean, *Louisbourg Heritage: from Ruins to Restoration*, (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University of Cape Breton Press, 1995).

¹⁸ Bruce Fry, “Designing the Past at Fortress Louisbourg,” in *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, John H. Jameson Jr., ed., (New York: AltaMira Press, 2004): 199-214.

gratify appeals for variety.¹⁹ In another study, MacLeod concentrated on the effects of Louisbourg's decision to allow women to portray male soldiers.²⁰ Similarly, gender historian Katherine McKenna used the timing and motivation at Fort Henry to allow women to portray male soldiers within the Fort Henry Guard as an example of how historic sites have taken a long time to catch up with the growing historiography on women's history.²¹

Primary source documents are abundant. The most valuable information comes from documents produced by Parks Canada during the bulk of the major restoration work in the 1960s and 1970s. These reports and documents, written by staff historians, researchers, and archeologists, cover topics such as the history of the fortress' erection and construction, archaeology and architectural details of the buildings and grounds, and the military regiments garrisoned at the Citadel. Other valuable primary source are site management plans produced by the Halifax Citadel management team, which outline their objectives and include guidelines for the site's operations. In addition to factual information about the site's development, they offer invaluable insights into the mindset and goals of those involved in its creation as a tourist destination. In addition, interviews with Parks Canada staff involved in the project were conducted in order to answer

¹⁹ Erna Macleod, "Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," in *Canadian Cultural Poesis: essays on Canadian Culture*, Sheila Petty, Gerry Sherbert and Annie Gerin, eds., (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006): 363.

²⁰ Erna Macleod, "Women soldiers at Louisbourg," in *Sculptures from Jagged Ore: essays about Cape Breton Women*, Eileen Smith-Piovesan and Carol Corbin, eds., (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University of Cape Breton Press, 2001): 218-228.

²¹ Katherine McKenna, "Women's History, Gender Politics and the Interpretation of Canadian Historic Sites: Some Examples from Ontario," *Atlantis* 30:1 (2005): 21-30.

questions and fill in gaps. Furthermore, archival research and an examination of newspapers uncovered controversies regarding the Citadel's living history program. Additional archival research of tourism publicity revealed the development of the Citadel's marketing.

This study has been broken down into three chapters, each evaluating a major period in the site's creation. In the first chapter, the early days of the Citadel's development as a tourist site are explored, starting with the role played by the HSMB and the recommendations of the Massey Commission. It will focus on the goals and obstacles faced by Parks Canada during the site's restoration project. Chapter Two evaluates the early stages of the Citadel's interpretation program from 1979 to 1989 providing an inside look at planners' mindset. It will also detail the commemorative themes that Parks Canada wanted to highlight and bring out how they fit within the larger framework of commemorative trends at the national level. The third chapter assesses the Citadel's living history program's evolution in the 1990s which was propelled by public debates and controversies over representation and authenticity. The epilogue brings the study of the Citadel up to present day and provides a brief overview of how the Citadel is being interpreted today, offering an opportunity to compare this with the original goals of the site.

Chapter One

Ruins to Restoration: physical development, 1951-1979.

Although the Citadel fortress possesses a timeless quality and boasts the ability to allow visitors to “step back in time” to experience the 19th century fortress as it existed in that time, the site did not always have the ability to create that experience.²² The beginning of its development came after the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, commonly known as the Massey Commission, flagged the site as a priority and recommended it be given serious attention. In response to the Commission’s recommendations, the National Parks Service initiated development of the site, and on May 16, 1951 the Halifax Citadel was officially designated a National Historic Site by the HSMB.²³ While developing an interpretive program was on the minds of site planners, the early phases of the Citadel’s development focused on the physical restoration of the grounds and this chapter will explore the chronology of this project and reveal the obstacles that presented challenges to the work at hand.

The Massey Commission decides on the Halifax Citadel

The Massey Commission was established on April 8, 1949 by Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent. He appointed Vincent Massey, a “patron of the arts” and Canadian

²² “Halifax Citadel National Historic Site of Canada”, Parks Canada, last modified 05 May 2015, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/index.aspx>.

²³ White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park*, 3.

diplomat as chairman.²⁴ Massey described the project as “no ordinary royal commission; [as] the scope of its inquiry was unique.” He explained that the Canadian government wished to survey “institutions, agencies, and organizations “which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life.”²⁵ There were four others: Hilda Neatby, history professor at the University of Saskatchewan; Father Georges-Henri Lévesque, a social scientist from Quebec; Norman Archibald MacRae MacKenzie, an international lawyer and President of the University of British Columbia; and Arthur Surveyor, a civil engineer from Montreal.²⁶ The Commissioners’ principle belief was that the Canadian public “should know as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions” and they were charged with investigating the role of federal government agencies in this process and making recommendations for improvement. They released their official report on June 1, 1951.²⁷

Several federal institutions were selected for investigation by the commission including the Canadian Broadcast Corporation, National Film Board, National Gallery,

²⁴ J.L. Granatstein, “Charles Vincent Massey,” last modified 04 March 2015, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/massey-charles-vincent/>, (accessed 01 September 2016); Paul Litt, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Vincent Massey, *What’s Past is Prologue: the Memoirs of the Right Honourable Vincent Massey*, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1963): 450; Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*.

²⁵ Massey, *What’s Past is Prologue*, 450.

²⁶ Michael Haden, “Hilda Marion Neatby,” last modified 04 March 2015, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/hilda-marion-neatby/>; M.D. Behiels, “Georges-Henri Lévesque,” last modified 31 March 2014, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/georges-henri-levesque/>; P.B. Waite, “Norman Archibald MacRae Mackenzie,” last modified 16 December 2013, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/norman-archibald-macrae-mackenzie/>; Vincent Massey, *What’s Past is Prologue*, 450.

²⁷ Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science (Massey Commission), “Report,” (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1951): xi.

National Museums, National War Museum, the Public Archives, National Archives and the Library of Parliament. It was not until near the closure of the commission's hearing that the heritage program of the National Park Service of the Department of Resources and Development along with the activities of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board were included in the Commission's investigation.²⁸ They came to the conclusion that they could not examine institutions such as the National Archives and not the organizations responsible for "our archives of stone."²⁹

At this time the National Parks Service held responsibility for historic sites and monuments and was advised by the HSMB on historical matters. Specifically, members of the Board would make recommendations to the Park Service on which sites should be designated as sites of national significance; from there, physical management of the site was the sole responsibility of the Park Service.³⁰

The HSMB was established by the federal government in 1919.³¹ The goal of the Board was to seek out places, events, and individuals to be designated as national historic sites, and to commemorate these designations usually in the form of a commemorative plaque. The HSMB played a very important role in the commemoration of Canadian history. With its creation, the federal government was able to "remove itself almost completely" from the process of historic site designation, leaving the Board as the main influencers in Canadian heritage commemorations.³² It is difficult to establish the Board's

²⁸ Massey Commission, *Report*, 125; C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 132.

²⁹ Massey Commission, *Report*, 125.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 123-124.

³¹ Canada, "History and Culture: The Board," last modified April 1, 2017, available: <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/culture/clmhc-hsmbc/comm-board>.

³² Pelletier, "The Politics of Selection," 133.

selection criteria for recommendations because of their record keeping methods.

Recorded minutes noted the name of members who moved and seconded the decision along with the result, but no records shed light on discussions held regarding each proposal. In addition, Board members were able to choose the sites, events, and individuals that received designations without public consultations until 1953. Moreover, the plaque inscription that would mark the selected designation was the exclusive responsibility of the HSMB members, which allowed them opportunity to determine how they would be interpreted.³⁴

As noted by historians, it is clear that the HSMB favoured themes of military history. The events, places, and individuals commemorated by the HSMB emphasized the traditional components of national history such as political and military history, as well as the history of exploration and settlement. Original Board members Ernest Cruikshank (1919-1939) and James Henry Coyne (1919-1930), along with other early members of the Board had a common interest, as demonstrated by their scholarship, in the British Imperial tradition. Cruikshank was an established historian and a “leading figure” in the Ontario heritage movement. The better part of Cruikshank’s work was focused on the War of 1812.³⁶ Coyne was trained as a lawyer but had a passion for history and became a “gifted amateur historian.” Like Cruikshank, Coyne’s historical interests were also focused on Ontario, with an emphasis on the province’s southwestern prehistory, early exploration and settlement.³⁷ The Board members’ interests aligned with the trends of

³⁴ Ibid 126, 134-135.

³⁶ Pelletier, “The Politics of Selection,” 130; Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 39-40.

³⁷ Pelletier, “The Politics of Selection,” 130-131; Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 40-41.

commemorative themes and academic history writing until this point, as the interwar period saw an increased level of commemorative activity which produced a series of historic sites that presented a specific version of Canadian history that was “intimately associated with colonial expansion bolstered by military force.”³⁸ This was a reflection of the belief in the “British imperial tradition,” which was a prevalent element in the Canadian collective memory during this time.³⁹ The Board members’ strong interest in such themes as early exploration and settlement and military history were reflected in the sites, events, and individuals they designated for commemoration until “well after” the Second World War.⁴⁰

It was the Ontario-centred designations that drew the Massey Commission’s attention. Indeed its report noted criticisms of the HSMB that were presented at many regional hearings.⁴¹ Notably, historical societies remarked on the lack of a “definite plan” to go about marking sites. “Chiefly and most forcibly,” those from Saskatchewan criticized the Board for unequally distributing official historic site designations. By 1951, it had designated 388 historical sites across the country. The majority of these designations were located in Central Canada. Indeed Ontario being home to 119 and seventy located in Quebec, whereas the Prairie Provinces had a combined number of just forty-eight with Manitoba and Alberta having twenty each and Saskatchewan having only eight.⁴² As for the Maritime provinces, they received 122 designations: fifty-eight in

³⁸ Shannon Ricketts, “Cultural Selection and National Identity: Establishing Historic Sites in a National Framework, 1920-1939,” *The Public Historian* 18:3 (Summer 1996): 23-24.

³⁹ Pelletier, *The Politics of Selection*, 127.

⁴⁰ Ricketts, “Cultural Selection and National Identity,” 40.

⁴¹ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 133.

⁴² Massey Commission, *Report*, 124.

Nova Scotia, forty-six in New Brunswick, and eighteen on Prince Edward Island, which made them relatively well represented. There were not yet any such historic designations in Newfoundland and Labrador, presumably, because it had just become an official Canadian province two years prior in 1949. Not surprisingly, regional representatives demanded that the Commission recommend the HSMB rectify this blatant unbalanced rate of designations, as well as put an emphasis on regional architectural preservation. More specifically, they emphasized the need to recognize the “regional nature of national history.”⁴³ The HSMB also faced criticisms for designating sites that were too focused on military themes, and indeed noting that sixteen of the twenty-two monuments under the Board’s care were military forts.⁴⁴ Furthermore, heavy emphasis was placed on a single event, the War of 1812, which was Cruikshank’s specialty. By 1939, the Board had issued historic designations to fifty-one sites relating to the War of 1812.⁴⁵

The Commissioners clearly listened and appeared to concur as they expressed the view that that the Board’s focus on military forts had indeed put too much emphasis on a singular historical theme “at the expense of others.”⁴⁶ They concluded that although the Parks Service and HSMB were conducting admirable work under their limited annual budget of \$135,000, it was time for a “considerable expansion” of the heritage program and modifications to current policies. The Report thus recommended that the HSMB

⁴³ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 133.

⁴⁴ Massey Commission, *Report*, 127-128.

⁴⁵ As of February 2005 there were sixty-three historic sites relating to the War of 1812, making it the most commemorated event in Canadian history. Pelletier, “The Politics of Selection,” 136.

⁴⁶ Massey Commission, *Report*, 127.

execute a more comprehensive program going forward and that they receive an adequate budget.⁴⁷ They also proposed that more attention be paid to the preservation and restoration of historic sites. In this way historic sites would be better positioned to provide information in a “much more striking fashion” than the commemorative plaques favoured by the HSMB.⁴⁸ The Commission believed that the “proper preservation” and restoration of historic monuments and sites was “a matter of first importance,” and in fact “urgent.”⁴⁹ They reasoned that while a site could be marked by a plaque at any time, preserving the site’s original features was a more time sensitive matter and needed to be done before the opportunity expired.⁵⁰ The recommendations of the Commission would have a significant influence on the future of historic sites across Canada, and would become the starting point of the Halifax Citadel’s journey to becoming a national historic site.⁵¹

Indeed the *Massey Report* specifically targeted the Halifax Citadel fortress as an urgent project to be undertaken at the federal level. The Commission credited it as “one of the great military monuments of Canada” as it was the last image of the country seen by thousands of Canadian soldiers departing from the port of Halifax and the first landmark viewed by returning soldiers. However, by 1951, the Citadel was not in a physical condition that would reflect this importance. Years of neglect had left the fortress in a “semi-ruined state” which the Commission argued brought “discredit to the nation and [invited] the derision of visitors from countries where national memorials are

⁴⁷ Ibid, 347.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 346.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 123.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 347.

⁵¹ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*: 133.

cherished.”⁵² It would certainly have been difficult for passersby to appreciate the fort’s previous significance. Even though the Halifax Citadel was located in one of the “most enviable position[s]” of Britain’s colonial defences, its strategic importance had decreased because its armament technology was considered obsolete by 1870 due to innovations in artillery that began with the introduction of the rifle.⁵³ After 1906, the Citadel’s strategic importance lessened even further since the fort was built to withstand land and sea attacks, but the introduction of aviation warfare in the twentieth century made the fort strategically and technologically obsolete. Due to this, the British military officially transferred control of the fort to the Canadian military on January 6, 1906. While the technology at the fort was outdated, the Canadian military still found it useful. During the First World War the Citadel served as command headquarters and barracks, as well as an internment camp for German prisoners of war from 1914 to 1918.⁵⁴ The Royal Canadian Regiment left the Citadel in December 1931, as the fort was no longer of significant value to the military.⁵⁵ Left unoccupied, the Halifax Citadel fell into a state of disrepair.

These criticisms were not directed at the Department of National Defence (DND) which was still the custodian of the site. It would be unreasonable to expect the

⁵² Massey Commission, *Report*, 350.

⁵³ Canada, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park Management Plan*, (Ottawa: Department of the Environment, 1979): 9.

⁵⁴ Brian Cuthbertson, *Portrait of a Military Fortress*, 69.; Library Archives Canada, “Thematic Guides - Internment Camps in Canada during the First and Second World Wars: List of Camps,” Library Archives Canada, available: <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/Pages/thematic-guides-internment-camps.aspx>.

⁵⁵ Canada, *Management Plan, 1979*, 1.

department to curate historic monuments in their possession in addition to their regular duties.⁵⁶ However, at the time of the recommendations, many potential historic sites of military interest were under the custody of the DND. This was considered a “serious obstacle” to their proper preservation as the department was, understandably so, more interested in these sites for their military value than their historical importance.⁵⁷ The Commission discussed the series of fortifications in Kingston, Ontario as an example of the challenges regarding custody of historic buildings. The five forts at Kingston were all federally owned properties; however, they were in the care of different custodians and were in varying states of physical condition.⁵⁸ It was therefore recommended that the Federal Government arrange to transfer custody of all historic sites – especially those managed by DND that no longer had military significance – to the National Parks Service in order for them to be properly preserved and maintained.⁵⁹

While similar sites requiring attention and development, such as the fortifications at Kingston, were mentioned in the report, the Commission singled out the Halifax Citadel:

special and immediate provision [should] be made to stem the progressive dilapidation of the Halifax Citadel and of the Cavalier Barracks within its walls; [...] so that [...] it] may be suitably restored progressively over the next few

⁵⁶ Massey Commission, *Report*, 124, 350.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 124.

⁵⁸ Three of the historic properties in Kingston being referred to - Fort Henry and the Cedar Island and Shoal Towers – were leased to the Province of Ontario. The fourth, Fort Frederick, was in the care of the Department of National Defence and was suffering damage through neglect; the fifth, the Murney Tower, was a responsibility of the National Parks Service and was being properly maintained. Massey Commission, *Report*, 349-350.

⁵⁹ Massey Commission, *Report*, 350.

years, if possible through the co-operation of the Municipality, the Province and the Federal Government.⁶⁰

It is worthwhile pointing out that for the Commission to single out the need to turn the Halifax Citadel into a national historic site contradicts its members' criticisms of the HSMB for focusing too heavily on military themes. The eventual decision to target the Citadel as a priority may very well have been in reaction to the criticism it received regarding regional disparity, but it is also interesting that it would chose a military fort. Even so, the focus of the Commission's recommendation was regarding the physical state of the Citadel with hopes the site would be "suitably restored," which aligned with their desire to see more attention paid to preservation and restoration of historic sites. It may very well be that their concern over the site's poor state of repair trumped these other concerns.

The Commission's final report would act as a "blueprint" for government intervention in cultural development, making it one of the "most significant government documents of the postwar period."⁶¹ After its release, federal cultural agencies were given unprecedented prominence. The historic sites program of the National Parks Branch was also able to expand and carefully craft a more effective heritage preservation policy that reflected the recommendations.⁶² The Halifax Citadel benefited greatly from this favourable climate for historic site restoration, being one of the first major projects to be undertaken in the 1950s. With a budget of approximately \$100,000 annually, the

⁶⁰ Ibid, 350-351.

⁶¹ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 132-133.

⁶² Ibid, 138.

restoration of the Citadel would be the most expensive heritage project of the decade.⁶³ However, once the site was placed under the custody of the National Park Service, the work to be done would not be without its challenges.⁶⁴

Physical development at the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site, 1951 - 1979

To begin with, from 1951 through the 1960s, the Halifax Citadel restoration project lacked firm direction. The early phases of the Citadel's development were focused on the restoration of the grounds and not much attention was given to establishing a comprehensive interpretive plan for the site. That does not mean that the site planners were discounting the importance of having a lively and creative interpretive strategy to draw in the tourists; however, the priority at this time was the physical restoration of the fort. The fort was open to visitors during the restoration with an "exhibit on how the [fort] is being restored" highlighted in descriptions of the site in tourism marketing.⁶⁵ Although the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site visitors see today possesses a timeless quality, it is actually a preservation of the last of four versions of fortifications built upon the hill. The first three fortresses were built in the mid to late eighteenth century, while the fourth came in the nineteenth century. While each had a distinct role in different historical conflicts, the fourth fortress was selected as the iteration to be preserved because its

⁶³ Ibid, 146.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Nova Scotia: Where to stay, what to see, what to do: 1981 (Halifax: Tourism Nova Scotia, 1981): 122.

buildings and layout were still in place.⁶⁶ Thus the goal was to restore the “appearance and character” of the mid-nineteenth century fourth fortress completed in 1850.⁶⁷ In addition to this historical restoration project, the site had to be modernized in order to make it accessible to the public.

This restoration project was a mighty task for Parks Canada to undertake because the site was in poor condition. The physical deterioration was caused by a combination of “inadequate original design” and the freeze-thaw climate of Halifax which allowed water to seep into building foundations and walls.⁶⁸ It was not until 1956 that engineer A.D. Perry was appointed to supervise “an ambitious beautification program” aimed to improve landscaping, access road condition, and install underground electrical and telephone lines.⁶⁹ Perry and the engineering services division of the National Park Service held the responsibility of supervising the project, taking charge of rebuilding dilapidated walls, restoring principal buildings and stabilizing the remainder of the fort, while the historic sites division was acting more in the role of consultant than an “active participant,” and had very little to do with the Citadel’s reconstruction at this point. The initial concentration for the site’s development was on the “renovation of under-utilized casemates within the Citadel walls,” to “prepare the site for its new role as a repository for displays of historical interest,” and remove “unsuitable or obsolete structures” which

⁶⁶ Parks Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 15; Parks Canada Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, “Halifax Citadel National Historic Site,” Parks Canada, available: http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=281.

⁶⁷ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 1-2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 1.

⁶⁹ White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park*, 3, 8; Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 146.

took away from the site's overall visual appeal. Work began in the Redan, with the installation of modern heating, plumbing and electrical element.⁷⁰

Since the project commenced without an official long-term plan for development, initial attempts at restoring the site were met with challenges leading to frustrations for the teams involved. These frustrations were enhanced by the contrasting views of the teams regarding the site's purpose. The engineering division thought the project was more about ensuring tourist accessibility and safety, whereas, the historic sites division was interested first and foremost in historical restoration and "more conscious of the principles of conservation."⁷¹ This situation was not unique to the Citadel. As pointed out by C.J. Taylor, the "intense activity" of new heritage projects in the 1950s and 1960s exhausted the resources of the historic sites division which were already overwhelmed with established historic sites. The engineering division was at the helm directing these new projects like the Citadel and Louisbourg and it only took orders from the director of the National Park Service, so there was no guarantee that the input from the historic sites division would be taken into consideration.⁷²

Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ernest A. Côté, had lobbied to transfer responsibility for the project's supervision to the historic sites division instead of engineering services. In a memo he sent to the Director of National Parks in 1956 he remarked that there was no finalized

⁷⁰ White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park*, 3-5.

⁷¹ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 170.

⁷² Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 142-143; Fry, "Designing the Past at Fortress Louisbourg," 201.

master plan for the project and that “there seems to be no such plan in existence.”⁷³ He further suggested that the historic sites division team up with the Citadel’s resident engineer and the honorary curator to devise a restoration plan providing a timeframe and outlining monetary costs. This plan was never produced and it is unclear what or who exactly was guiding the engineers in this early phase of the restoration project. However, clearly Côté was unsuccessful in his attempt to provide authority to the historic sites division. In short, despite the fact that his position gave him direct access to the Minister, he was not able to drastically modify operations that were already active, which was the case with the Citadel. This situation persisted. In 1961, the Citadel’s Chief Engineer, Gordon Scott, informed the director of Historic Sites, J.D. Herbert, that they were receiving little guidance beyond the approval or rejection of work items proposed in their annual report to the historic sites division.⁷⁴ There were attempts to devise a plan for the Citadel in 1962 and 1967; however, these plans were preliminary in nature, outlining “general proposals for the development of the park.”⁷⁵ The lack of definite plan for the Citadel’s restoration project would be an issue of contention for the remainder of the 1960s. The historic sites division argued that archaeological and historical research should take place before furthering the site’s development, but the engineers remained in control of the site and carried on as they were by focusing on the removal of “unsuitable or obsolete structures which detracted from the overall appearance of the site.”⁷⁶

⁷³ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 146; White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Park*, 12.

⁷⁴ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 147.

⁷⁵ Canada, *Management Plan, 1979*, 10.

⁷⁶ White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park*, 5.

It is evident that the lack of planning hindered progress on the Citadel's development. The purpose of the archeological work in the 1960s was to form hypotheses and conclusions on the "relative dating, the methods of construction, and the subsequent utilization" of the Redan.⁷⁷ But really archaeology was "relegated to a minor role" in the 1960s, functioning as a salvage tool used "immediately prior to or after the backhoe." Any archeological work in this decade was "sporadic" and not part of a planned site program.⁷⁹ In fact, in 1965 staff archaeologist Richard B. Lane reported that "premature and unsupervised excavation" had caused the loss of information necessary to conduct "proper archaeological recording and reporting." He highlighted a myriad of issues that made his archeological work difficult. The excavation work was to take place only on selected parts of the site grounds rather than the entire parade and was conducted in less than two months. There was "very little significant material" to be excavated. No artifacts were found during the excavation, and any that may have been there had been removed before the two person archaeological team arrived on site.⁸⁰ On top of that, poor climate conditions due to the winter season, temperature, and precipitation created a number of problems for this archaeological work.⁸¹ However, the largest hindrance to development of a picture of the archeological history of the Citadel was the fact that "the greatest majority of excavation" had already been completed before Lane's arrival and

⁷⁷ Richard B. Lane, *The Halifax Citadel: Report of the Salvage Archeology in the Area of the Redan during January and February of 1965*, (s.l.: National Historic Parks Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1965): ix, 26.

⁷⁹ John J. Connolly, *Archaeology: the Halifax Citadel, fall – winter 1977*, (s.l.: Parks Canada, 1978): 2.

⁸⁰ Lane, *Report of the Salvage Archaeology*, 21-22.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 3.

furthermore, no work was recorded.⁸² Lane was very critical of these practices, noting that it was “impossible” to conduct a proper archaeological study and due to these circumstances the conclusions drawn from his archeological effort providing information on dates, construction methods, and uses of the Citadel’s features were “only hypotheses and have no basis in fact and nothing to substantiate them.”⁸³

The lack of progress to the site’s physical development was not going unnoticed. Photos of the site published by the *Toronto Star Weekly* in 1961 showed that there was little physical evidence of progress being made in the site’s restoration. In an article entitled, “The Halifax Citadel is a National Disgrace” photos showed the condition of the site’s “crumbling walls and [...] dilapidation.” The structures on site were losing the battle against water and the Nova Scotia coastal weather, with even some structures that had been repaired in the previous decade “rapidly deteriorating.”⁸⁴ These problems persisted a decade later. In 1971 one site official explained that work at the Citadel was “operating on an austerity budget [...] we can’t do as much as we’d like or as much as the public would like.”⁸⁵ By 1973 Walter Fitzgerald, Mayor of Halifax, claimed that if any work was being done at the Citadel “they must be doing it underground [...] because I can’t see it.”⁸⁶

⁸² Ibid, 5.

⁸³ Ibid, 23.

⁸⁴ *Star Weekly*, Toronto, September 30, 1961, as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 12.

⁸⁵ *Mail Star*, August 10, 1971, 8 as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 19.

⁸⁶ *Mail Star*, January 2, 1973, 6 as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 19.

Another major hindrance to progress at the Citadel was the government's preoccupation with other similar projects. In 1961 the government of John Diefenbaker commenced projects that would stimulate regional economic development. Undertaking a major project at Louisbourg was an opportunity to create jobs in Cape Breton, which had been struggling economically since the decline of its coal and steel industries in the 1940s.⁸⁷ The restoration of the Fortress of Louisbourg absorbed a "disproportionate amount of funds and expertise." The "suddenness" of the federal government's decision to make Louisbourg a priority project caused "enormous stresses" on the department.⁸⁸ Indeed, the Louisbourg project was a direct competitor of the Citadel's restoration. In 1966 it was revealed by the *Mail Star* that the methods required to rebuild the Citadel's walls so they could withstand the troublesome Nova Scotian climate had been found, but that the project would "cost so much...that it may not be possible to (carry out) the project until... Louisbourg has been completed."⁸⁹ In fact, this conflict for resources began as early as 1961 when Northern Affairs and Natural Resource Minister, Walter Dinsdale, announced that the Louisbourg project would receive a sum of twelve million dollars over the following six years.⁹⁰ Louisbourg's multi-year budget would allow its site planners the opportunity to devise long-range plans. This differed from the Halifax Citadel, which was only being provided funds on a yearly basis, thus hindering similar long-range planning developments. Money was not the only thing being afforded to

⁸⁷ Gordon, *Time Travel*, 161.

⁸⁸ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 170.

⁸⁹ *Mail Star*, June 6, 1996, 1 as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 14.

⁹⁰ White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 13.

Louisbourg seemingly at the Citadel's expense. The two projects also shared many staff members that were sent to work at Louisbourg in the 1960s. For example, Richard Lane, the staff archaeologist who conducted excavations in 1965 was actually an active employee on the Louisbourg project and only came to the Citadel to complete "emergency" salvage archaeology.⁹¹ The Citadel was not even the top site of priority within the York Redoubt, George's Island, Fort McNab and the Prince of Wales Tower – the group of sites collectively referred to as the Halifax Defence Complex. The sites of George's Island and the York Redoubt were both given more attention as the federal government prepared "feverishly devised ambitious plans to capitalize on the [anticipated] tourism bonanza" surrounding Canada's centennial.⁹² The government's preoccupation with the Fortress of Louisbourg and these other sites would continue until the mid-1970s.

It was only on December 1, 1976 that the new Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Warren Allmand announced a master plan for the "complete restoration" of the Citadel to its mid-nineteenth century appearance.⁹³ This brought new life to the work projects at the Citadel. An interim plan was created which was the first detailed plan outlining the goals for the restoration project. This new wave of planning documents announced in 1976 were a "more mature and balanced presentation" than the preliminary plans drafted in the 1960s.⁹⁴ An approved "Statement of Themes and Objectives" for the

⁹¹ Lane, *Report of the Salvage Archaeology*, 3.

⁹² White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Citadel included as supplemental information which recommended themes for site interpretation. These were divided into three categories: the Halifax Harbour, Halifax as an Imperial naval station, and the Citadel's role in the defence of the Halifax Harbour.⁹⁵ The document also outlined the central interpretive objective of the Citadel which would allow visitors to "understand and appreciate" the Halifax Citadel's role as a military establishment in North America and Halifax specifically.⁹⁶ Although general themes had been laid out, the plan provided very little information about what these should entail more specifically and proposed no methods to convey these themes. It is important to note that the site was open to visitors during the restoration project and that there were even casual demonstrations of living history. While this will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two, what was clear from this early plan, is that those in charge wanted the site to be interpreted through the lens of military history.

Also in 1976, a Project Manager was appointed to oversee the restoration of the Citadel. The restoration and maintenance of the Halifax Defence Complex – would also be overseen by this manager, but the Citadel would now take priority.⁹⁷ It was not until this new phase of the project that the "need" for archaeological work was finally recognized. Archaeological excavations restarted in the fall of 1977. The limitations of the archaeological work conducted in the previous decade were acknowledged and this

⁹⁵ Canada, *Halifax Defence Complex Interim Concept Plan*, (Halifax: Parks Canada, 1976): Appendix 1 page 2.

⁹⁶ Canada, *Interim Concept Plan*, Appendix 1 page 6.

⁹⁷ Canada, *Management Plan, 1979*, 10.

new round of work would be more structured to avoid duplicating previous mistakes.⁹⁸ Of course, some obstacles such as those caused by climate, would persist.⁹⁹

The years between 1976 and 1979 yielded numerous archaeological and historical reports focused on details required to reconstruct the fort to its mid-nineteenth century appearance as accurately as possible. These reports were part of a larger series of publications on historic sites produced by archaeologists, historians, and architects for the Department.¹⁰⁰ The Halifax Citadel was given more attention at this time with fifteen reports covering everything from the fort's armament to its door hinges, as well as historical narratives outlining the Citadel's construction and military occupations.

Yet it remained that it was only in 1979 that Parks Canada produced a *Management Plan* for the Citadel which was the first comprehensive plan for the site. This polished planning document outlined the long-term objectives for the site and it also provided further insight on how those in charge proposed to interpret the fort. It clearly outlined Parks Canada's main objectives for the site. The first objective was to restore the site to the "appearance and character" of the fourth Citadel fortress of the mid-nineteenth

⁹⁸ John J. Connolly, *Archaeology: Halifax Citadel, fall-winter 1977*, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978): 2-3.

⁹⁹ Connolly, *Archaeology, fall-winter 1977*, v.

¹⁰⁰ Other national historic sites that were covered in the Manuscript Report Series include: Forges Du Saint-Maurice, Quebec; Fort Beausejour, New Brunswick; Fort Coteau-Du-Lac, Quebec; Artillery Park, Quebec City; Fort Amherst, Prince Edward Island; Fort Anne, Nova Scotia.; Fort Coteau-Du-Lac, Quebec; Fort Esperance, Saskatchewan; Fort Lennox, Quebec; Fort Malden, Ontario; Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan; Fort Wellington, Ontario; L'anse-Aux-Meadows, Newfoundland; and the Fortress of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia. C.J. Taylor, "Parks Canada Manuscript Report Series," *Archivaria* 12 (Summer 1981): 73-119, available: <http://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/viewFile/10887/11809>.

century, and to then interpret the site in a way that commemorated the fort's role in the establishment of Halifax.¹⁰¹ Parks Canada also set a high standard for this new phase by placing great importance on historical accuracy while restoring the Citadel. However, planners had to think practically and decided that modern aspects already in place on some buildings would be maintained if they did not interfere with the overall desired nineteenth century appearance.¹⁰² For example, it was decided that the canteen built in the North Magazine by the British in 1902 could remain and be used to illustrate the “functional evolution” of the fort. Also, there were numerous gun emplacements from the late nineteenth century that, while not established within the exact time frame for the restoration, would be left intact to demonstrate technological advances. On the other hand, elements like the modern roofs on the Cavalier and parts of the Redan would be removed and changed to ones with a mid-nineteenth century appearance.¹⁰³ In short, the restoration of the site would “occur in part through the preservation of the fort, but would also require the development of both period and didactic displays, if the visitor was to gain a good appreciation of the Citadel's place in history.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 1; Parks Canada, ‘Halifax Citadel National Historic Site of Canada’, 15 March 2012, http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=281; Canada, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park Management Plan Summary*, (Ottawa: Department of the Environment, 1981): 1.

¹⁰² Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

* * * *

When the Massey Commission released their report in 1951, the Commissioners criticized the Historic Sites and Monuments Board for focusing too much on commemorating sites of military history significance, as well as for the unequal distribution of designations throughout the country. They felt it was time for an expansion of the HSMB's program within the commemorative themes, regional diversity, and methods. Commissioners desired more attention be paid to the preservation and restoration of historic sites – a method believed to present information in a “much more striking fashion,” than traditional commemorative plaques. The Commissioners viewed these changes as an urgent matter and their recommendations singled out the Citadel as a site requiring such attention. While restoring the Halifax Citadel would align with Commissioner's recommendations to encourage more restoration and preservation as a commemorative method as well as put more designations in the regions, it is interesting that they chose a military fort as they had also criticized the HSMB for favouring military sites. Clearly the Commissioners were also influenced by what historians at the time viewed as history, such as the traditional studies of military and politics.

A lack of firm long-range planning and the prioritization of restoration projects elsewhere presented obstacles for the Citadel's restoration and development as a tourist site. Problems arose almost immediately when the engineering division of the National Park Service, rather than the historic sites division, was put in charge of work at the Citadel. The project began with no official long-term site development plan, which led to frustrations for the players involved as each team had different priorities. The engineers were more concerned with landscaping and removing “unsuitable or obsolete structures”

that detracted from the overall visual appeal of the site and they viewed this project to be more about tourist accessibility and safety than the proper historical conservation principals which were the concerns of the historic sites division.¹⁰⁵ Thus the early phases on the Citadel project were focused on the restoration of the site grounds, and not much was being done to develop a comprehensive vision for the site's interpretation program.

In addition to these internal conflicts, financial limitations complicated the progression of the Citadel's development. Budgetary challenges not only slowed the site's restoration development, but further hindered attempts to flesh out an interpretive program. Only in 1979 was the first formal official planning document for the Citadel created. This document outlined in detail the objectives for the site and provided specific instructions about the remainder of restoration work along with the proposals for an interpretive program. Here was the first time officials had provided an indication of how they wanted the site to be interpreted and outlined the desired living history program. Nonetheless, the Citadel's physical restoration was still prioritized over the implementation of an in-depth interpretive program. The physical restoration work at the Citadel had been plagued with challenges since the project commenced in 1951, but the late 1970s saw strong efforts made to remedy these challenges and complete the work. The next phase of the Citadel's development would move beyond the bricks and mortar of the fortress as site planners began to seriously develop the ideas for the site's interpretation.

¹⁰⁵ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 170.

Chapter Two

Bringing a Fortress to Life: the development of a living history program, 1976-1989.

The physical restoration project was the main focus of the Citadel's early development; it was not until the bulk of that work was near completion in the late 1970s before serious discussions about developing a permanent interpretation program were reflected in the site's documentation. At this stage of the Citadel's interpretation, objectives were set out as general themes that Parks Canada desired to feature at the Halifax Defence Complex. These early themes were dedicated to the military history of the Citadel and to the Halifax area in general. Some sub-themes were selected to be more prominently featured at the Citadel than other sites within the Defence Complex because of its higher capabilities for telling the story of these themes. Planners had a strong desire for a living history program at the Citadel because costumed animation had "the potential to create a greater visitor impact than any other aspect of the [...] development of the site."¹⁰⁶ The presentation of living history at the Citadel had significantly evolved since Parks Canada took possession of the site in 1951.

In 1960 J.D. Herbert began to concentrate the efforts of the historic sites division in the internal development of historic sites, while leaving the exterior physical work in the hands of the engineering division who were in charge at the Citadel. Herbert was very interested in the concept of the living museum, which he described as a "...fort exactly as it was at a given period... include[ing]...having people in period costume doing the jobs and carrying out the tasks which were carried out by the residents of the place in the

¹⁰⁶ Canada, *Management Plan*, 175-176.

given period.”¹⁰⁷ Both Fort Henry and Louisbourg had well established and successful living history programs. While the Citadel would have regular, but sporadic military demonstrations, they were performed by active military regiments and were not historical re-enactments. Moreover, while Herbert desired such an interpretive method, the concept of a permanent military animation program at the Citadel “[did] not seem to have generated much interest in the community or among Federal authorities.”¹⁰⁸ The main cause of this disinterest appears to be due to financial restrictions. In 1969, Robert MacCleave, Member of Parliament for the riding of Hants-East, suggested to Jean Chrétien, who was Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at the time, that the Citadel should have uniformed guards in period costume. Chrétien insisted that the “financial climate precludes any development except preliminary planning in this regard.”¹⁰⁹ Even though there had been varieties of living history present at the Citadel since the Corps of Commissionaires wore period costume in the mid-1950s and these displays were popular, the site had not been allotted funds to make costumed staff and performed demonstrations a permanent fixture. Financial limitations had already slowed the progress of the Citadel’s physical restoration work and would be detrimental to the establishment of a permanent living history program until the late 1970s.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 147.

¹⁰⁸ White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ *Mail Star*, October 7, 1969, 20 as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 18.

Early conceptual development of the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site

The “overall objective” Parks Canada planned for the Citadel was to interpret the restored site in a way that would “enable visitors to understand and appreciate the Citadel as a key element in the military establishment of Halifax,” and understand its role in regional history as well as in North American history in a general sense.¹¹⁰ To portray this to the visitors, a set of three main themes with a variety of sub-themes that illustrated these ideas was established. In an *Interim Concept Plan*, one of the early development plans for the site, a proposed “Statement of Themes and Objectives” outlined general interpretive themes for the Defence Complex. They were divided into three categories: the Halifax Harbour, Halifax as an Imperial naval station, and the Citadel’s role in the defence of the Halifax Harbour.¹¹¹ These three early interpretive themes reflected the heritage values highlighted on the HSMB’s commemorative plaque of the Citadel as “one of four principal naval stations in the British Empire. [...] the Citadel stands today as a reminder of our rich colonial and military past,”¹¹² as well as the established dominance of military history that was popular within Parks Canada’s roster of historic sites. Even though the Massey Commission had singled out the HSMB’s tendency to focus too heavily on military themes nearly three decades earlier, in the eyes of those charged with developing the interpretive program the reason for the Citadel becoming a national historic site was its role in military history and their planned interpretive themes reflected

¹¹⁰ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979: 79, 130.

¹¹¹ Canada, *Halifax Defence Complex Interim Concept Plan*, (Halifax: Parks Canada, 1976): Appendix 1 page 2; Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979: 119-129.

¹¹² Canada, “Directory of Federal Heritage Designations: Halifax Citadel National Historic Site of Canada,” available: http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=281.

that.

It should be noted that from the 1970s onward a new team, called the Halifax Defence Complex Planning Team, was established to oversee all aspects of site planning and operations for the Citadel and the other sites in the Defence Complex, including the development of the living history program. Taking note of the backgrounds of these team members could shed light on their motivations and thought processes while making decisions about the historic site. The Planning Team was comprised of a mixture of visitor experience staff, curators, and historians and was led by Project Manager, Al Peters. Historians on the team were Carol Whitfield (lead), Cameron Pulsifer, and Ron MacDonald. Sandy Balcom and Ross Wilson were the curators involved, with Raymond Troke as the representative for visitor services, and archaeologist John Greenough.¹¹³ Each of the four historians on this team had written on various topics relating to military history, and other team members had naval and military research interests. Team members' backgrounds and research interests in military history were thus in line with the priorities outlined in the Management Plan and the larger framework of the established Canadian heritage narrative to say nothing of the enduring traditional trends in the academic discipline of history.

All recognized that it would be impossible to illustrate the overall mission of the Citadel without discussing the development of the fortress' defence technology. The theme of the "Defense of the Halifax Harbour" was to feature as the "focal point" of

¹¹³ Personal communication with Dave Danskin, Visitor Experience Manager, Halifax Defence Complex, 01 September 2015.

Halifax's land defences and to tell the "complex story" of the Citadel's evolution in fortifications and armament.¹¹⁴ The themes "Halifax Harbour," and "Imperial Naval Station" also highlighted the strategic military importance of the Citadel fortress. The Halifax Harbour theme was to be used to contextualize the fortress within its physical setting focusing on the site's architectural characteristics, topographical features, and its relationship to the Halifax Harbour as well as the rest of the peninsula.¹¹⁵ The goal of the Imperial Naval Station theme was to interpret the "British naval presence in Halifax," exploring the strategic importance of the Citadel in the larger framework of British Imperialism. The Halifax Harbour had long been regarded as a valuable location by inhabitants. Prior to the British settlement of Halifax, the shoreline of the harbour had been used for seasonal encampments by the Mi'kmaq and was a popular traditional hunting and fishing grounds.¹¹⁶ The physical setting of the fort was a fundamental reason for the British military's selection of this area. Halifax was intended first and foremost to be a strategic military defence post for the British, but creating a permanent settlement was also desired. The area that is now Halifax was selected as a strategic military location by the British for two primary reasons regarding the physical setting. First, the large deep harbour was considered an asset as it was believed that the body of water could hold up to one thousand ships. Second, the large drumlin provided an excellent vantage point for the military to view the harbour and clearly deliver flag signal messages to the ships

¹¹⁴ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 76-77.

¹¹⁵ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 119.

¹¹⁶ Mike Parker, *Historic Dartmouth: Images of our Past*, (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1998): v.

below.¹¹⁷ Within ten years following initial settlement of the city and the building of the first Citadel Hill fortress, Halifax was the “staging point” for British military operations against the French at both Louisbourg and Quebec. Halifax’s strategic profile was boosted at this time and was considered by the British to be so integral to their operations that they even insisted on keeping the Royal Navy and Army in the city after forcing the rest of the British colonies to take control of their own defences.¹¹⁸ While the history of the naval presence in Halifax would be mostly interpreted at other sites within the Halifax Defence Complex such as George’s Island National Historic Site, the sub-theme of the British Garrison was created to illustrate the presence of the British Army in Halifax from its 1749 founding until the fort stopped housing British soldiers in 1906. This sub-theme was to have a “major emphasis” at the Citadel because it was the only substantial garrison in the city, with nearly thirty regiments working and living at the fort over its lifetime as an active military site.¹¹⁹

It was decided that a living history program featuring a garrisoned regiment would be put in place at the Citadel. While details for this program were yet to be finalized, it was determined to be the “most unequivocal means available” to convey the theme of the British Garrison. The living history program would be the central means to interpret the site, creating a high profile for these military-centric themes. The original plan to develop the Citadel’s interpretation program was to bring on an interpretive planner. However,

¹¹⁷ Government of Nova Scotia, “Halifax Harbour and the Atlantic Uplands,” Department of Natural Resources. Last modified November 19, 2013, <http://www.novascotia.ca/natr/meb/filed/stop1.asp>.

¹¹⁸ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 124-125.

¹¹⁹ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 120.

budgeting restrictions made the hiring process slow and challenging, so the Planning Team decided to form a sub-committee of internal staff resources.¹²⁰ An Animation Committee comprised of historians was established to research and suggest options for the living history program.¹²¹ This committee was chaired by historian Don Chard. Also on this committee was Richard Young and a pair of unknown others.¹²² This team of historians was responsible for conducting research on potential regiments to be used for a living history program.

Early experiments with Living History

There had been experiments with living history at the Citadel in previous decades; however, what the Animation Committee and Planning Team were working on was creating a permanent animation program. Although there is no doubt that between the project's commencement in 1951 up until 1979 the site's physical restoration had held priority over the development of any permanent interpretation program. The 1979 Management Plan boasted the potential for animation to produce a greater impact on visitors than "any other aspect" of the Citadel's development.¹²³ As noted in the plan:

¹²⁰ Personal e-mail communication with Don Chard, 23 December 2014.

¹²¹ References within official site documents regarding the details of these teams are not available. Information regarding members' names and background has been gathered through personal communication with present and former site employees and internet research.

¹²² When communicating with Don Chard about members of the Animation Committee, he could not remember the names of the two other members, additionally; there is no written documentation about this committee available for consultation. Personal communication with Don Chard, 03 November 2015; Canada, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Park: Operations Plan*, Appendix 3-1.

¹²³ Canada, *Management Plan, 1979*, 177.

“one of the main purposes of the Park is preservation. [...] Preservation is, however, inextricably linked with commemoration and interpretation, [as it] stimulate[s] visitor appreciation of national history.”¹²⁴ However, the Citadel’s restoration was already struggling due to a lack of financial resources. As a result, the additional cost of establishing such a program was placed on the back burner by those in charge. Even so, there had been some early experiments with living history and costumed animation at the Citadel beginning as early as 1954. While these attempts were limited and intermittent, they do confirm that interpretive methods were, at the very least, on the minds of site planners.

Living history is an interpretive method used at museums and historic sites where interpreters dress in costume relative to the period, people, and place that is being commemorated. This type of interactive interpretation was first employed in 1891 by Artur Hazelius, the founder of the pioneer open air museum Skansen located in Sweden. Hazelius believed that artifacts should be exhibited in their cultural context, and that without animation Skansen would be “nothing but a dead museum, a dry shell of the past,” so he brought in musicians to play folk music, people to herd reindeer, and people acting as peasants to “live” in the homes. These costumed interpreters, or *animators*, would tell stories about their characters and the site to visitors while also simulating life in the past.¹²⁵ It became popular almost immediately and within two decades other major national open-air museums were established across Europe, notably in Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Several examples of such museums can be found throughout North

¹²⁴ Canada, *Management Plan, 1979*, 72.

¹²⁵ Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: the World of Living History*, 21-22.

America such as Colonial Williamsburg, which founded its living history program in 1932; the Plymouth Plantation, founded in 1947; and the Citadel's contemporary the Fortress of Louisbourg. The aspiration to have a living history program at the Citadel demonstrates that planners were being inspired by contemporary developments in museology. Along with the physical restoration, the plan was to make the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site both an open-air museum and a living history museum.

The earliest instance of living history being presented at the Citadel was in July 1954. Commissionaires who acted as security guards of the site took over the duty of firing the daily noon gun cannon and wore period uniforms of the original Corps of Commissionaires in mid-nineteenth century England, "complete with expensive English cock feathers on the hat." While it is unclear what prompted the Commissionaires to don period costumes as these costumes were not connected to the Citadel's history, they added a "colourful presence" to the site.¹²⁶ What the Commissionaires were doing was a very limited presentation of living history as it did not make attempts to represent life at the Citadel; however, the presence of guards in costume was clearly appealing to visitors. Indeed, in September 1956, a Sunday attendance record was set with a total 8134 visitors.¹²⁷ The main attraction that month was the Changing of the Guard demonstration that was being executed by the Black Watch (RHC), who were stationed in Halifax at the time. It is important to differentiate between the activities performed by the Black Watch and costumed period animation. The Black Watch was an active regiment that was performing the Changing of the Guard because they were stationed at the Citadel and it

¹²⁶ *Mail Star*, 2 March 1960, 4, as cited in White, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 8.

¹²⁷ White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 7.

would have been part of its standard duties; whereas, a costumed performance would emulate a historic regiment and time. Nevertheless, these military demonstrations were popular and it was suggested in the *Mail Star* in 1960 that making the activity a permanent establishment at the Citadel would “greatly enhance the popularity and prestige” of the site.¹²⁸ Yet no action was taken by Parks Canada officials to establish any permanent military demonstrations. However, military drills continued to be performed on site by various units, albeit irregularly. The amount of military activities performed at the Citadel depended on availability. For example, the Changing of the Guard was only performed for a single week in 1959 because of regimental training commitments elsewhere.¹²⁹

“A living, breathing monument:” living history at the Halifax Citadel

The Planning Team had from the outset decided that the most viable method for communicating the story of the British military’s influence in Halifax was to “recreate that presence” within the Citadel. They recognized the success of the presence of guards in historic uniforms at other historic sites, finding that this method provided visitors with a “living link to the past.” Parks Canada had employed animation programs at other historic sites such as the Fortress of Louisbourg, Fort Henry, Fort George, and Lower Fort Gary, and the Halifax Citadel’s layout provided “an excellent setting” for such a

¹²⁸ *Mail Star*, April 8, 1985, 3 as cited in White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 8.

¹²⁹ White, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site*, 8.

program.¹³⁰ The goal was to go a step beyond the physical restoration to create “a living, breathing monument” that would allow its visitors to interact with the fort’s history in “a real way.”¹³¹ To achieve this, the Planning Team designed a living history interpretive program featuring staff in period costume performing re-enactments of military activities such as guard and rampant sentry duty, barrack inspections, and escort duty for artillery. Unlike the Commissionaires’ limited living history presentation in the 1950s, this new program would expand the way the Citadel would be interpreted through animation. Along with the re-enactment of military drills, the living history program would also show visitors what everyday life was like for the soldiers. The fort’s “imposing” iron and granite walls “virtually excludes the twentieth century,” and the Citadel’s Parade acts as a compact amphitheatre to provide an “excellent setting” for animation.¹³²

It was decided that the animation program would include an eighty-five-man re-enacted garrison regiment. Yet the living history program allowed potential for a broader range of types of history in the interpretation program by including women and civilians such as merchants and tradespeople. These roles were casually mentioned in planning documents; however, there was no evidence in these plans of detailed development of these roles. Particularly in regard to staffing numbers, the 1979 management plan outlined that the roles for 78th Highlanders would require eighty-five staff; yet, the staffing strength requirements for roles such as soldiers’ wives and children, civilians, merchants

¹³⁰ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 175.

¹³¹ “The Restoration of the Halifax Citadel,” Youtube, posted by Parks Canada, January 14, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FERU-Q--14k>.

¹³² Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 175.

and tradesmen were not specified.¹³³ These roles were set to be developed later, between 1985 and 1987.¹³⁴ Clearly, the priority was on the garrison and officials chose to restrict the living history program to having animators costumed in regimental garb perform various military drills and re-enactments.

The Animation Committee was to research and compile a short list of recommended regiments. They established two pre-conditions a regiment must have met before it would be considered. First, the regiment had to have been stationed at the Halifax Citadel between 1856 and 1878, in view of the fact the fourth Citadel fortress – the version selected to be restored – was formally declared complete in 1856, and 1878 was the year officers left the barracks of the Citadel for other accommodations. Second, the regiment must have served a standard posting length in Halifax of approximately two years. A regiment with a comparable tenure was desired because planners wanted the animated regiment to have a “legitimate connection with the Citadel,” which would be less likely in regiments who were only stationed there for a short term.¹³⁵ All regiments stationed at the Citadel between 1860 and 1875 would be considered.¹³⁶ Over the course of approximately eight months, the Animation Committee conducted their historical review on eleven regiments. This research highlighted each regiment’s battle honours, key figures, and record of service throughout the world, with emphasis on each regiment’s time in Halifax.¹³⁷

¹³³ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, as quoted in Canada, *Operations Plan*, 41-42.

¹³⁴ Canada, *Operations Plan*, 47.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, Appendix 3-2.

¹³⁶ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 177.

¹³⁷ Canada, *Operations Plan*: Appendix 3-3.

After research was complete, a shortlist was created of the top five regiments which were deemed “slightly superior” to the others: the 60th Regiment of Foot, 87th Regiment of Foot, 97th Regiment of Foot, 63rd Regiment of Foot, and the 78th Regiment of Foot. Historical reviews of these five regiments revealed a “surprising sameness” among troops, with a regimental musical band and colorful uniforms being common among those on the short-list. The selection process was stalled for roughly eight months while historical research on each of the eligible regiments was conducted. The 60th Regiment of Foot was deemed to be the “strongest option on the basis of historical considerations alone.” This North American regiment was posted in Halifax nine times. During their posting between 1871 and 1876, the regiment’s green uniforms and “superior” band gave them “an unusually high” public profile. The second shortlisted regiment was the 87th Regiment of Foot, whose distinctive uniform, love of sporting events, and “easy-going attitude” earned the respect of the public. The 87th only had one posting in Halifax, but at an extent of fifty-three months, it was one of the longest postings of any of the eleven eligible regiments.¹³⁸ The third shortlisted regiment was the 78th Highlander Regiment of Foot, which was posted in Halifax from 1869 and 1871. While this was the only posting of the 78th in Halifax, it was found that the regiment earned the “complete respect” of the public for their “orderly conduct and extensive involvement” in the local community. Researchers determined that the 78th Regiment may have had a higher public profile than any other shortlisted regiment due to the greater than usual amount of farewell columns dedicated to them upon their departure in

¹³⁸ Ibid, Appendix 3- 3,5.

November 1871. Several newspapers published stories regarding the regiment upon their departure, including religious papers such as the Presbyterian *Witness* and the Baptist *Christian Messenger* writing about the event and the troop at length.¹³⁹ Then there was the 97th Regiment of Foot, whose two postings in Halifax, from 1848 to 1853 and from 1876 to 1880, bracket the timeframe laid out in the initial criteria. The regiment is memorialized in Halifax by the Welsford-Parker Monument, a triumphal arch located in the Old Burial Ground in downtown Halifax. This arch commemorates the Crimean War with specific focus on Major Augustus Welsford of the 97th Regiment of Foot and Captain Parker of the 78th Highlander Regiment. However, the regiment's reputation in Halifax was slightly damaged by the actions of two regiment defaulters who broke shop windows in August 1880 in an event referred to as the "Hollis Street Outrage." The final shortlisted regiment for the animation program was the 63rd Regiment of Foot. This regiment had the longest posting in Halifax with duration of sixty-eight months from 1856 to 1861. One of the regiment's most notable events during this posting was assisting locals in extinguishing a serious fire in downtown Halifax.

In addition to the historical criteria considered by the Animation Committee, the Planning Team had "other considerations" of its own regarding the "operational and public relations concerns" of the park.¹⁴⁰ Taking these into account "fell outside the mandate" of the Animation Committee. In order to best serve the interpretive needs of the park, the Planning Team wanted a regiment that had also strong ties to the local

¹³⁹ Cameron Pulsifer, "A Highland Regiment in Halifax: the 78th Highland Regiment of Foot and the Scottish National/Cultural Factor in Nova Scotia's Capital, 1869-71," in *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990*, Marjory Harper and Michael Vance, eds., (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1999): 145.

¹⁴⁰ Canada, *Operations Plan*, Appendix 3-14.

community while stationed at the Citadel. They also considered each groups' potential "marketability." They favoured a garrison regiment that could "capture the imagination" of its visitors as well as the municipal and provincial government with the hope of receiving funding from them in the future. The marketability of the garrison regiment was a "valid and significant consideration" because funding for cultural resources was sparse at this time. A garrison's marketability was dependant on its physical appearance as it was thought to be "unlikely" that a regiment's historical association to the Citadel alone would properly capture the imagination of visitors. It was important that the selected regiment yield the acceptance of the public and ideally the provincial government because it, and by extension the Citadel, would have the potential to be featured in tourism promotion campaigns, which would provide excellent publicity for the site.¹⁴¹ While Citadel planners were always aware that the site would function within the local tourism industry, they always strived ensure the site would not be mistaken with a theme park. In the first site management plan from 1979, Parks Canada responded to concern from the public that animation programs "tend to be too commercial," by stating that commercialism will not be permitted to interfere with preservation and commemoration."¹⁴² The sentiment was the same at Fort Henry and Louisbourg. Historian Ronald Lawrence Way, who supervised the restoration projects at both sites, believed that the restoration of such historic sites could "arouse the imagination and stimulate historical understanding." Furthermore, he highly valued being as in-depth as possible within these site restorations, believing that historical authenticity equated

¹⁴¹ Ibid, Appendix 3-7,8.

¹⁴² Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, Appendix 2, 14.

integrity.¹⁴³

In the end, the Planning Team selected the 78th Highlander Regiment of Foot (Ross-Shire Buffs) as their “preferred” choice over the 60th Regiment that was the top recommended by the Animation Committee. The Planning Team decided to put more weight on the 78th Regiment’s marketability factors, stating that those factors “eclipsed the benefits to be derived from selecting the regiment that had the most favourable historical record.”¹⁴⁴ The team felt the Highlander’s “impressive” uniform and pipe and drum band would “capture the imagination and support” of visitors from abroad and locally “much more significantly” than the other options put forward by the Animation Committee. Indeed, the only other animation program in North America that used a Highland Regiment was a small program in Montreal, making the Highland-themed animation at the Citadel part of a “very special experience.” Second, the Planning Team argued that Highland pageantry had a “well-established and unequivocally successful record” in Canada and would give the park an “extra-ordinary degree of exposure.” Lastly, it was the hope of the Planning Team that using the 78th Highlanders as the face of the animation program would provide the Citadel opportunities to receive funding from local governments. More specifically, they were hopeful that long-standing support shown by the municipal and provincial governments for Scottish heritage would be extended, financially, to their program. The annual Gathering of the Clans festival held in Pugwash, Nova Scotia had received funding from the City of Halifax and the Province of

¹⁴³ Gordon, *Time Travel*, 64, 174-175.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Appendix 3-14.

Nova Scotia and planners were hopeful that this support would “be translated” to extra finances for the Citadel.¹⁴⁵ This interest in Highland traditions by the government aligned with the wider tourism narrative that had been developed by the Provincial government in the second quarter of the twentieth century that focused on Nova Scotia as having an inherently Scottish past. Key Nova Scotian emblems such as the Provincial flag, coat of arms, and official tartan all directly linked the province to a Scottish heritage by declaring Nova Scotia to be New Scotland.¹⁴⁶ Historian Ian McKay described this as “tartanism” and argued that the concept of a strong connection between Nova Scotia and Scottish heritage was able to become a “common sense notion” due to Premier Angus L. MacDonald’s invested interest in the topic during his tenure.¹⁴⁷ Parks Canada was aware of their need to function within the tourism industry and ultimately felt that the 78th Highland Regiment would promptly become a “symbol” for Halifax and Nova Scotia within their “ambitious tourism promotion.”¹⁴⁸ This would provide excellent international publicity for the site and draw visitors. Symbolism in the provincial flag, coat of arms, and official tartan all signalled that Nova Scotia had a connection to a Scottish past and the decision to feature a Scottish Highland regiment at the Citadel would cement the historic site’s place within this narrative.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, Appendix 3-13,14.

¹⁴⁶ Ian McKay, “Tartanism Triumphant: the Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954,” *Acadiensis* XXI:2 (Spring 1992): 6; Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: the making of the public past in twentieth-century Nova Scotia*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁷ Ian McKay, “Tartanism Triumphant,” 9.

¹⁴⁸ Canada, *Operations Plan*, Appendix 3-14.

The Planning Team understood that for the Citadel to be successful, the site would have to be marketed well. They chose the 78th Highlanders to be the featured garrison regiment which was “the most visible, and therefore one of the most powerful, elements of the Citadel’s animation program.”¹⁴⁹ In between 1980 and 1985, the animation program would be refined by the development of training material and the new program featuring the 78th Highlander Regiment would be “fully operational” by 1985. Indeed, the presence of the 78th was not a part of the Citadel’s marketing campaign until 1985. From 1981 to 1984, *Nova Scotia: Where to stay, what to see, what to do*, the provincial government’s “principal tourism marketing publication,”¹⁵⁰ described the Citadel to potential visitors by pointing out that:

This hilltop fortress was built in 1828 on the site of three previous citadels dating to 1749. Although never attacked, the Citadel fortifications formed the major element in the HDC – the bastion of British Imperial control in North America. Some of its unique features include the musketry gallery, the view of the Halifax Harbour and the other defences and the fact that it was designed to house, feed, and arm an entire garrison. [...] A 50 minute sight and sound theatre presentation on the history of Halifax and its defences. An exhibit on how the Citadel is being restored. An exhibit on powder magazines and gunpowder. A detention cell reproduced to appearance circa 1850.¹⁵¹

One of the main objectives of the Citadel was for visitors to understand the Citadel’s position as a “key element in the military establishment of Halifax.”¹⁵² By highlighting the site’s military history and the “unique features” related to the fort’s armament, potential visitors were primed to view the Citadel for its military history. It is clear that before 1985

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, Appendix 3-1

¹⁵⁰ Nova Scotia Archives, “‘Canada’s Ocean Playground:’ The Tourism Industry in Nova Scotia, 1870-1970,” available: <https://novascotia.ca/archives/tourism/archives.asp?ID=378>.

¹⁵¹ Nova Scotia, *Nova Scotia: Where to stay, what to see, what to do: 1981* (Halifax: Tourism Nova Scotia, 1985)

¹⁵² Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 79, 130.

it was the exhibits that were being marketed to tourists, not the animation program. In 1985, the write-up for the Citadel was expanded to promote the newly implemented garrison regiment. Now visitors would know to expect to see “men attired as soldiers of the Royal Artillery and the 18th [sic] Highlanders of 1869,” performing activities such as “firing the noon gun, artillery and infantry drill, operation of the powder magazine, changing of the sentries, signaling and piping demonstrations.”¹⁵³ Along with the textual description of the garrison’s activities in the site’s listing in this tourism directory, the imagery of the Highlanders aligned with provincial tourism campaigns.

* * * *

The fort’s physical restoration project was the priority of planners throughout the 1950s and 60s which delayed detailed development of an interpretive program. In the 1970s the Planning Team and Animation Committee worked to implement a permanent living history program focusing on animation of the 78th Highlanders. One of the central factors the Planning Team considered when selecting a regiment was its marketability. Parks Canada understood that the Citadel would have to fit into the local tourism industry to be successful. Utilizing a Scottish regiment like the 78th allowed the site to integrate itself within the long standing tourism strategy of “tarantism.”

It was clear that Parks Canada was primarily focused on interpreting the Citadel largely through the lens of military history as they had been since the 1950s. This in turn meant that only one aspect of the fort’s history would be brought to life. The focus was on

¹⁵³ Nova Scotia, *Nova Scotia: Where to stay, what to see, what to do: 1981* (Halifax: Tourism Nova Scotia, 1985)

the garrison, as the soldiers would be the central draw. The presence of costumed guards interpreting the 78th Highlander Regiment of Foot performing onsite demonstrations of military activities such as sentry duty, guard duty, and musketry and bayonet drills brought the story of garrison to life for the visitors.¹⁵⁴ While this aligned with the commemorative trends of the HSMB and traditional themes of history from before Massey, (and a bit after as well), the Citadel was working behind the field of history where new themes such as social history were emerging since the 1960s. The Citadel's significance remained viewed in military terms.

¹⁵⁴ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 175-176.

Chapter Three

Living whose history? Challenges, controversy, and changes to the living history interpretive program at the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site in the 1990s.

By the 1990s, shifting interpretive priorities at Parks Canada inspired by wider social history development led to changes to interpretive programming. Many of these changes were happening simultaneously at the Citadel and throughout Parks Canada's national system of historic sites. The advancements being made in the Citadel's interpretive program reflected controversies over employment policies as well as the larger framework of commemorative ideals and developments within the academic discipline of history.

The 1990s was a decade of change for interpretation in Parks Canada's system of National Historic Sites. The department had a "formal, long range" plan for its historic sites in place since 1981; however, this plan focused on economic and industrial topics. A decade later, Parks Canada began acting on the goal to create "more complete [and] more inclusive" historic sites by including women's history, Aboriginal and cultural communities within their network of historic sites.¹⁵⁵ It is important to note that these were new priorities regarding commemoration, not interpretation. Former Parks Canada historian, Alan B McCullough¹⁵⁶, explains that there is a distinction between

¹⁵⁵ Alan B. McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History," in *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, Dubrow, Gail Lee and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003): 340.

¹⁵⁶ McCullough was a Parks Canada historian until 1998. He was responsible for the research aspects of Parks Canada's initiative to expand commemoration into the field of women's history. Dubrow, Gail Lee and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003): 431.

*commemoration and interpretation.*¹⁵⁷ The act of commemoration at a Parks Canada site is defined as “the means by which Canada gives official recognition to subjects of national significance;” whereas interpretation utilizes “specialized activities” to demonstrate “an understanding and appreciation of the historic value” of a historic site to the public. A site’s interpretation provided an opportunity to present a “multifaceted view” of a site by exploring elements like gender, class, and ethnicity that add context to the commemorative theme.¹⁵⁸ The introduction of these new commemorative priorities was overdue, as Parks Canada historic sites had not kept pace with the wider social developments and parallel developments in the field of social history. The inclusion of women’s history among these developmental priorities was “largely recognition of the growth of the field and of the need to make [historic sites] more representative of the Canadian population.”¹⁵⁹ The academic field of women’s history had been rising since the 1960s, and by 1990 Parks Canada was struggling to keep up with this its popularity.¹⁶⁰ In an assessment of historic sites in Ontario, gender historian Katherine McKenna argued that the importance of the rising academic field of women’s history was not translating

¹⁵⁷ This distinction between these two terms is not unique to Parks Canada. The Oxford Dictionary defines the words interpret and commemorate as “explain the meaning of (information or actions),” and “mark or celebrate (an event or person) by doing or producing something,” respectively. “Commemorate: Definition of Commemorate in English from the Oxford Dictionary,” accessed 01 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/commemorate>; “Interpret: Definition of Interpret in English from the Oxford Dictionary,” accessed 01 July 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/interpret>.

¹⁵⁸ McCullough, “Parks Canada and Women’s History,” 347.

¹⁵⁹ McCullough, personal communication with Christina Cameron, director-general, National Historic Sites, January 6 1998, as cited in McCullough, “Parks Canada and Women’s History,” 340.

¹⁶⁰ McCullough, “Parks Canada and Women’s History,” 337, 340.

into the historic sites dominated by military themes and male interpreters. McKenna argued that although women's history was established as a "vital and respected field of study," minimal impact had been seen in the interpretation programs of historic sites. This was also reflected in the designations of the HSMB. Throughout the 1950s to the 1980s, the average percentage of definitions made by the HSMB of persons, places, and events related to women's history was just 4.45 per cent.¹⁶¹

Controversy and changes to the living history program in the early 1990s:

Living history had long been present at the Citadel in limited, experimental ways. The Citadel's animation program featuring the 78th Highlanders that was established in 1985 was the most visible form of interpretation on-site to date. One of the primary aims of the Citadel was historical accuracy within its presentation. This goal was explicitly stated in its "Interpretive Guidelines" which were established to ensure objectivity of decision-making, stating that "information presented to the visitor [...] should be historically accurate."¹⁶² This requirement, by definition, would limit the eligibility of certain groups of people wishing to be employed as costumed soldiers in the animation program. More to the point, it meant that the ones hired to interpret the soldiers had to be young, white males. This became official hiring policy for the costumed soldier roles at the site in 1984.¹⁶³ By the early 1990s the Citadel's policies would be challenged by

¹⁶¹ Diane Dodd, "Canadian Historic Sites and Plaques: Heroines, Trailblazers, The Famous Five," *Canadian Historic Sites and Plaques* 6:2 (2009): 34-35.

¹⁶² Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 132.

¹⁶³ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05274, "Investigation Report," December 3, 1990.

activist groups, local media, and the public.

The Citadel was not the only historic site to employ such a policy. Both the Fortress of Louisbourg and Fort Henry limited jobs as costumed soldiers to white men to preserve the appearance of historical accuracy. Like the 78th Highlanders in Halifax, the Fort Henry Guard, a modern-day regiment represented the military past at Fort Henry performed military drills, fired a gun cannon and rifle shots, as well as performed marches throughout the fort parade.¹⁶⁴ From 1938 to the 1980s only young male students from nearby Queen's University dressed in costume military garb to portray the Fort Henry Guard were hired. While Louisbourg employed women in costumed roles as soldiers' wives, the soldier positions were limited to men. It should be noted that in early 1979, P.A. Thompson, Atlantic Regional Director for Parks Canada had solicited the Canadian Human Rights Commission for advice regarding the hiring practice at the Fortress of Louisbourg for costumed soldier positions. Thompson wanted to know if the hiring for soldier roles could be restricted to only white males "on the grounds of historical accuracy." A human rights officer from the Commission spent one month evaluating the specifics of Louisbourg's living history staffing requirements and determined that in this specific case the restriction of eligible candidates based on a requirement of historical accuracy was "both appropriate and necessary." Although Thompson had originally only asked the Commission about restricting the costumed roles of soldiers to male candidates, the Commission granted approval to limit hiring based on historical authenticity for all costumed positions within the living history program at

¹⁶⁴ Fort Henry Guard Club of Canada, "About the FHGCC," available: <https://fhgclub.wildapricot.org/About-the-Fort-Henry-Guard>.

Louisbourg where the employee was playing a specific “role.” In other words, the Commission viewed the need for authenticity as an acceptable reason for the site to select candidates based on characteristics that the Canadian Human Rights Act and the Public Service Employment Act would normally proscribe such as gender and race.¹⁶⁵

The Citadel was thus following a practice that was both well established and presumably legal. But a decade later the hiring practices at the Citadel were publically put into question. On February 24, 1990 Haamid Rasheed, spokesperson for the Black United Front,¹⁶⁶ spoke out against the lack of black history presented at the Citadel. Rasheed’s opinion was that it was “fine” if there were no blacks in the 78th Highlander Regiment historically, but that fact should not exclude the site from “including blacks in some other way, shape, or form, or fashion,” and that they should be “reflected to some extent in the workforce” at the site. He argued that the interpretive narrative at the Citadel did not properly represent the contribution to the province and fortress’ history by black Nova Scotians. Rasheed was referring specifically to contributions of the Jamaican Maroons, who lived on the garrison grounds and helped build elements of the fourth

¹⁶⁵ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05274, “Enclosure 2: Letter to P.A. Thompson from Gordon Fairweather of the Canadian Human Rights Commission,” February 21, 1979.

¹⁶⁶ “The [Black United Front] began as a grassroots social reform organization that was dedicated to campaigning for black equality and political and economic empowerment. Led in its early years by an Interim Council, the group worked to secure provincial funding and was formally incorporated under the Societies’ Act in 1970. It was later governed by a Provincial Council comprised of elected representatives from black communities throughout Nova Scotia, and formally operated until the mid-1990s.” Patti Ryan, “Black United Front of Nova Scotia records come to York University Libraries,” York University Libraries, n.d., accessed 01-20-2017, available: <http://www.library.yorku.ca/cms/yulnews/2013/02/06/black-united-front-of-nova-scotia-records-come-to-york-university-libraries>.

Citadel fortress during their time in Halifax from 1796 to 1800.¹⁶⁷

In notably quick succession, on February 28, 1990, Yvonne Atwell, Spokesperson for the Afro-Canadian Caucus of Nova Scotia, launched a complaint with the Canadian Human Rights Commission against the Canadian Parks Service regarding the staffing of costumed animators at the Halifax Citadel each summer. Her complaint criticized a hiring policy which “restricts recruitment and hiring to White males, for those jobs depicting members of the 78th Highlander Regiment and the Royal Artillery,” which Atwell argued “discriminates against [her], a Black Nova Scotian, and against Black people as a class of individuals.”¹⁶⁸ Atwell used the following statement to describe the basis of her complaint:

The animation program conducted each summer at the Halifax Citadel, attempting to portray a selected segment of the 19th century history at the Citadel, restricts recruitment and hiring to White males, for those jobs depicting members of the 78th Highlander Regiment and the Royal Artillery. This policy and practice and the agreements entered into by the Canadian Parks Service with the Friends of the Citadel in order to implement the program, deny Black Canadians and other visible minorities, employment opportunities.¹⁶⁹

The public discourse on race and hiring at the Citadel continued to be discussed in newspapers and gained momentum on March 15, 1990 when an undated postcard depicting three costumed guards at the Citadel’s front gate – two white and one black –

¹⁶⁷ Mark Renouf, “Citadel racial policies miss point – BUF,” *The Chronicle Herald*, 24 February 1990, 3; Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: a history*, 2nd edition, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997): 78-90; John N. Grant, *The Maroons in Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: Formac Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁸ Library Archives Canada (LAC), RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Complaint form.”

¹⁶⁹ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Complaint form.”

was published by *The Daily News*.¹⁷⁰ When asked about the postcard by the newspaper, park Superintendent Dan Mullaly estimated it was printed in the late 1970s, before the historical accuracy policy was implemented. He explained that before this policy was introduced in 1984, the animated program was “largely for the sake of entertainment more than anything else,” and that the new program was designed to portray history “accurately and completely.”¹⁷¹

As these complaints garnered attention, more suggestions for content improvement was published in newspapers. Along with Rasheed’s suggestion of including the Maroons’ story, another potential candidate to reflect black history at the Citadel was suggested in a piece written by journalist Charles Saunders in the “Perspective” section of the *Chronicle Herald* on March 4, 1990. Saunders suggested that the Citadel “[drop] at least one soldier from the [Highlander] regiment, and hire somebody to portray William Hall;” the first Canadian, first Nova Scotian, and first black man to be awarded the Victoria Cross.¹⁷² By choosing to use a historically accurate portrayal of the all-white 78th Highlanders as the exclusive vehicle for interpretive narrative, the Halifax Citadel’s interpretive program was neglecting the contributions of the Black Nova Scotian community to the Citadel’s history while simultaneously denying them employment opportunities.

¹⁷⁰ Peter McLaughlin, “Blacks wore period garb on Citadel before 1980,” *The Daily News*, March 15, 1990, 3; Another *Daily News* reporter, Charles Saunders, later revealed in an editorial that he was the one to submit the postcard to the newspaper to “cast some light on the issue.” Charles Saunders, “Animated debate on Citadel hiring turns ugly,” *The Daily News*, March 18, 1990, 14.

¹⁷¹ McLaughlin, “Blacks wore period garb on Citadel before 1980.”

¹⁷² Charles Saunders, “Citadel hiring issue no trivial matter,” *The Chronicle Herald*, March 4, 1990, 17.

Clashing views over historical accuracy and inclusion at the Citadel were not just limited to defenders of the excluded and other members of the public but extended to government officials as well. Those in positions of authority immediately stepped in to weigh in on the issue and remarkably many expressed clear support for the proposed changes. Less than one month after the issue was brought up in the press Maxwell Yalden, Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, was asked during a meeting with the press on March 3, 1990 if the displeasure of “blacks and other groups” regarding the limitations put on costumed soldier positions had been brought to the attention of the Commission and if he was aware of any intention of Parks Canada to “broaden the nature of the scope of the enactment on Citadel Hill.” Yalden confirmed that this issue had been brought to the Commission’s attention and that there was an active complaint being investigated.¹⁷³ He did not comment on the specifics of the complaint, but expressed his opinion on the issue in general terms. He questioned whether “exact historical reproductions” were the only acceptable type of interpretation and did not think it would be a “shocking notion” for a non-white person to take part in such commemoration. He added that he hoped that “as the century grinds slowly to an end,” Parks Canada would “catch up with the rest of us,” in terms of inclusive hiring practices.¹⁷⁴ This was not the first time Yalden had expressed his thoughts on hiring practices at the Halifax Citadel. In a letter dated February 23, 1990, just five days before Atwell filed her first complaint, Yalden had written to Dr. Len Good, Deputy Minister for

¹⁷³ Yalden is speaking here about Atwell’s complaint that was filed on February 28, 1990. LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “[Press meeting transcript], March 3, 1990.”

¹⁷⁴ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “[Press meeting transcript], March 3, 1990.”

the Department of the Environment addressing potential issues that could arise when “denying employment to individuals of the basis of colour or sex.” Although the Commission had yet to receive a formal complaint at the time of his writing the letter, Yalden had already expressed concern that the Citadel’s hiring practice seemed “out of step with current realities.”¹⁷⁵

In addition to her official complaint about racial discrimination, Atwell launched another complaint on April 4, 1990 alleging that the same hiring policy for costumed animators “discriminates against [her] because of [her] sex [...] and against women as a class of individuals.”¹⁷⁶ This complaint was bolstered by a second complaint filed on May 25, 1990 by Janet Stevenson, Spokesperson for the Metro-Halifax Regional Women’s Committee. Both complaints alleged the Halifax Citadel deprived women of employment opportunities based on gender, which violated sections 10(a)(b) of the Canadian Human Rights Act which stated that:

It is a discriminatory practice for an employer, employee organization or employer organization [...] to enter into an agreement affecting recruitment, referral, hiring, promotion, training, apprenticeship, transfer or any other matter relating to employment or prospective employment, that deprives or tends to deprive an individual or class of individuals of any employment opportunities on a prohibited ground of discrimination.¹⁷⁷

While the 1979 Management Plan stated that “a well-rounded animation program should

¹⁷⁵ It is not clear what prompted Yalden to write this letter; LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Letter to Dr. Len Good from Maxwell Yalden, February 23 1990.”

¹⁷⁶ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Complaint form.”

¹⁷⁷ *Canadian Human Rights Act 1985*, c. H-6, s. 10. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-6/>.

include soldiers' wives and children," and even outlined the interpretive role of "a woman with a small child [who] is carrying laundry to the barracks,"¹⁷⁸ there is no evidence to suggest that these roles were included in the animation program before the complaints were filed in 1990.¹⁷⁹ In fact, the Human Rights Commission's investigation of Atwell and Stevenson's complaints found that "the animation program did not include that segment of life."¹⁸⁰ The idea of expanding the interpretive narratives at the Citadel to include the history of women does not appear to have generated as much support as the idea of including more black history. Indeed, interestingly enough, complaints about gender-based discrimination did not appear to have spurred as much public debate, certainly not in the press. Even though both were covered in local news reports, editorial and public commentary regarding women being included more at the Citadel were, for the most part, absent from newspaper publication. Alas, broadening the scope of historical narratives presented at the Citadel to include women's history was never the goal. The goal was always to create employment equity, which was met by allowing women to portray male soldiers. While Atwell's complaint about racial discrimination caused by the hiring policy prompted the Citadel to conduct research on new black figures to add to the animation program to expand the narrative to include black history, no such suggestions were brought about to bring in more women's history. Although inserting women's history in a meaningful way at a site like the Halifax Citadel could be challenging due to its masculine military theme, including an additional presentation of women's roles

¹⁷⁸ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 139.

¹⁷⁹ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1979, 178; Alan B. McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History," 348.

¹⁸⁰ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, "Investigation Report," December 3, 1990.

within the fort would allow for a more complex telling of the site's history and its relationship with the community.

When asked about the issue of the Citadel's hiring policy being discriminatory, Multiculturalism Minister, Gerald Weiner, said that it must be changed "to reflect the realities of the 1990s."¹⁸¹ It is apparent that Weiner felt strongly about the issue, going as far as to say that the exclusion of non-white persons from the animation program on the basis of ethnicity was "unacceptable" and "violates our international obligations on human rights."¹⁸² One of Weiner's responsibilities as Multiculturalism Minister was minority rights and he committed to discussing the policy with the Minister of the Environment, Lucien Bouchard, since the Canadian Parks Service fell under Bouchard's jurisdiction. At the same time, Bouchard also expressed his opinion on the matter with the media. He acknowledged the hiring practices were in place to ensure historical accuracy, but was ready to concede that "there must be ways to enlarge the scope of the animation," while "always respect[ing] history."¹⁸³ Though politicians and well placed federal officials appeared to be sympathetic, if not outright supportive, of the complaints.

Officials at the Citadel persisted in defending their hiring policy by citing the need for historical accuracy in the site's commemoration of garrison life at the fort in 1868. At the time all members of 78th Highlander Regiment and the Royal Artillery were white

¹⁸¹ Don MacDonald, "Highland ranks closed – Ottawa," *The Mail Star*, March 17, 1990, A1.

¹⁸² Campbell Morrison, "Federal ministers clash over Citadel hiring policy," *The Daily News*, March 25, 1990, 5.

¹⁸³ MacDonald, "Highland ranks closed – Ottawa;" Morrison, "Federal ministers clash over Citadel hiring policy;" McLaughlin, "Blacks wore period garb on Citadel before 1980."

males which to their minds validated the Citadel's position regarding historical accuracy.¹⁸⁴ This being said, Dr. Good, Deputy Minister for the Department of the Environment, did respond to Yalden's letter and the official complaints filed by Atwell and Stevenson assuring them that the Canadian Parks Service was willing to "make whatever changes [were] necessary" to resolve the issue, including reviewing the policy in question and exploring ways to modify the Citadel's interpretation "in order to highlight the contributions of black and other groups to the Citadel's rich history."¹⁸⁵

Indeed, the site worked quickly to remedy the complaints. Effective July 6, 1990, the Citadel's animation program hiring policy was changed. In a letter dated July 16, 1990, Good assured the Human Rights Commission that Environment Canada was "unequivocally committed to equal employment" and stressed that "open hiring" had always been applied at the Citadel, with the "focused" animation program being the only exception. However, Good promised that the Citadel's interpretation program would be altered for the following season to protect historical accuracy while also respecting a commitment to employment equity – in future seasons, hiring for soldiers would no longer be restricted to white males. In a meeting with the Human Rights Commission, both complainants expressed their satisfaction with the changes made to the program and all three complaints were officially closed on December 3, 1990.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, "Investigation Report," December 3, 1990.

¹⁸⁵ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, "Letter from Dr. Len Good to Maxwell Yalden," March 26, 1990.

¹⁸⁶ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05315, "Investigation Report, December 3, 1990."

Hiring for the 1990 season was “already well advanced” when the complaints were filed as the deadline for candidates’ applications was February 5, 1990, but Citadel administrators took “immediate steps” to expand the animation program. It was decided that the animation program for the 1990 season would be expanded to include the costumed portrayal of a five-member contingent of the Royal Naval Brigade which served at the Citadel during its interpretive time period. This brigade included “a number of” Black soldiers. The Citadel would reserve these positions as part of an “Affirmative Action Program.” A job posting was sent to Student Employment Centres in Halifax advertising the Naval Brigade animation roles, specifically requesting Black applicants. However, by April 18th “only one Black applicant came forward;” he was hired along with four white applicants to fill out the Brigade for the 1990 summer season.¹⁸⁷ In an effort to create interpretive roles relating to black history for future seasons, historian David States was hired by Parks Canada to produce three essays on black history subjects in relation to the Halifax Citadel including the Jamaican Maroons in Nova Scotia, black involvement in Nova Scotia militia from 1800 to 1914, and the life and career of William Hall, featuring an exploration of “black recruitment for the Royal Navy” – that could potentially be utilized for additional animation roles.¹⁸⁸ This research was to be conducted from June 1, 1990 to May 31, 1991 under the supervision of Ron MacDonald, Chief, Historical Resources and would “lay the ground work for an expansion of the [Citadel’s]

¹⁸⁷ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Letter from Dr. Len Good to Hugh McKervill,” July 16, 1990; LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05274, “Investigation Report, December 3, 1990.”

¹⁸⁸ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Letter from DF Mullaly, Superintendent, Halifax Defence Complex to Gerald Roy, Human Rights Commission, May 16, 1990.”

interpretive program.” To remedy the complaint regarding hiring practices discriminatory against women the animation program was also expanded to include five positions for female costumed animators in the roles of soldiers’ wives.

The Citadel would not be the only fort with a living history program to loosen their hiring policies at this time. However, it would be the first major site to do so before Parks Canada initiated change across their system of historic sites. During the Commission’s investigation of the Citadel, Good also articulated that in addition to the changes to its hiring policy, similar changes would be coming on a wider level to the Parks Service’s interpretive programs, stating that:

“the Parks Service has undertaken an intensive review of its policies with regard to personal interpretive services, which involve uniformed guides, costumed guides, and costumed animators. That review has led to the conclusion that the Service must respect the requirement for strict equity in hiring ; no decision in that regard [would] be made based on any consideration of gender, race, colour or creed.¹⁸⁹

Thus, while Atwell and Stevenson’s complaints and the scope of the Human Rights Commission’s investigation were exclusively focused on the Citadel, the end result led to the Parks Service considering systematic change. While Parks Canada was conducting research on how to incorporate women within commemorations in their nationwide system of historic sites, staff at the Halifax Citadel were also learning how to do the same at their site. On January 24 and 26, 1993 there were two public consultations held at the Citadel.¹⁹⁰ Newsletters released to the public advertised these sessions as an “opportunity

¹⁸⁹ LAC, RG84-A-2, series R5747-6-9-E, accession 94-0514-00 HFRC, file A05286, “Letter from Dr. Len Good to Hugh McKervill,” July 16, 1990.

¹⁹⁰ Faculty of Management, Dalhousie University, *Halifax Citadel Management Plan Review: Public Consultation Report*. (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1993): 3.

to talk about plans and challenges for the Citadel as well as past and present practices.”¹⁹¹ In total, these open house sessions had 118 participants. There was a general agreement among participants that the park represented “a link to the past,” and was “very important” to the local tourism industry. Respondents felt that the Citadel could “do more to broaden the historical themes currently represented at the site,” and the heritage of groups not currently depicted in the animation such as blacks, first nations, and women ought to be interpreted within the context of the 19th century period.¹⁹² The first documentation of these developments was presented in an updated site management plan released in 1993. This new management plan dedicated a section to diversity to directly discuss the site’s need to launch a more inclusive interpretation program as follows:

The Citadel will develop a strategy to reflect the multicultural nature of Canadian society. [...] The site will offer thematic special events and enhance elements of the living history program to reflect broader cultural heritage interpretation.”¹⁹³

Costumed roles in the animation program were added to the site’s interpretive narrative roles of soldier’s wives; incorporating them into the existing male narrative rather than creating a new interpretive angle that would present these women from their own point of view, rather than just defining their presence in relation to the male soldiers.

Among others, reforms were also undertaken at Fort Henry and the Fortress of Louisbourg, and like the Citadel’s experience, there was debate on both sides. Fort Henry began employing women as costumed soldiers in 1993 after the New Democratic Party’s

¹⁹¹ Canada, *The Citadel into the 21st Century: Management Plan*, (Ottawa: Department of the Environment, 1993): Appendix.

¹⁹² Faculty of Management, Dalhousie University, *Public Consultation Report*, 4-5.

¹⁹³ Canada, *Management Plan*, 1993, 2-11.

provincial government in Ontario passed an employee equity legislation, which forced Parks Canada to rework its hiring practices for the Guard.¹⁹⁴ At the time of the legislation, Fort Henry employed 150 students – 140 men and only ten women. These women staffed the interpretive roles of soldiers’ wives. Since the number of these positions available were limited to reflect the historically accurate percentage of soldier marriages sanctioned by the military, the “only possible solution” to reach the new standard of employee gender equity was to allow female staff to interpret the costumed roles of some men in the Fort Henry Guard. Women were allowed to interpret the traditionally male roles in the Fort Henry Guard, in addition to the costumed roles specifically designed for women in the form of soldiers’ wives. According to McKenna, this change in hiring strategy caused an “uproar” in the Kingston Historical Society with members taking either the side of historical accuracy or the side of equality. Although the topic divided the Kingston Historical Society, in the end, the public had a positive reaction to the inclusion of women to the Fort Henry Guard.¹⁹⁵

While the Halifax Citadel was compelled to make changes to the staffing for its living history program by the human rights complaints filed by Atwell and Stevenson, and Fort Henry by provincial employment equity legislation in 1993, similar changes were not as quick to happen at the Fortress of Louisbourg. Whereas the Citadel’s living history program focused on the military garrison, Louisbourg’s animators portrayed life in all its manifestations at the French colony, which provided employment opportunities

¹⁹⁴ *Employment Equity Act 1993*, Ontario, S.O. 1993, c. 35, <https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/93e35>.

¹⁹⁵ McKenna, “Women’s History,” 24-25.

for women in costumed roles. While debates changing policies were taking place at other similar sites, officials at Louisbourg had no plans to have women or non-white males portray soldiers in costume. After all, Louisbourg had been given permission by the Human Rights Commission in 1979 to limit employment based on historical accuracy. In an article featured in Halifax's *Chronicle Herald* on July 4, 1992, Louisbourg site superintendent Roger Wilson, invoked a familiar argument by explaining that these limitations were in place to ensure the animation was historically authentic and "the garrison of the day was entirely male."¹⁹⁶ He specified that the living history program at the Fortress of Louisbourg animated a fortified French town where the goal was for visitors to "[learn] first-hand from authentically-clad 'residents' what it was like to be a soldier, a servant or a child."¹⁹⁷ Because Louisbourg's setting was a town rather than a garrison, it was easier to ensure gender parity when hiring than at the Halifax Citadel because there was a wider variety of roles available. In 1992, Louisbourg employed approximately eighty costumed staff in period costumes of French soldiers, civilians, fishermen, maids, and members of the upper class. Wilson in effect, argued that no policy change was needed as "Louisbourg in its heyday was a very cosmopolitan place, so we would have very suitable roles should a black person compete [in the job application process] and be successful." According to him, these historically suitable roles could include merchants, ship workers, and "a few" slaves. Regarding the hiring of women in

¹⁹⁶ Susan LeBlanc, "Louisbourg says no to women soldiers," *The Chronicle Herald*, July 4, 1992, A3.

¹⁹⁷ Parks Canada, "Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site: Activities," last modified 20 April 2016, accessed 01 January 2017, available: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/ns/louisbourg/activ.aspx>.

soldier roles, Wilson claimed that Louisbourg had yet to have female applicants “demand to be soldiers.”¹⁹⁸ Louisbourg had official sanctions from the Human Rights Commission to limit the eligibility of costumed positions as they saw fit based on the need for authenticity and there had been no complaints filed against the site’s hiring policies comparable to those brought against the Citadel.

All this being said, Louisbourg would make similar changes eventually. Although there is no hard evidence to suggest what prompted these changes the site began employing women in costumed soldier roles in 1996.¹⁹⁹ While the changes to hiring policies at the Citadel, Fort Henry, and Louisbourg were happening independently, these sites were part of a larger network of historic sites run by Parks Canada, and the department along with the individual sites were undergoing similar changes simultaneously. At the national level, Parks Canada began to renew their formal systems plan for historic sites in 1991, outlining three new strategic initiatives which identified the history of women, Aboriginal people, and ethno-cultural communities as a priority for the organization with the aim of making the nation’s historic sites “more representative” of Canadians’ heritage.

In the case of women during this time, there was little internal expertise on women’s history within the department and budgetary hiring freezes hindered additional

¹⁹⁸ LeBlanc, “Louisbourg says no to women soldiers,” *The Chronicle Herald*, July 4, 1992, A3.

¹⁹⁹ MacLeod, “Women soldiers at Louisbourg,” 220.

hiring for such skilled staff.²⁰⁰ To gather opinions on how to commemorate women in their network of historic sites, Parks Canada held a series of consultations between 1992 and 1994 involving academic historians, members of the HSMB as well as regional and minority community heritage activists. The Canadian Committee on Women's History affiliated to the Canadian Historical Association was also consulted in this process.²⁰¹ These workshops left Parks Canada with "hypotheses, positions, and understandings" to help guide them in commemorating women's history. Clearly Parks Canada had heard the critics, and was working to make their sites more inclusive. The HSMB was also clearly influenced by these developments. In their early years, the HSMB demonstrated "minimal interest" in women's history.²⁰² Of the 1600 commemorations made since its inception in 1919, only eighty-one commemorated women by the end of the 1990s: forty-seven for individual women, eighteen for women's organizations, and thirteen for places and events associated with women's history.²⁰³ But it is evident that by the 1990s changes were being made. Indeed, 43% of these commemorations were established between 1991 and 1997. In addition to the increasing number of designations related to women the interpretive plaques of military sites were revised to include women's contributions.

All these changes reflect the greater awareness and concerns over minority and women's rights which trickled down from the pressures from the civil rights and

²⁰⁰ Frits Pannekoek, "Who Matters? Public History and the Invention of the Canadian Past." *Acadiensis* 29:2 (Spring 2000): 210; McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History," 340.

²⁰¹ John Herd Thompson, "'Professional' Historians and Heritage Commemoration," in *The Place of History: Commemorating Canada's Past*, Thomas H.B. Symons, ed., (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1997): 59.

²⁰² Dodd, "Canadian Historic Sites and Plaques," 33.

²⁰³ McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History," 339-340.

women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s which was part and parcel of wider social and historical development. In turn, these movements impacted change on the discipline of history, where historians were influenced by the emergence of social history. While Parks Canada historic sites like the Citadel, Fort Henry, and Louisbourg valued traditional military history and historical accuracy above all else in their interpretation, they would change in the 1990s to reflect the rich research findings in the value of employment equity policies within these narratives, reflecting official policy change in that regard.

* * * *

The Halifax Citadel was designated as a national historic site because of its role in the country's military history; a significance that was demonstrated in the site's early interpretive themes. Since Parks Canada put such a strong effort into reconstructing the Citadel's physical characteristics as true to their original appearance as possible, it seems natural that this level of detailed visual accuracy would be extended to other aspects including the animation program. However, the Citadel is not just a historic site it is also a place of employment, and while Parks Canada was committed to historical accuracy within its presentation of the site, this commitment would present challenges to the living history program as modern realities of employment standards did not always align with this goal. Two complaints were filed with the Canadian Human Rights Commission claiming the Citadel's policy of hiring only white males for the positions as 78th Highlander costumed interpreters discriminated against blacks and women based on their race and gender respectively. These complaints were a key component in the evolution of the interpretive program and changes in the hiring policies for costumed positions. Due to

the efforts of Atwell, Stevenson, and the public's input during the public consultation process, the interpretive program at the Citadel would gradually change to include other perspectives than those of the soldiers garrisoned in Halifax. This change reflected as well the developments in commemorative trends and academic history. The Citadel was not an outlier – similar changes in employment equity and costumed animation were also taking place at Fort Henry and the Fortress of Louisbourg where hiring policies were changed to allow women and people of colour to be employed in costumed roles portraying male soldiers.

Criticisms of the dominance of military history within the department's collection of sites had been brewing since the Massey Commission in 1951. Later, a growing historiography on women's and social history more broadly, put into question the dominance of military themes, and the system seemed overdue to "catch up" with modern studies. In parallel, the number of federal historic designations being put forth by the HSMB also began to reflect these scholarly developments. As a result, the Halifax Citadel worked to expand its interpretive program, the Halifax Citadel aimed to develop a "more complete, more inclusive, more relevant" historic site; however, the much work was still required to truly accomplish this goal.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 337.

Epilogue

After the tumultuous changes in the 1990s, Parks Canada would continue to make efforts to broaden the scope of the interpretive narratives within their historic sites. The Citadel's management plan in 1993 outlined the costumed roles in the animation program for women as soldiers' wives and positions intended for black Nova Scotians. This directive appeared again in the management plan of 1994, word for word.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the desire for more inclusive interpretation was still being echoed nearly a decade after the initial expansion of the animation program. In 2000, Parks Canada released its most recent systems plan for their network of national historic sites, providing a much-needed update from the previous plan from 1981. In the foreword of this new plan the Minister of Canadian Heritage, Sheila Copps, wrote:

The National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan will provide even greater opportunities for Canadians to understand and celebrate our national heritage. We shall build on the strong foundation of our past and address the imperative for constant improvement to the system to ensure that it truly reflects the diversity of our nation and fully represents the manifold of our history.²⁰⁶

In this systems plan, Parks Canada acknowledged previous trends in historical commemoration where designations made in the early years of the HSMB mirrored the “contemporary preoccupation with ‘great men and events’ credited with establishing the nation,” with focus shifting toward social history near the end of the twentieth century.²⁰⁷ Like the initial introduction of similar priorities by Parks Canada in the early 1990s, these

²⁰⁵ Canada, *The Halifax Citadel National Historic Site: Management Plan 1994*, (Halifax: Canadian Parks Service, 1994): 2-11.

²⁰⁶ Canada, *National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan*, (Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, 2000): foreword.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 5.

new initiative of diversity related to commemoration, rather than the interpretation of sites. Still, the Halifax Citadel would take some approach to broaden the scope of history present at the site's interpretation to keep up with these new priorities.

Field research at the Halifax Citadel over the 2015 through 2017 summer seasons confirms that the site is still interpreted primarily to showcase the site's military history. The social history of the fort, such as the relations of the garrison with the wider Halifax community is still very limited. Parks Canada recognized that although many of their historic sites incorporated both women's and men's experiences in their stories there was still much more to do to "address adequately the importance of women to Canadian history."²⁰⁸ In domestic settings, soldiers' wives can be found demonstrating the nineteenth century methods of "washing laundry, sweeping, or doing needlework" around the fort.²⁰⁹ Alas, the role of soldiers' wives still portray these women within the framework of military history. While soldiers' wives are visible on site during the summer season, the Royal Naval Brigade that was instituted after the human rights complaints has disappeared from the living history program. After extensive research of the available management plans, local newspapers, and other Parks Canada documents, it is not clear exactly when this Brigade was eliminated from the animation program.²¹⁰ Effectively, the initiatives taken in 1990 to include more black history at the Citadel have

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 46.

²⁰⁹ Canada, "Living History," last modified May 5, 2016, Parks Canada, available: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/visit/visit8.aspx>.

²¹⁰ It was intended to provide costumed jobs for black Nova Scotians as a result of the complaints filed with the Human Rights Commission, and in its debut season the Citadel only received an application from one black candidate. There are not future mentions of this program after the 1994 *Management Plan*.

been removed from the living history program. The inclusion of women's history and the representation of minorities in interpretative programs at historic sites would be important if Parks Canada was to strive for a more inclusive presentation of history, rather than just employment equity within interpretive roles. It is not surprising to see the focus on the soldiers, given the inherent military nature of the fortress' past. However, the progress in the 1990s regarding employment equity is evident as there are no longer restrictions on the race or gender of those who portray soldiers. Job postings from 2017 for the position of "historical interpreter" which portray the soldiers do not specify any physical characteristic requirements.²¹¹ In fact, several women and people of colour are found onsite interpreting both the 78th Highlanders and the Royal Artillery.



Figure 1: A woman and man in costume representing the 78th Highlanders of Foot Regiment, 2017.



Figure 2: A Black and Asian man representing the Royal Artillery, 2018.

²¹¹ "Historical Interpreter – Private" and "Visitor Services Operative," Facebook, posted by Halifax Citadel, January 27, 2017, available: <https://www.facebook.com/notes/halifax-citadel/historical-interpreter-private/1177697098932299/>; <https://www.facebook.com/notes/halifax-citadel/visitor-services-operative/1177748482260494/>.

Discussions with costumed employees in the summer of 2017 illuminated a major difference in training between each role. The men and women who portray soldiers must complete an approximately three week long training course. Their training concentrates on the military re-enactment elements of the job, and staff are trained how to perform foot drills and properly handle the 19th century firearms used in military demonstrations. They are also trained to lead guided tours for visitors; yet, the training provided for this is much less time consuming than the military training. When asked about what type of information they are given to prepare for guided tours, several military interpreters explained that over the course of a few hours they are taught the “basic history” of the Citadel and learn “what to say about each room” that their tours will visit. Interpreters also spend time practicing and observing others perform tours to pick up information along the way. Many expressed personal interest in studying history and cited self teaching as a valuable tool to gain more in-depth knowledge about the fort and enhance their tours.²¹²

However, the women who portray soldiers’ wives only receive about three hours of training for the role. Variance in length of training between military interpreters and wives can be attributed to the additional amount of material to cover, after all, the soldiers’ wives do not have to undergo the same firearms and munition lessons as the soldiers. One woman interpreting a soldier’s wife revealed that the major difference between them and the military interpreters is that they are part of the Citadel’s Visitor Services team which means that costumed interpretation is not their only job at the site.

²¹² Personal verbal communication with costumed staff on-site at the Citadel, August 12, 2017 and June 29, 2018.

The Visitor Services team is the first point of contact for visitors as they greet and collect admission at the entrance kiosks. While working at the kiosk, staff are in standard Parks Canada uniform; yet, many of them are also provided with a period costume to take part in animation.²¹³ Visitor Services staff are required to be bilingual and they perform guided tours for French speaking visitors.²¹⁴ They are given similar tour training as the military interpreters for these tours, but they are responsible for knowing the information in both official languages. One animator explained that her training consisted primarily of learning the military significance of the fort as well as information about its cannons and structural features, which focused on learning proper military terminology.

Observations of the animators noted that, with only one or two soldiers' wives present on site each day they are not very visible within the living history program. In fact, when they are not leading a tour they are usually posted inside one of the fort's rooms such as the soldiers' barracks or the tailor shop. Both the 1979 Management Plan and the Citadel's current website outline that animators portraying soldiers' wives perform demonstrations of their own such as doing laundry and sewing, but onsite interpreters explained that this is no longer part of their regular duties.²¹⁵ During a guided tour a woman dressed as a soldier's wife silently played a dice and tile game in the

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Halifax Citadel Society, "Visitor Services Operative," available: <https://www.halifaxcitadel.ca/employment-opportunities/visitor-services-operative.html>

²¹⁵ Personal verbal communication with costumed staff on-site at the Citadel, June 29, 2018.



Figures 3 & 4: A woman dressed as a soldier's wife plays a game.

soldier's barracks while the tour guide, a male costumed as a member of the 78th Highlanders, explained soldier's living conditions and details about their uniform. The guide did acknowledge the woman sitting in the middle of the room; albeit only to make members of the tour group aware that women, in fact, did live in the garrison with their soldier husbands. Not many visitors seemed interested in learning about the wives. The

soldiers' barrack was the last stop on

the guided tour, and as visitors filed out of the room only one woman stayed behind to acknowledge the soldier's wife and ask her a question – she wanted to know the rules of the game she was playing. When observing the limited and quiet presence of women in the living history narrative at the Citadel one cannot help but think of MacLeod's argument that the addition of groups like women to Louisbourg's living history seemed like an afterthought, these soldiers' wives appear to have a very minor role within the Citadel's animation.

While women seem to be a limited element in the animation program, the Citadel's museum exhibit "Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North," does better work to

expand the interpretive content beyond the 78th Highlanders. This museum is located within the walls of the fort to the right of the main entrance. The exhibit features artifacts, models, informational panels, and mannequins dressed as historic characters to educate visitors on the history of the Citadel and “reveal the many influences that shaped [its] history.”²¹⁶ This exhibit naturally focuses on the military history of the site but it also provides information about the relationship of the Citadel to the community that the living history program does not by including displays that illustrate the presence of women, as well as the contributions of black history to the fort, and the Citadel’s relationship with the Mi’kmaq.

This exhibit provides additional information about the role of women at the Citadel. A mannequin in period dress stands behind a textual panel that describes the role that women played at the Citadel. It credits women as having a “humanizing influence”



Figure 5: “Wife of a British Solider, 1869.”

on the soldiers’ regimented lives. The panel also explains the economic contributions women made to life at the Citadel. They supplemented their husband’s income by “sewing, mending and washing other soldiers’ clothes, and by working as servants in the households of married officers.”²¹⁷ Soldiers’ wives were not the only women to interact with the troops garrisoned at the Citadel, local prostitutes also had regular

²¹⁶ Canada, “Halifax Citadel National Historic Site: self guided tour,” Parks Canada, modified April 07, 2017, available: <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/activ/visite-auto-guide-self-guided-tour>

²¹⁷ Wall text, *Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North*, Halifax Citadel National Historic Site, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

encounters with these soldiers. This part of the exhibit acknowledges that many soldiers “turned to prostitutes for female companionship.”²¹⁸ This is not surprising, given the port town nature of Halifax in the mid to late nineteenth century. Although it is impossible to determine the exact number of prostitutes operating in Halifax during the Victorian era, moral reformers estimated the number to be between six hundred and one thousand in 1860. A direct link can be drawn between prostitution in Halifax and the soldiers garrisoned on Citadel Hill. Marriage was “actively discouraged” by the military and only six percent of garrisoned soldiers were granted permission to marry. The visitor learns that such strict marriage restrictions created a demand for prostitutes amongst those soldiers unable to marry.²¹⁹

While employment equity had been established within the living history program and people of colour have been hired to interpret soldiers, there is no black history presented within the animation since the removal of the Royal Naval Brigade. The museum exhibit makes up for this, as it does include contributions of black historical figures to the Citadel’s past. A wall panel dedicated to William Hall, VC, describes him as “a Canadian Naval hero,” and highlights his naval accomplishments, complete with a replica of his Victoria Cross medal.²²⁰ Later through the course of the exhibit, a smaller panel is dedicated to the Jamaican Maroons, who helped construct the third Citadel

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Judith Fingard, “Women without Choices: Public Prostitutes in a Garrison-Port,” in *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax*, Judith Fingard, (Halifax, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1989): 97; Wall text, *Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North*, Halifax Citadel National Historic Site, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

²²⁰ Wall text, *Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North*, Halifax Citadel National Historic Site, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

fortress. It also highlights their contributions to Halifax such as helping to erect Government House and working to clear trees to make roadways.²²¹ While the black



Figure 6: "Sailor of the Royal Navy, 1869."

Naval Brigade is no longer part of the living history program, a mannequin dressed in period naval uniform stands in the exhibit immersed in the information about British naval power. Both William Hall, VC and the Maroons were suggested back in 1990 as ways to include black history at the Citadel and these panels in "Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North" keep visitors informed that there is indeed black history at the site.

The museum exhibit also educates visitors of the relationship the Citadel had with



Figure 7: "Mi'kmaq, 1749."

the Mi'kmaq people. The early interactions between British settlers and the native Mi'kmaq are well documented in histories of Halifax and the Citadel; however, this element of the fort's past was absent from the living history program. When visitors enter the museum, they are immediately made aware

that they were present at the time of the Citadel's formation. Later in the exhibit, a full wall is devoted to the Mi'kmaq, with a mannequin dressed in traditional clothing from

²²¹ Ibid.

1749. On the wall behind him are full sized artistic depictions of a woman and child. This part of the exhibit acknowledges that the location of the Citadel was part of traditional Mi'kmaq territory and that their people had been living in the area prior to British settlement. Wall panels explain that the British were "indifferent to the rights and aspirations of the Mi'kmaq, whose homes they were invading."²²² It is impossible to educate visitors about the history of the Citadel without discussing the fort's relationship to the Mi'kmaq. Like the contributions of Black history, the Mi'kmaq are left out of the living history program, yet their inclusion in the museum exhibit provides visitors with evidence about their contributions to the fort's history. The inclusion of history of women, blacks, and the Mi'kmaq within the museum help flesh out the history of the Citadel and make the site's interpretation align with Parks Canada's new priorities of diversity.

From the outset, Parks Canada saw the value of the Citadel as a tourist destination. When selecting the 78th Highlanders to be the animated regiment planners thought that the marketability of this Scottish regiment would fit within Nova Scotia's tourism theme of tartanism, providing the site with publicity to draw in visitors and, in turn, revenue. The Halifax Citadel Society has been working in partnership with Parks Canada to animate the 78th Highlanders since 1993.²²³ This non-profit organization has been a significant element in major local celebrations such as Canada Day opening ceremonies,

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Halifax Citadel Society, "Background," available: <https://www.halifaxcitadel.ca/about-hcra/background.html>.

and international events like the World Pipe Band Championships.²²⁴ While the historic tourism strategy utilized in the beginning of the site was good enough for that time, by 2009 Citadel planners were thinking of new ways to make money for the site. The most recent management plan for the site clearly outlines economic goals for the site.²²⁵ While the earlier management plans refuted concern that the site's position within the tourism industry would interfere with its authenticity or integrity, the 2009 management plan reflected more of a commercial goal by suggesting the site be used as a venue for public and private events; such as corporate dinners, public concerts, and weddings.²²⁶ Public education and a meaningful visitor experience are still central goals of the Citadel; however, the site goals have evolved to "explore opportunities for special event programming."²²⁷ While the commercialism of a historic site reflects requirements of modern-day reality, the act can potentially compromise the integrity of a site by blurring the line between theme park and commemorative historical site.

However, in the specific case of the Citadel, the need to generate revenue has actually been used as a means to justify expanding the interpretive narrative theme of

²²⁴ Taryn Grant, "What to do in Halifax for the Canada Day long weekend," *The Star Halifax*, June 29, 2018, available: <https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2018/06/29/what-to-do-in-halifax-for-the-canada-day-long-weekend.html>; CBC News, "78th Highlanders pipe band makes finals at World Pipe Band Championships," CBC News, August 17, 2015, available: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/78th-highlanders-pipe-band-makes-finals-at-world-pipe-band-championships-1.3193699>.

²²⁵ Canada, *Halifax Citadel, George's Island, Fort McNab, Prince of Wales Tower and York Redoubt National Historic Sites of Canada: Management Plan*, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 2009).

²²⁶ Canada, *Management Plan*, 2009, 26; Parks Canada, "Meeting and Event Facilities," 2014-03-25, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/visit/visit12.aspx>. (accessed 2016-12-31).

²²⁷ Canada, *Management Plan*, 2009, 27.

military history beyond the initial expansion in the 1990s. Indeed, the Citadel had seen fluctuation in its visitor statistics with a drop of 133,457 visitors from the 2009-10 season to the 2012-13 season.²²⁸ The Citadel had to have been concerned about this instability. In 2015 it hired Lord Cultural Resources, the “world’s largest cultural professional practice” specializing in museums and cultural heritage to provide them with recommendations to improve the situation. According to its assessment of existing and potential target audiences at the Halifax Citadel conducted for Parks Canada in 2015, women are an important market for museum-related institutions for three main reasons. Firstly, women tend to be the decision makers regarding children’s educational experiences; secondly, the majority of teachers are women and they make choices regarding potential class field trips to a site; and thirdly, women tend to be the ones making decisions on attractions to visit on family vacations and also make up the majority of bus tour passengers. Since the military is the central interpretive element of the Citadel, a common perception is that the site is “about war.” This perception exists because of the military nature of the site as a former military fort and the Army Museum that is on site “solidifies this image.” In order to appeal more to women, it is suggested that the site have “a wider focus, particularly for women,” while still maintaining the interest of men. A specific target market group that broadening the interpretive themes would help to draw in is teachers and school groups. School groups usually make up ten to twenty-five percent of visitors at museums; however, the Citadel has been drawing a lower than average percentage. Themes at the Citadel best fit within the local school curriculum for grades four and five in units about

²²⁸ Canada, “Parks Canada Attendance, 2008-09 to 2012-13,” Parks Canada, available: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/pc/R61-107-2013-eng.pdf

Atlantic Canada. However, interviews with local teachers revealed that eighty-five to ninety percent of female teachers at the elementary level and sixty-five to seventy at the secondary level did not believe they should expose children to guns, and that the perception that the Citadel is about war was a significant reason why many were not taking their classes to the site.²²⁹ Including more social history, such as portraying everyday activities of garrison life like “their food, their recreation, their clothing, and their relationships,” is suggested to “fill out the story” and help attract more school groups, whose teachers may be hesitant to take their class to a site that is “perceived to be about war, weaponry or the military.”²³⁰

The twenty-first century developments in the representation of social history and employment equity standards happening at the Citadel reflect Parks Canada’s evolving priorities. There is an important distinction to be made between the major change to the living history program in the 1990s and what was being proposed in 2015. By allowing women and people of colour to portray costumed soldiers, the 1990s brought more value to employment equity in the animation programs at the Citadel and other Parks Canada historic sites. On the other hand, the new plan for Parks Canada’s system of historic sites in the 1990s put specific emphasis on expanding narratives to include of women, Aboriginal peoples, and ethnocultural communities. The changes that were being promoted at the turn of the century at the national level by Parks Canada to be more inclusive of women, Aboriginal, and ethnocultural minorities were trickling down to

²²⁹ Lord Cultural Resources, *Halifax Citadel National Historic Site Master Plan*, (Halifax: Lord Cultural Resources, 2015): 23, 26.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 39.

individual sites. By 2009, the Citadel was working on ways to make these new strategic initiatives fit within the economic aims of the site after marketing research showed that expanding the interpretive narrative to be more inclusive had the potential to draw in more visitors. While the living history component of the Citadel's interpretation still has a limited scope within military history, the on-site exhibit "Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North," displays and provides information to visitors about the roles of women, black history, and the relationship between the Citadel and the Mi'kmaq people.

Overall the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site can be viewed as a case study of wider developments operating at the national level. It was a product of the Massey Commission in 1951. While the Commission criticized the HSMB for being too concentrated on military themes and the Citadel would, in fact, add to the roster of military sites, the Citadel was singled out as a major restoration project. This reflected the growing trend in commemorative methods which shifted away from the simple erection of plaques toward the preservation and restoration of historic sites.

Still, the Citadel was a military fort that was given its historical designation based on its role within the traditional commemorative themes of settlement and military history, and these themes were prevalent in its interpretive programming. The Citadel was the first of Parks Canada's major restoration undertakings in the 1950s and the site's physical restoration would take priority over the development of a permanent interpretation program until the 1970s. The living history program was the most visible method of interpretation present at the Citadel. It featured staff dressed in period costume representing the 78th Highlander Regiment of Foot and performing re-enactments of military duties such as the changing of the guard, sentry duty, and weaponry

demonstrations. By choosing to centre the narrative around themes revolving around the military the Citadel, like other such sites including Fort Henry and Louisbourg, illustrates Parks Canada's interpretive priorities. In turn, this was a representation of the larger framework of commemorative and academic trends exhibited by the HSMB and historians who were interested in the British imperial traditions in Canada.

The Citadel was not an outlier in this regard. Living history was also the focal point of similar historic sites such as Fort Henry and the Fortress of Louisbourg. Until the 1990s, these living history programs carried on with their heavy emphasis on military history. A key link to these three sites is that each valued historical accuracy within their presentation. This desire for authenticity led Parks Canada to create restrictive hiring policies for costumed soldier positions which limited applicants for these roles to white males only. These policies at the Citadel were the subject of three complaints filed with the Canadian Human Rights Commission in 1990 based on racial and gender discrimination, which led the Citadel to loosen their hiring policies and allow minorities and women to represent members of the 78th Highlanders. Similar policy change would later happen at Fort Henry and Louisbourg, while simultaneous developments were happening at the national level. Both Parks Canada and the HSMB began to increasingly include women's history in their commemorations. The Citadel took steps to flesh out the story of the fort beyond the 78th Highlanders by including the history of women, blacks, and the Mi'kmaq in its exhibit "Fortress Halifax: Warden of the North." While previous academic work by historians have analysed these changes at Fort Henry and Louisbourg, this case study provides the first analyses of the Citadel's policy change and illustrates how it fits within the larger framework of these changes at the national level.

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