# When You Can't Unearth the Covered Up:

# Archaeology and the Memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage

by © Jazpyn Osmond

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## Abstract

Far too often, places try only to bring forth the best parts of their heritage. St. John's, Newfoundland is no different. The site of Mount Cashel Orphanage constitutes a 'place of shame,' associated with a number of instances of sexual and physical abuse committed by members of the Congregation of Christian Brothers against the boys at the orphanage. Local police, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC), and the Church covered up these allegations. In 1989, the RNC reopened an investigation, uncovering this abuse, which ultimately led to the orphanage's closure that had operated from 1898 to 1990. In 1992 Mount Cashel Orphanage was demolished, and today there is a grocery store, housing, and a memorial park, covering the site. I would argue that multiple factors explain the continuance of the cover-ups around the orphanage's history, which does not show as a part of the area's difficult heritage. To help combat this and to highlight how all heritage is important to the city's narrative, I propose two ways of memorializing Mount Cashel Orphanage in this master's thesis. This project's research involved interviewing two individuals connected to the Mount Cashel Orphanage and uses their responses regarding memorialization in conjunction with outside research.

## Acknowledgements

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My gratitude is extended to those who took time out of their daily life to complete an interview with me. I know my research can stir up traumatic and difficult memories, and I would not have been able to complete my thesis without your involvement.

A very special thank you to Dr. Ara Healey. I am not sure if you will ever read this, but you helped me create an environment in which my education and health could co-exist. I would not be where I am today without your diligent work and kind words.

Finally, a thank-you to my friends and family, who watched me write and write. Loretta and Nolan Osmond, my parents, fostered my love for learning and encouraged me to pursue greater education. To Lisa Bartlett, my co-lamb, who has supported me in proofreading and friendship since kindergarten. And to Peter Smith, my fiancé, who helped me bounce ideas and encouraged me to pursue my passion further.

## Disclaimers

There are many disclaimers in my thesis the reader should be aware. I am putting these in place because I am aware that my thesis may reach a broad audience with the prevalent use of social media and digital technology. I wish to promote a new way of discussing a difficult heritage to make it more inclusive for those affected by it and those who are merely curious. Therefore, I want to make my work academically relevant and interesting for the public to read.

My thesis centre's on a difficult heritage place. The events described and the aftermath that followed may be uncomfortable for some readers. Specifically, my work discusses physical and sexual abuse committed by members of the clergy. I do not describe any personal experiences, but there are references to these events and how they have been described elsewhere in my work. Take care of yourself first and foremost. If you feel you cannot read about these events, do not. Know how to contact your local mental health crisis line. Go to your local emergency room, or call your local emergency number if you experience distress.

I have worked closely with two individuals who are connected to the history of Mount Cashel Orphanage, and I have tried my hardest to make my tone appropriate for them and their experiences and those I did not work with. Some areas of my writing may seem light, while others may seem cynical, some dark, and some ironic. I wish for my writing to be read and touched by many, as an introduction to Newfoundland's difficult past. Still, I first and foremost want to honour the many possible survivors of those personally affected by the horrific events, along with the equally horrible and non-committal aftermath that followed, expressed in my writing.

I also wanted to disclose that while I make comparisons and draw analogies from other difficult events, I am neither equating them nor placing one as more significant than the other. I am merely using other examples of difficult heritage to show how the difficult past has been handled, both here and elsewhere.

I wanted to acknowledge events throughout the world that occurred at the end of my thesis. The Black Lives Matter movement gained momentum when a police officer in Minneapolis murdered George Floyd, which sparked outcries worldwide. Racism, in particular, and inequality in general, have been pushed to our forethoughts everywhere. This has directly spurred a critical movement regarding statues and monuments that were erected to represent people who did terrible things. The movement questioning why this memorialization exists in our world today initiated their removal with pressure or directly by the public. Monuments and statues are not history; they represent what society, specifically those with power, thought was important or appropriate at the time. They are often a way to repress particular histories. It is my job as an archaeologist to listen to, but not dictate, what is important for any particular group, including minority groups, and provide an avenue for people to speak up about the inequality and unfairness portrayed by earlier memorialization. While it may not seem directly connected to my case study, the connection of critical memorialization is there.

Lastly, I wanted to acknowledge the Newfoundland Supreme Court of Appeal's recent decision on July 29, 2020. Previously it was ordered that the St. John’s Catholic Church was not liable for the abuse at Mount Cashel Orphanage, that they held no control over the orphanage. This was appealed and overturned, now ruling that the

Catholic Church is liable for the abuse and compensation to the survivors of Mount Cashel.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

On July 29, 2020, the Newfoundland and Labrador Court of Appeal released a historic decision that the St. John's Catholic Church is now liable for the abuse that survivors suffered at Mount Cashel Orphanage, overturning a previous ruling of not liable. The church is directly responsible for compensation to the four survivors in this particular lawsuit, which could open the door for others to come forward and sue. Once again, Mount Cashel is at the forefront of Newfoundlander's minds (CBC News 2020a).

The land on which Mount Cashel Orphanage used to exist is known as Howley Estates. Howley Estates is currently a booming community of homes and businesses situated in St. John's, Newfoundland. Mount Cashel Orphanage was formerly a summer home belonging to St. John's family, the Howleys. The estate was transferred to the Christian Brothers of Ireland on August 24, 1898, with the understanding that it would become an orphanage (Congregation of Christian Brothers [COCB] 1951:48; Howley 2009:xxxii; Power 1949:81-82).

Mount Cashel Orphanage once was known for grand garden parties, its band, and the crucial work done by the Brothers (Hughes 2000:250; Owens 1977:3, 6). Today, it is known for its difficult and shameful heritage.

In 1989, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC) reopened investigations surrounding physical and sexual assault allegations towards the boys in the care of some of the Christian Brothers who operated the orphanage. Investigations unearthed a deep-seated cover-up of abuse involving the police, the church, and the media (Adams and Hornstein 2015:50-51; Higgins 2012b). The investigation led to criminal charges (e.g., The Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court Trial Division [NLSCTD] 1991f),

civil trials (e.g. Daly 2014e:13; Higgins 2012b), and the closure and demolition of the orphanage (Daly 2014c:27). Besides some media coverage (Trew 2005:62; Vancouver Sun [VS], 23 August 1993:A8), debates about this place's memorialization have been rare in the public sphere. Today there is a housing development surrounding a grocery store (Sobeys), and across the street from a nearby strip mall, there is a small memorial park (Figure 1). At this park sit two of the original gateposts belonging to the orphanage, a few benches, and some flowers. There is no plaque or text to discuss the park's purpose or the gateposts (Adams and Hornstein 2015:51-52). All that remains of the orphanage is this small park, “a site that for five months of the year is usually buried under an enormous snow bank” (Trew 2005:63).

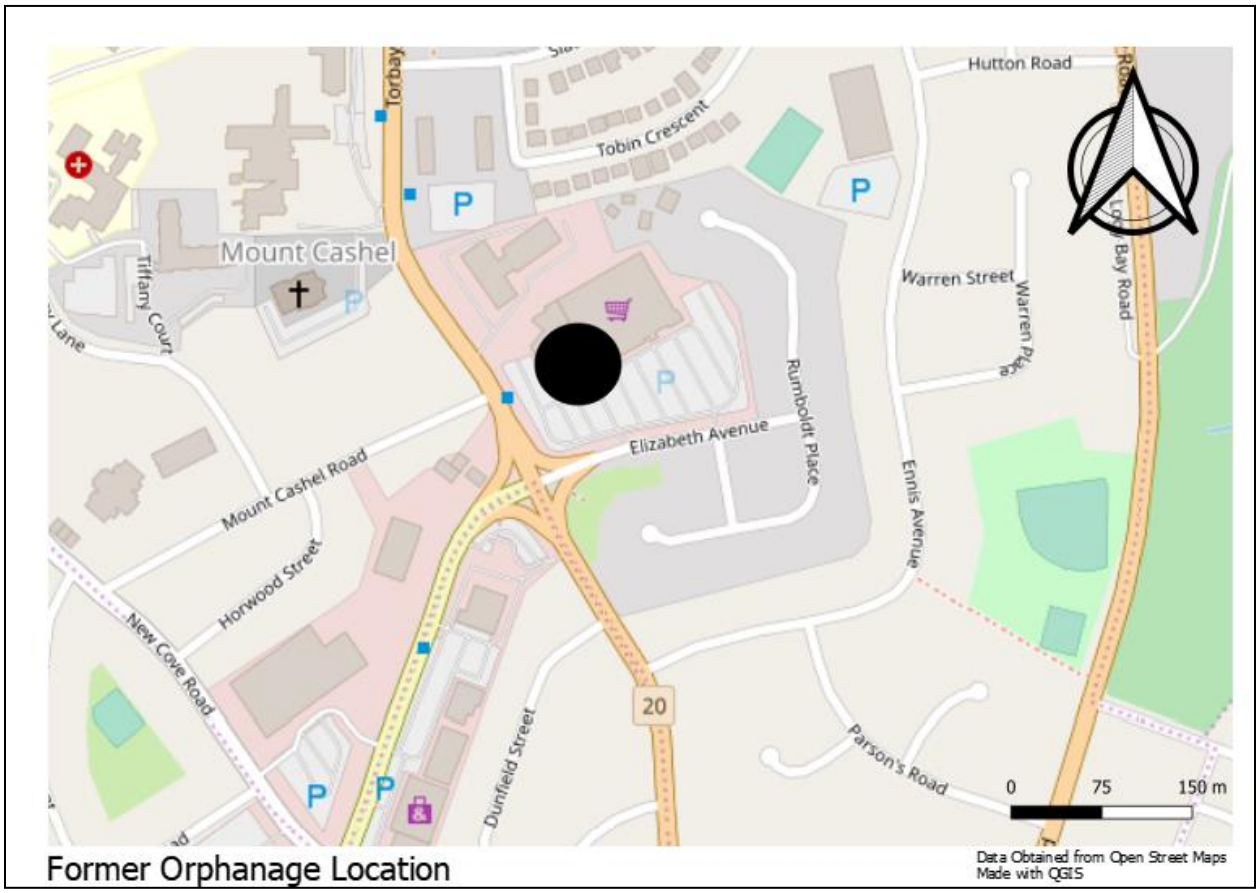



Figure 1. The Former Mount Cashel Orphanage Site in St. John’s, NFLD.

The main goal of my thesis is two-pronged. To explore the reasons behind a lack of appropriate memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage and discuss what should be done to pursue memorialization to counteract the lack of holistic views. Holistic, in my thesis, refers to all or most parts. Holistic would be both prideful history and difficult history. In this thesis, I show society repressed the difficult past. To explore this, I obtained approval from the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) to complete interviews with people associated with the Mount Cashel Orphanage. In addition to this, I conducted extensive archival research. I took photographs of the modern-day location at the Sobeys and the memorial park, located on Elizabeth Avenue in St. John's. Doing this, examining my data through an analysis of the archaeology of the contemporary past, the archaeology of difficult heritage, and the archaeology of counter-monumentality, I seek to understand why Mount Cashel's heritage is ignored.

Besides the work of Adams and Hornstein (2015), few published sources are available regarding the remembrance of Mount Cashel Orphanage and the physical building. There have been academic projects undertaken on Mount Cashel Orphanage, such as Melendy (1993). No archaeological work has was at Mount Cashel. Nor has there been an examination of Newfoundland's attitude toward its difficult heritage from an archaeological perspective. The majority of the existing literature on Mount Cashel Orphanage is in the form of newspaper articles (e.g., Chronicle Herald [CH], 21 March 2018:A9; The Globe and Mail [GLOB], 8 December 1989:A9;). More substantial publications include the Hughes Inquiry (Hughes 1991a; Hughes 1991b), biographies and autobiographies of those involved (O'Brien 1991; Owens 1977), and websites

(Higgins 2012a; Higgins 2012b). Legal documents on the criminal trials (e.g. NLSCTD 1989; 1991a) also exist.

The dominant trend of past memorialization in our province (and beyond) focuses on places that instil a sense of cultural pride, such as the National War Memorial in downtown St. John's. This act of commemoration was put in place to display pride in how Newfoundlanders' involved in World War One (Veterans Affairs Canada 2019c). This focus on pride has allowed our province to pass over the heritagization of less desirable events and locations, allowing for a disparity in what the province's/country's past looks like. With the heritagization of 'places of shame' or 'difficult heritage' becoming more prominent and relevant (Logan and Reeves 2009a; Meskell 2002), I suggest that the city of St. John's should acknowledge, even embrace, the dark parts of its past, to promote a more balanced view of its history. Thus, I hope this work will ignite discussion around appropriate ways to commemorate and memorialize difficult heritage sites in Newfoundland and Canada.

## Theoretical Framework

Three main theoretical frameworks inform discussions of the memorialization (or, better lack thereof) of Mount Cashel in this thesis. They include the archaeology of the contemporary past, the archaeology of difficult heritage, and counter-monumentality.

## *Archaeology of the Contemporary Past*

*Origins and Pivotal Works.*

In archaeology, an increasing concern with the present has recently crystallized in several theoretically-related proposals, including the archaeology of the contemporary past (Harrison and Schofield 2009), the archaeology of the super-modernity (González-Ruibal 2008), and the archaeology of the present (Harrison and Breithoff 2017). As Rodney Harrison and Esther Breithoff have pointed out, an increasing number of archaeologists conceive of their science as “a discipline through which to explore ongoing, contemporary sociomaterial practices as they unfold within an emergent present” (2017: 204). This is incredibly clear throughout the creation and evolution of the archaeology of the contemporary past. The archaeology of the contemporary past has been defined as “[the] archaeology of places and events that relate to the period of recent or living memory” (Harrison and Shofeild 2009:186). Its creation's goal was to become more politically pertinent while engaging with theory, become more relevant, and “to see if archaeology can make a contribution to current issues” (Belford 2014:9).

Archaeology’s focus used to be on the distant past. It explored stories that were lost to time and needed to be unearthed. Through much of the discipline's history, this remained a primary driver, with newer materials not receiving the same general interest or focus as older ones. While there was always interest in more modern history, this was primarily seen as separate from the main field (Buchli and Lucas 2001a:3). Things began to change in the 1960s during a ‘theoretical upheaval.’ Archaeological research became less about when and where and more about why and how (Buchli and Lucas

2001a:3). This theoretical shift is regarded as the birth of the archaeology of the contemporary past, with the 1970s being the pivotal decade for its manifestation and projects (Buchli and Lucas 2001a:3). These included Schiffer's and Rathje's projects at the university in Tucson, Arizona, and a project by Richard Gould in Honolulu, Hawaii (Buchli and Lucas 2001a:3; Harrison 2011:145). These projects focused on "the description and analysis of contemporary material cultures" (Harrison 2011:145). For example, one of the projects to come from Tucson was Rathje's garbology project launched in 1973, which examined contemporary Tucson garbage (Church 2012: 33).

Michael Schiffer and Pierre Morenon organized a symposium in 1978 following these projects, which focused on "The Archaeology of Us" (Gould and Schiffer 1981:xv). As a direct result of this symposium, a book entitled, *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us* (Gould and Schiffer 1981), which discusses each of the earlier listed projects and others (Buchli and Lucas 2001a:3), was published. This book, along with the article "Modern Material Culture Studies" by Rathje in 1979, is often considered the first publication on the archaeology of the contemporary past (Harrison 2011:145). Few releases came about in the following two decades (see, however, Hodder 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987). It wasn't until the 2000s that two more pivotal books were released that helped establish the subfield of the archaeology of the contemporary past (Harrison 2011:147). These are *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture,* edited by Paul Graves-Brown (2000), and *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, edited by Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas (2001b).

Before these two books were published, contemporary archaeology mainly focused on ethnoarchaeology. These publications shifted the focus to the specificity of

contemporary life, which now dominates the archaeology of the contemporary past (Harrison 2011:147). In 2003, the Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory (CHAT) conference group was established (Harrison 2011:149). Other subfields related and useful to the archaeology of the contemporary past, forensic archaeology, and anthropology, have seen a rise in recent years concerning repression and identification of mass graves, war crimes, and other state aggression (Harrison 2011:149). After all of these publications and events, this subfield of archaeology saw an 'explosion' of works (see, for instance, Harrison and Schofield 2009; Harrison and Schofield 2010; Holtorf and Piccini 2009; McAtackney, Palus and Piccini 2007; Schofield 2010). The archaeology of the contemporary past has been influenced in recent years by the rise of public involvement and engagement in archaeology and conservation concerning modern heritage (Harrison 2011:149) (*e.g.,* Bradley *et al.* 2004; Forbes et al. 2009; Penrose 2007). Finally, the archeology of the contemporary past has expanded with two important projects. In 2013, the *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World* (Graves-Brown et al.) was published, and the *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* was established in 2014. Today, there is a wide variety of works published under the framework of the archaeology of the contemporary past. The topics examined within this subfield now encompass a wider range, for example, from urban erasures (Matthews 2020) to the development of the computer mouse (Beale et al. 2018), or even the archaeology of a modern music venue (Winter and Romano 2019).

*Paradox and the Myth of Marginalization.*

Harrison (2011) discussed how the archaeology of the contemporary past is paradoxical. In general, contemporary archaeology wishes to bridge the gap from unfamiliar to familiar and make the past and present more connected and accessible. In general, traditional archaeology examines culture from a removed and distant past to our own without trying to connect it to the present. When traditional and contemporary archaeology merges, there is a wedge created from the two competing mindsets. Within the traditional archaeological mindset, contemporary archaeology becomes inaccessible because the former does not allow for the convergence of the past and the present. Thus, Harrison called the term 'contemporary past' an oxymoron (Harrison 2011:142). All these factors "[have] led to a situation in which the archaeology of the contemporary is caught in a cycle of continual self-justification" (Harrison 2011:142). This can be seen throughout Harrison's article, where he discussed how many contemporary archaeologists feel the need to justify their marginalized work, even though there have been no real published critiques of the archaeology of the contemporary past (Harrison 2011:144). Therefore, Harrison argued that there is a pressing need for a fundamental shift in archaeology so that both traditional archaeology and contemporary archaeology are implicated and relevant to modern society (Harrison 2011:143-144). This will allow us "to move away from the question of 'why' we should study the present, to focus on the question of 'how'" (Harrison 2011:144).

*Remembering and Forgetting*

Two significant theoretical aspects of the archaeology of the contemporary past (as well as that of difficult archaeology) focus on 'remembering and forgetting.' Using

memory as a basis for discussion is certainly not new, with the first philosophical use of memory found in Plato's works, *Theatetus* and *Sophist* (Krell 1990:23; Ricœur 2004:8). Memory as a philosophical idea was invoked from these writings, and thus the tradition of using memory as a theoretical framework has also stemmed from these works (Borić 2010:5).

Archaeology is no stranger to memory, using ethnographic accounts for interpretation (Borić 2010:15; Sillar and Ramón 2016; Fox and Cook 1996). When memory began to be more explicitly evoked in archaeological research, memory was "a unifying umbrella term to cover a wide range of examples from past contexts with regard to ways of appropriating and thinking of their own pasts" (Borić 2010:3). According to Ingold (1993), archaeologists and anthropologists have focused on artifacts or material things for too long as the only source of knowledge. We need to start considering other materials as evidence, such as experience or memory (152).

For the archaeology of the contemporary past, remembering and forgetting hold more meaning, especially when that past is painful. By choosing to interact with these memories through materiality, new memories can be formed, and others are forced to be forgotten (Buchli and Lucas 2001c:79-81). This is often dubbed 'the archaeology of memory,' but for the sake of this paper, it will be considered a component of the archaeology of the contemporary past due to the nature of contemporary archaeology situated within living memory. However, it does correlate well with the next theory, the archaeology of difficult heritage.

### *The Archaeology of Difficult Heritage*

*What is it?*

Difficult or negative heritage within archaeology refers to those 'places of shame' associated with war, genocide, violation of human rights, destruction, and tragedy (Meskell 2002). Archaeologists working in this area have examined, for instance, internment sites, places of genocide, and locations of military conflict (Logan and Reeves 2009b:1). This framework insists that the 'memorialization' of these places can counteract "the cultural amnesia that accompanies temporal passing" (Meskell 2002:571) and promote responsible action towards the past (Logan and Reeves 2009b:1-2). Altering or disturbing the memory of a negative heritage site can alter the national identity and change the overall understanding of what occurred there. Some argue that altering the memory may need to happen, primarily if the remembrance focuses on the perpetrators rather than the victims (Logan and Reeves 2009b:2). As with the archaeology of the contemporary past, memory is a crucial factor in the archaeology of difficult heritage. Popov and Deák (2015) tackled this well, examining how collective memory and heritage are intertwined by looking at how youth understand Europe's tumultuous past (36, 48-49). The concern around whether we should remember or forget the past originated in the 1960s from studies of the holocaust (Gregory and Paterson 2015: 143).

*History*

In the past fifteen years, in archaeology, the archaeology of difficult heritage has become a popular area of inquiry (Burström and Gelderblom 2011; Logan and Reeves

2009a; Meskell 2002; Popov and Deák 2015; Sturdy Colls 2015; Wollentz 2017). During the early days of the creation of difficult heritage as a framework, there was a focus on state terror, specifically the excavations of Holocaust sites that began in the 1980s and 1990s (Sturdy Colls 2015:34-35), such as the sites at Chelmno (Golden 2003) and Bełżec (Kola 2000). Archaeologists could provide aid for legal proceedings, conduct research, and assist with humanitarian projects such as creating memorialization for commercial purposes such as development and rescue purposes (Sturdy Colls 2015:31-42).

The archaeology of difficult heritage grew out of conflict archaeology, alongside the need to analyze genocide (Sturdy Colls 2015:30-31). As the sub-discipline began to develop, there was a shift from Holocaust Archaeology (Sturdy Colls 2015) to other difficult heritage types, both broader and more general. This can be seen in the book *Dissonant Heritage: Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (1996) by Ashworth and Tunbridge, where the foundations for this framework were laid in the mid-1990s. They entered into discussions around issues that dealt with difficult or dissonant heritage sites concerning management and tourism.

A pioneering article related to this framework is Meskell's (2002) "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology." She discussed the World Trade Centre and the Bamiyan Buddhas and how different people use and react to the negative past. She raised the question of archaeologists' role and other cultural players as "the eraser of undesirable history" (Meskell 2002:566).

In 2007, Creighton released an article entitled, "Contested Townscapes: the Walled City as World Heritage." This article discussed how material remains, in this

case, walls, can hold tension and shape the past, depending on how it is viewed in the present, becoming what is termed “contested” (339-340).

In 2009, three influential books were released. While some archaeologists do not use the terms ‘difficult’ or ‘negative’ heritage, their work is very much situated within this framework, which can be seen in Funari, Zarankin and Salenrno’s *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America* (2009). Logan and Reeves’ book, *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with ‘Difficult Heritage’* (2009a), discussed making heritage sites out of sites that bring up feelings of shame, or, on the opposite end, choosing to forget the sites and events (16). Lastly, Macdonald released *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (2009a), which addresses how to deal with Nazi heritage (1).

In 2011, Burström and Gelderblom published an article entitled “Dealing with Difficult Heritage: The Case of the Bückerberg Site of the Third Reich Harvest Festival,” examining various reasons for and against protecting this site (273-280).

Today, the timespan in which archaeologists examine difficult heritage is wide-ranging. Wollentz (2017) discussed it from an Iron Age perspective – finding out that a problematic event that occurred in the past had the power to reshape the relationship with an area in the present (2014-2015). Jamieson (2014) talked about a relatively modern period, roughly 200 years in the past. He goes against the grain, arguing against preserving a problematic history because it would go against community development, which is needed in the present (Jameison 2014:239). Meskell’s article “Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology” (2002) examines incredibly

close to the modern day, just two decades ago, in which the problematic past is explored.

### *Counter-Monumentality*

*What is it?*

Counter-monumentality is a relatively recent form of critical commemoration used to challenge existing ideas (Osborne 2017:165; Stevens et al*.* 2012:952). Two types of strategies exist. Creating a new project that's purpose is to counter an existing monument and its social connotations, or projects that try to counter existing guiding principles with counter or anti-monumental strategies (Osborne 2017:1; Stevens et al. 2012:952). According to counter-monumentality, memories surrounding monuments are frail, changing, and influenceable (Osborne 2017:164). Counter-monumentality is an important framework regarding difficult and shameful heritage, as it helps to challenge convention while still considering that glorification can occur (Osborne 2014:11).

*History*

The term monument is derived from the Latin term *monumentum,* "something that reminds" (Scarre 2011:9). The term monument first referred to a physical object to commemorate something in the seventeenth century (Scarre 2011:9). For archaeologists, a monument refers to "a class of sites encompassing enclosures, standing stones, burial mounds and other related forms" (Watts 2018:379). Archaeologists have been using and studying monuments since the conception of the field (e.g., Childe 1950). Many of the theoretical debates that the foundations of

archaeology are built on surround monuments. Most recently, monuments have been used to examine social memory (Osbourne 2017:163, 165). Monumentality encompasses more than just the physical aspects of a monument; it also involves exploring how people interact with it and their relationship (Osborne 2014:13).

Monuments have often been a point of contention during the twentieth century. Stevens and colleagues (2012) stated that monuments often failed to serve their purpose – reminding – as people often ignored them, or their meaning was no longer part of the public sentiment (951). Counter-monumentality, or anti-monumentality, has emerged from the ashes of World War Two within Germany in the 1980s and 1990s.

As the need to commemorate the holocaust arose, Germans did not want to use conventional monuments because they would have been seen as inappropriate and glorifying the atrocities committed at the time (Osbourne 2017:166).

The work on monuments by Young (1992) popularized the term “counter-monument” (Stevens et al. 2012:952). Young’s (1992) work also highlighted the need to not “violate contemporary spaces” with holocaust monuments (Young 1992:268). He discussed how monuments typically focused on pride, not on the victims that your nation had murdered. Thus, counter-monumentality arose as part of the solution to this problem (Young 1999:271).

Today, counter-monumentality is quite influential. It has “reshaped and reinvigorated collective memories, activities, and landscapes” (Stevens et al. 2012:952). Some studies around counter-monumentality are still focused on the war era but exist outside of Germany. For example, Moshenska (2010) examined how the current form of

memorialization surrounding the London Blitz included the restoration of bombed churches but found that this may not be as effective as uncovering live bombs.

Counter-monumentality has also expanded to include other regions and topics besides Holocaust memorials in Germany. For example, examining American counter-monuments that tackle class, race, and sex in McGeough's (2011) Ph.D. thesis. Watts (2018) looked at a Woodland Period enclosure, Cedar Creek Earthworks, a monument that connects everyday life to otherworldly happenings, such as the sun setting during the summer and winter.

### *Contemporary Archaeology, Difficult Heritage, Counter-Monumentality and Mount Cashel Orphanage*

My project aims to add to the existing body of works of the above theoretical subfields. Mount Cashel Orphanage's history is situated within the contemporary past. As Belford (2014) discussed to be an important part of the archaeology of the contemporary past, my project aims to be politically significant in the present. The Mount Cashel Scandal has been featured prominently in the recent news due to new court rulings against the Catholic Church on liability (CBC News 2020a). Also, no archaeological project has happened in Newfoundland centred on twentieth-century contemporary archaeology and tying it to the present; thus, my project will fill this gap.

Mount Cashel is a 'place of shame' as coined by Logan and Reeves as part of difficult heritage (2009a). We know from Meskell (2002), and Logan and Reeves (2009b) that the memory of these places of difficult heritage can become distorted and appropriate memorialization is a route to counteract this. My project examines the

effectiveness of the existing memorial and its perception while also proposing ways to implement more appropriate memorialization. There are currently no archaeological projects in Newfoundland that center around ‘places of shame,’ therefore my work will lay the groundwork for this.

Watts (2018) pointed out that Moshenska’s (2010) work was a “notable exception” examining contemporary counter-monumentality from an archaeological perspective (380). My work will expand on this lack of contemporary counter-monumentality research by examining why the existing monument for Mount Cashel Orphanage is ineffective and proposing ways to counteract this with a counter-monument. In a way, the current memorialization is ‘glorifying the perpetrator’ while ‘ignoring the victims,’ which is the exact thing counter-monumentality was introduced to fight for in archaeology. As Osborne (2014) pointed out, only time will tell how these memorials are perceived in the future (11). “Even deliberately constructed memorials have an uncomfortable habit of changing meanings with the passage of the years” (Osborne 2014:11).

**Methods**

For researching the (lack of) memorialization of Mount Cashel, I used various methods. They include archival research, informal interviews, and a combination of photography and Geographic Information Systems (GIS), specifically the program Quantum GIS (QGIS). I have conducted archival research on Mount Cashel Orphanage and its associated estate and circumstances, along with its history of child abuse.

Additionally, I worked with two individuals with different backgrounds associated with Mount Cashel to explore appropriate ways of memorializing Mount Cashel Orphanage.

### *Archival Research*

My research has focused on archival evidence and physical documentation. A wide variety of sources were consulted, including journal and newspaper articles, books, autobiographies, biographies, photographs, manuals, reports, court and police documents, and electronic media (web pages). These were acquired from both local and worldwide repositories – libraries, archives, and online sources. These primary and secondary sources were valuable resources to help understand the historical context of Mount Cashel Orphanage, the history of child abuse, and the frameworks used in my research.

There is much documentation on Mount Cashel, and they are in repositories, which have become “the guardians of memories of modern societies” (McCulloch 2004:44). The documentation held in these archives offers multiple means of understanding surrounding the given topic (McCulloch 2004:110). I chose to avail myself of as much of a variety of literary and documentary sources as I could muster to garner a holistic view of the past.

Mount Cashel is unique in that its later history, with the abuse scandal and surrounding circumstances, was heavily publicized in local and national newspapers. However, despite this, I have been unable to access some repositories that hold information on Mount Cashel because the material is restricted from public view. This includes the city archives in St. John’s and some documents in the National Library

Archives of Canada. Despite this, I do not think that this impeded my project mainly because they focused on the physical aspects of the Orphanage, and that was not the main focus of my project. There has been one area of Mount Cashel Orphanage's estate's history that I was unable to find much information about – the period in which it was in the Howley family's early possession. While there is documentation of when the estate was transferred to the Christian Brothers (COCB 1951:48; O'Flaherty 2009:lix; Power 1949:81-82), I could not find information regarding when the Howley family obtained the land and when the original house was built.

### *Interviews*

Multiple surviving individuals are connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage in some significant way. They include former residents and their families, members of the clergy, lawyers, and reporters. To contact individuals and complete any interviews, I undertook an ethics review of my project with the ICEHR.

I conducted informal interviews with two individuals but kept their identities and connections to Mount Cashel Orphanage anonymous. I refer to them in my thesis as Subject # 1 and Subject # 2. They were able to offer insight into a variety of aspects of Mount Cashel Orphanage, including remaining materials, culture, and views on the site's memorialization. While I tried to contact roughly thirty individuals, only three came forward, and two were willing to be interviewed. While I do not know why only so few individuals chose to participate, I hypothesize that some people would prefer not to discuss that part of their lives because of the difficult history. The implication of this is that I only have two possible viewpoints when this may not represent the majority of

people connected to Mount Cashel. However, my thesis is an avenue to open the discussion of memorialization of difficult heritage that can help many reasons that people may not have thought about regarding Mount Cashel Orphanage. I am trying to remove the shamefulness of discussing a place of shame that may come through repression or silence.

Interviews are proven to be important research tools in archaeology. We can understand aspects of a site that may not have survived or entered the archaeological record, such as the clothes that someone has worn at a location that would show day to day life (Salerno 2009:88). Quality and accuracy are often questioned, but the consensus is that even one testimony can produce so much new information that will help others to understand the past. Consequently, all testimony is valuable (Bartrop 2017:628). Concerning difficult history, interviews are often essential to confirm eye-witness accounts (Oliver 2009:vi).

My project uses interviews in lieu of traditional archaeological excavation (along with archival research) to both ‘unearth’ the past and understand how someone can view the present. While I do question if there is anything of Mount Cashel remaining, I chose not to ask about experiences at the orphanage. Instead, my project uses interviews to understand how archaeology can be to memorialize difficult contemporary heritage in the present by asking how those connected to an event wish to have it remembered. Instead of asking about past experiences, I use their knowledge of their past and present experiences to help shape the future experience.

### *Photography and GIS*

I have paired photography and GIS together, as they often are used concurrently, as they were in my project. Photography has been and will continue to be, used as an important tool for archaeologists. It began as a tool thought to have no bias, purely used to record information, paired with field notes. It has also been used as a literal form of conservation, recording something before it was lost or destroyed (Guha 2005). It was useful in site detection through aerial photographs (Wiseman and El-Baz 2007:1).

GIS programs use spatial information to create visual data with a computer, such as a map. GIS programs can be particularly useful with non-geographical data and associating them with a geographical space, such as mapping artifact distributions (QGIS 2019; Neubauer 2004:152). GIS and photography have useful functions when paired together, such as the creation of visual maps to track change over time. In archaeology, this is often done with aerial photography and GIS image manipulation to visually show variances of change (Estrada-Belli and Koch 2007:274).

For my project, I have used the program Quantum GIS (QGIS). Throughout my project, I have used photography and GIS to create visual data that adds to the written history regarding Mount Cashel Orphanage. I used GIS to create a basic map (overlay) where the former orphanage's general location can be seen in the context of modern streets to help inform readers of the orphanage's original location. I obtained photographs of the orphanage through several sources. I also took photographs of the modern-day area of the former orphanage and the newer memorial park. These images will help show a cohesive history of the landscape and show how the concept of covering up has been used in this case. I used Microsoft Word to create a visual

timeline depicting the progression of the physical building of the Mount Cashel Orphanage site.

### *Memorialization Proposal for the Mount Cashel Orphanage*

I sought out ways to pursue memorialization of the events at Mount Cashel Orphanage to promote holistic remembrance and promote a more critical approach to the memory of both Mount Cashel Orphanage. I used the interview process to gather information about what people related to Mount Cashel Orphanage thought about memorializing the site and their ideas for heritagization. This collaboration has allowed for a discussion on the importance of critical memory for the city, province, and country, allowing the opening of dialogue around negative heritage and 'places of shame.' I intended for this process to open a discussion about both the Mount Cashel Orphanage case and for difficult heritage in general. Difficult heritage is especially relevant in the current Canadian political climate regarding the remembrance of residential schools' difficult heritage.

## Child Abuse and Mount Cashel

With all the theories and methods my project will employ in mind, I will briefly discuss child abuse and Mount Cashel Orphanage to better situate my thesis's historical context before I discuss my case study's specifics. Both physical and sexual abuse in childhood is not a modern problem, with accounts of institutional abuse being made to authorities as early as the nineteenth century (Wright 2017:13). However, it was during

the second half of the twentieth century that childhood abuse came into the public eye (Daly 2014d:8; Wright 2017:13). “The late twentieth century and into the present may be characterized as a period of activism in this area” (Wright 2017:14).

Henry Kempe and colleagues’ article, “The Battered-Child Syndrome,” dated July 7, 1962, is regarded as the ‘discovery’ of childhood physical abuse (Daly 2014d:8). After this article was released, childhood abuse was seen as more widespread in the 60s and 70s (Parton 1979). In Canada, in the 1970s and 1980s, women’s movements gained traction resulting in more advocacy and education regarding the abuse of women and children (Trothen et al. 2008:8).

Gill (1975) first mentioned the ‘institutional abuse’ of children in April of 1975 in “Unraveling Child Abuse.” Daly (2014d) noted how the discussions and actions regarding institutional abuse only partially focused on the actual abuse; the rest focused on how authority figures often failed to create a safe environment by not inquiring into allegations and hiding facts from the public (11). In 1979, “[t]he first public inquiry to focus on ‘institutional abuse of children,’ as a named social problem, was conducted in the United States (US) (1979 Senate Hearings on Abuse and Neglect of Children in Institutions)” (Daly 2014d:5).

Gordon (1988) released a pivotal article that highlighted the discovery of childhood sexual abuse, bringing the idea to the public’s attention. Sexual abuse by Catholic Clergy of someone of any age came into the spotlight with the 1984-1985 Lafayette case in Louisiana (Doyle 2003:190). However, this was not the beginning of sexual abuse problems for the clergy. For centuries, Canon law has considered sexual abuse of children as a heinous crime, which indirectly shows it has been an official

issue for centuries, to the point they needed to ‘legislate’ it (Doyle 2003:191-193). However, religious institutions largely did not address this abuse in their institutions until the 80s, with more significant policies enacted in the 90s (Trothen et al. 2008:6).

The 1980s witnessed the beginnings of scholarly work regarding religious abuse (Trothen et al. 2008:7). For instance, the Badgley report released in 1984 sought to determine whether Canadian law was adequate to protect children from sexual offences (Badgley et al. 1984:1). In the late 1980s, some Canadian religious organizations began to release written documents about child sexual abuse; however, these were published under the broader framework of family violence (Trothen et al. 2008:7).

In 1988, in Newfoundland, James Hickey, a priest in the St. John’s Archdiocese, was convicted of the sexual abuse of children, creating a general awareness of abuse by clergy in the province (Daly 2014e:11; Higgins 2012a).

Starting in 1986, and continuing until 1998, Canadian Churches, except the Roman Catholic Church, apologized and confessed their participation in colonialism and residential school abuses (Bush 2015:47-48), which were known for their abuse and maltreatment of Indigenous children (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRCC] 2015).

The Roman Catholic Church is a decentralized entity, unlike the other Canadian Churches. This means that no overarching character has made an apology for the mistreatment of Indigenous children, but some people in certain areas, such as diocesan bishops, have apologized for the wrongdoings of the Catholic Church (Bush 2015:48). To this day, the Catholic Church has not made an official apology. The closest to an apology was when Pope Benedict XVI communicated in 2009 that there

was “sorrow” for the Roman Catholic involvement of sexual scandals in schools (Smith 2017). In 2017, the Canadian Prime Minister asked the Pope to apologize for the Catholic Church’s role in residential schools. In 2018, this request was denied through a letter (The Government of Canada 2019a; Gendron 2018).

The Mount Cashel scandal materialized soon after the apologies began for residential schools, and just after James Hickey was arrested. Therefore, “[b]y this time, it was clear to most Canadians that religious leaders were not above something as terrible as child abuse; any presumptions of clergy absolute moral goodness had been challenged soundly” (Trothen et al. 2008:8).

However, the 1989 investigations and inquiries into Mount Cashel Orphanage were the first of their kind in Canada (Daly 2014d:12). This action was a “turning point in Canada’s history of responding to institutional abuse of children” (Daly 2014e:10). Mount Cashel was also one of the earliest cases to have criminal charges and convictions in regard to institutional sexual abuse, with the 1982 charges against David Burton (NLSCTD 2000:4).[1]

The Mount Cashel affair brought about a general awareness of child abuse in Canada, with other institutionalized abuse stories coming out in Newfoundland. For example, Robert Hunt described his and others’ stories of institutional abuse during their time at Holy Cross as a form of catharsis to give another voice to an idealized past (Hunt 2015). In Canada, this was the catalyst for a snowball effect, even though it was clear that abuse was known to the public since the 1960s.

[1] The earliest case was in Northern Ireland in which three men were convicted of sexual charges against 11 boys who resided in a boys’ home from 1960-80 (Daly 2014e:11).

According to Tollefsrud, in 1989, there was a general feeling of unrest regarding Canada's judicial system's effectiveness, mainly because of Mount Cashel. There was a call for Canada to reassess its system. In the past, many people ignored these kinds of offences, but many others denied illegal activities. There were also some allegations of helping the perpetrators (Tollefsrud 1989:4).

In 1997, there were talks, and an eventual acceptance through a vote, ending denominational schooling in Newfoundland (Bartlett 2017; Slobdian 1997). It came roughly on the 10th anniversary of the arrest of James Hickey, with politicians using this 'negative publicity' to call for an end of denominational schooling. Simply put, the province really could not recover from the scandals that dominated the late 1980s and early 1990s (Slobdian 1997).

In 2011, the existence of a disturbing letter became known, obtained by Irish broadcasters RTE. The letter was from the Vatican in 1997, addressed to the Irish Catholic Bishops. The content of the letter instructed them not to report suspected child abuse to the police. It stated, "In the sad cases of accusations of sexual abuse by clerics, the procedures established by the Code of Canon Law must be meticulously followed" (The Associated Press 2011b). At the time, this meant that they were to be dealt with internally by the church (The Associated Press 2011b). The Vatican has always been a strong denier of any cover-ups. Still, this letter proved just that, that they wished to handle allegations internally within the church, rather than consulting outside sources (The Associated Press 2011a).

In contrast to this letter, in December of 2019, the current Pope exposed the pontifical secret of sexual misconduct involving minors by clergy, as well as changing

how child pornography is viewed as a grave crime by the Roman Catholic Church (Vatican News 2019). As is evident from all of this, uncovering and preventing child abuse is still an ongoing issue, both in our society and institutionalized settings.

*Memorializing Child Abuse*

There has been an attempt at reconciling past wrongs regarding residential schools. This role has fallen predominantly to the government. The only acts of commemoration undertaken related to churches involved aspects that they would already be involved in, such as cemeteries (see calls to action 73, 74, 75 in TRCC 2015).

Commemoration was to occur as part of reconciliation, truth and healing, between Indigenous persons, the government, and Canadians, and to show the reality of the past (TRCC 2015:23). Commemoration was to occur, not to close the door on the past, to open "a dialogue about a contentious past and why this history still matters today" (TRCC 2015:283).

Archaeologists are taking part in this as well. For example, an article was published in 2018 online about a dig at the Mohawk Institute, a residential school in Canada undertaken as part of a "reconciliation project" (Andrew-Gee 2018). In 2019, Boklaschuk announced she would search for unmarked child graves at the Muskowekwan Residential School using non-invasive methods so that the community could commemorate their deceased. Both of these examples show that archaeology can be used to find out new information and act as a form of catharsis for the difficult past. With this in mind, studying the memorialization of Mount Cashel can add to body

of works about child abuse and offer a chance to reconcile past wrongs through education and commemoration tactics.

### *The Challenges of Examining a Contemporary Difficult Heritage Site*

In this section, I intend to describe the issues involved in a project of this nature. While I have read much regarding the challenges of difficult contemporary history from the viewpoint of victims/survivors, not much work has been done from the perspective of the researcher. It is my goal that this chapter is educational and offers yet another perspective of difficult heritage. For those who choose to go down this road, it is my warning to be prepared for a long and tedious process and a waiting game that may never pay off. Nevertheless, do not lose hope, and understand that there is a reason you chose to partake in this type of research.

First, I was not able to garner interest for my project before I started, so I could not gauge participant recruitment early on. To discuss my project with people outside of Memorial University faculty and students, I needed to gain ethical clearance. This was due to the extremely sensitive nature of my research. I needed to cover all of my bases so that someone could not shut down my project before it even began by someone complaining to the university that I was harassing someone to investigate this material. This clearance process took almost four months, from start to finish, and this was after I had already decided on my project and had successfully defended it with my faculty. Therefore, I was quite far into my master's program, extensively working on a project, before I even knew if it was a viable project. I was going in blind.

In the age of social media, it seems easier to get into the mindset that it would be easier to contact people than in the days of phone books and 'snail mail.' Finding and contacting these individuals seems pretty straightforward – a quick search of their name in the Facebook search bar or Google search bar – then sending off a quick message to make a connection. Then you must wait and see if they respond. They may view your message and never respond. Some may check their social media accounts infrequently. Others may ignore messages from strangers. Others may not even have a social media account or any online presence due to their age or many other factors. Technology is as much of a barrier to getting in touch with someone as physical space is today; it may just be easier to locate the people you are looking for.

I began to contact people in July of 2019. The process took roughly five months and involved contacting almost twenty individuals, from whom I received no reply to my request to obtain interviews. Eventually, I was able to get in touch with two people. For one individual, it still took close to two months from the first contact to gauge their interest, work out the details, and then for our schedules to align so that I could interview them. We chose to do our interview online through a video chat service, and while I would say it was a nice and convenient experience, the video and audio quality was an issue. I could hear and see the person, but the video was slightly lower quality, with a bit of lag time between our responses to each other, causing us to fumble over each other somewhat.

While technological barriers are not indicative of difficult contemporary archaeology, I still feel that they constitute an important issue to discuss. However, one problem directly related to contemporary difficult heritage is that some people may not

feel comfortable talking about their past over the phone or through video chat. I did account for this and secured funding to drive or fly to meet the subject(s) for an interview. I just never needed to do so. It took roughly four months from the first contact for the other individual until I finally interviewed them. This was both from infrequent contact and extenuating circumstances like a snowstorm, which brought close to one hundred centimetres of snow and caused my community to declare a state of emergency for several days.

After my ethics clearance came through, the first step in participant recruitment was to get in touch with a local lawyer I have previous connections with. This process took almost a month due to them going out of the country for some time and the inevitable time lag associated with email conversation. While I did eventually have a lovely chat with them, I was ultimately unable to gather any useful information from them due to lawyer-client confidentiality. There was a constraint on my part – not being allowed to ask for people's names. The most I could do was ask them to forward my project information to individuals that they thought would be interested, and those individuals could contact me themselves. Therefore, this was a dead-end on my part.

My next step was to contact previous residents of the Orphanage, clergy members in St. John's, and record keepers for the clergy. I did this through Facebook, email, and Canada Post. There were days, and sometimes months, between online interactions with people, which is both understandable on their part, and unnerving and frustrating for me.

Ghosting, or talking to me, then suddenly not replying, occurred to me in one situation. No responses came from non-online requests. In all, due to the timing

between the end of my clearance for interviews and late replies, I was able to interview two people in total before I had to write my thesis with the information that I had.

Lastly, I was undertaking an archaeological project with no archaeological site. I had no objects to dig up or examine. Mount Cashel was removed, so even if I could do an excavation (under a store and housing), it is entirely possible I would not find anything, or at the least very little. Therefore, I had to be creative in terms of how my project could still be considered archaeology. This came up during my thesis proposal. I stated I was still excavating the past. I was just not doing so in a literal sense. I was excavating through memory work and research. I followed methodological steps to gather my data, such as archival research and then excavation (interview), followed by interpretation and data display. I just completed these steps with intangible data such as memories and photographs. Having a contemporary site that no longer exists due to its removal, including sites that center around difficult heritage, still have their value, and you should not be deterred from a project for those reasons alone. I was able to learn new things without having to access tangible objects. There were new things that focused on the future (e.g. wanting to remember individual experiences about the building itself) and the past (learning of the factors that lead to the lack of memorialization). If someone is alive and willing to talk to you about it, you have a project that you can undertake.

Overall, I would still tell anybody reading this that this project was worth it. The stress that those five to nine months brought me, wondering if I was going to have to reshape my whole project due to a lack of interest, and to have to return to the ethics committee for a revaluation, disappeared the second that Subject #1 thanked me for

doing what I was doing. I was making a difference to something, even if it was a small impact on one person's life. This is what my project was all about – connecting with those impacted by difficult heritage and understanding how they wanted their past to be remembered — encouraging people to examine difficult history to allow for holistic histories to become a natural part of the historical narrative.

**Overview of Thesis**

My thesis is organized into three chapters, plus an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter Two is an overview of Mount Cashel Orphanage's history. It includes the creation of the orphanage, a discussion of the 'cover-ups,' a recap of the trials and inquiries, and an analysis of what happened to the orphanage following these events. Chapter Three examines the processes that caused or contributed to the lack of appropriate Mount Cashel Orphanage memorialization. Chapter Four examines the various reasons for and against the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. It also includes a discussion on how 'contemporary' archaeology may view artifacts in a different light than 'traditional' archaeology. Finally, it proposes what should be done to pursue a memorial for Mount Cashel Orphanage.

# Chapter Two: Historiography

## Early History of Mount Cashel

In 1875, the Christian Brothers of Ireland arrived in Newfoundland (COCB 1951:48; Higgins 2012 a; Hughes 2000:49). In 1897, after a failed orphanage attempt in Manuals, Newfoundland, and the death of a local bishop, Bishop Howley proposed establishing an orphanage at his family's estate (COCB 1951:48; Power 1949:81; Sparkes 1991:1). The estate was a parcel of agricultural land that covered roughly 24 acres, situated Northeast of the capital city (O'Flaherty 2009:xxxiii, xxxiv). There are discrepancies in whether the estate was donated or sold to the Roman Catholic Church or the Christian Brothers (COCB 1951:48; O'Flaherty 2009:lix; Power 1949:81-82). August 24, 1898, marked the official opening of Mount Cashel Orphanage, an industrial school (COCB 1951:48; Hughes 1991a:11; Owens 1977:1; Power 1949:81-82; Sparkes 1991:1) (Figure 2).

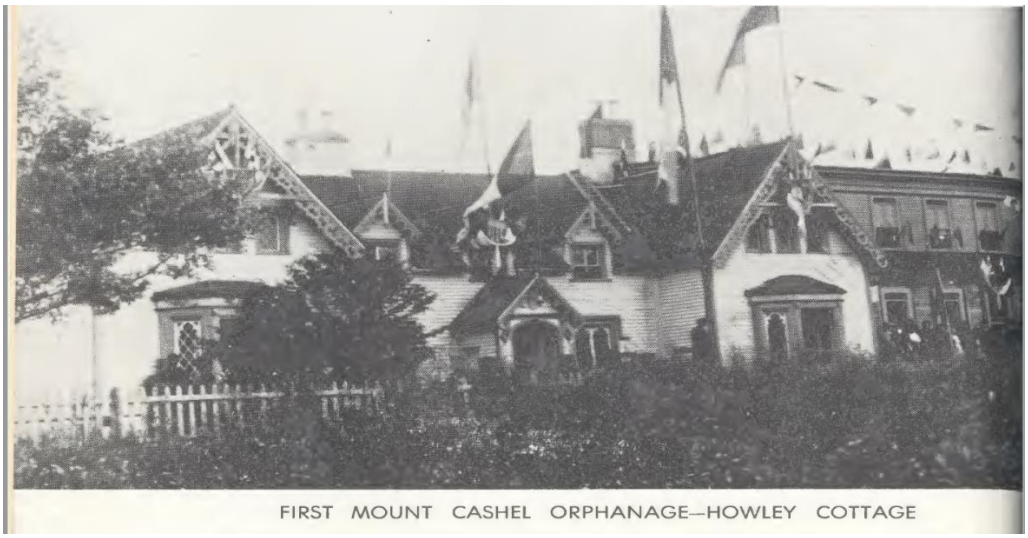



Figure 2. Howley Cottage. Source: COCB 1951:50

The original intent of the orphanage was as an industrial school (Sparkes 1991:1). Food was grown and raised, and an inviting environment for children was fostered (Power 1949:82-84). Boys would also leave Mount Cashel with the knowledge of a learned trade (Owens 1977:2; Reardon 2015:19; Sparkes 1991:1).

On April 13, 1926, a fire put life at Mount Cashel on hold. Nobody died, but the fire consumed most of the property. 140 boys were now without a home. As a result, they stayed at St. Bonaventure until new housing was built (COCB 1951:17, 48, 103; Daily Globe [DGLOB], 15 April 1926:8; Power 1949:83; Sparkes 1991:1). It was clear that the orphanage meant a lot to the capital city, has a population of around 40,000 managed to raise $33,000 in cash for the rebuilding process (Owens 1997:4-5; Sparkes 1991:1). Owens (1977) stated that "[G]iven the economy of those times, the city's reaction must be one of the most moving expressions of generosity that any city of its size has ever seen" (5). On June 12, 1927, Mount Cashel officially reopened again, just over a year after the fire (Power 1949:84; Sparkes 1991:1) (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Mount Cashel Orphanage several years after fire - 1948. Source: 2. 04. 028, http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/arch_geog/id/2884

In 1969, the orphanage became officially known as “Mount Cashel Boys’ Home and Training School” (Hughes 1991a:96). Before this, the orphanage was simply known as Mount Cashel Orphanage. This was a popular name, not its official one. The official name was St. Raphael’s Orphanage (O’Toole 1975:50; Sparkes 1991:1). It was dubbed ‘Mount Cashel’ “after Cashel in Munster, high upon its famous Rock, where royal transactions both pagan and Christian took place in the dark ages” (Hughes 1991a:3). (Figure 4).


Figure 4. Location of the former orphanage on a portion of a historic map-1945. Source G 3439 S33 G46 1945 N4, http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/maproom/id/81

In the mid-1960s and 1970s, social services began placing children removed from their parents into the school. Mount Cashel was no longer an ‘orphanage,’ but a ‘foster home’ (Hughes 2000:248-259; Sparkes 1991:2). Mount Cashel Orphanage was highly regarded by the government and child welfare officials, yet they had little control over the orphanage. This was due to Mount Cashel’s reputation and the knowledge that the Christian Brothers were an indispensable resource to Newfoundland Catholics (Hughes 1991a:15-19; Hughes 2000:250).

**The Repression of Child Abuse**

Between 1974 and 1983, there were seven known instances of physical and sexual abuse of the boys at Mount Cashel Orphanage. The first occurred in October of 1974. Two boys and one of their cousins made a complaint about a beating one of the boys received and other physical and sexual abuse at the orphanage. No investigation was conducted (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:77; Hughes 2000:251).

The second instance was in July of 1975. A woman complained to social services about the mistreatment of her nephews at the orphanage. This included things such as having dirty sheets and the boys sleeping on the floor. She also stated that her nephews told her that the Brothers were physically abusing the residents. Once again, no investigation was conducted (Higgins 2012b).

The third instance was in September of 1975. Claims of abuse were brought forth, but this time a letter was written to the Director of Child Welfare, Department of Social Services, discussing the allegations, and indicating that harsh punishment from the Brothers was known (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:83-88). This issue was

reported to the then-current Superintendent of Mount Cashel to let him deal with the problem. Therefore, nothing was done (Higgins 2012b).

The fourth instance began on December 7, 1975 and spanned several months. Several St. John's members saw a resident who was repeatedly abused until the situation was reported to the police (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:97-102). Robert Hiller, a police officer, opened an investigation, which included interviews of 23 boys, families, social workers, and two Brothers, which resulted in two admissions of guilt (Hughes 1991a:26-27, 107, 111-114; O'Brien 1991:143). These admissions went nowhere, because on December 18, 1975, the police chief ordered a stop to the investigation, requested that the officers involved produce a report of their findings, and no arrests of any of the Brothers were made. The report was returned to Hillier, with a request to remove any sexual assault allegations (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:114-115). No charges were laid, but five bothers were implicated (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991b:129). Several months later, another report was requested by the police chief, keeping out any reference of sexual assault (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 2012 a:108). The two reports were given to the new chief of police, with a note indicating that the Christian Brothers' actions were sufficient, and police action was no longer needed (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:213).

The fifth instance occurred in January of 1976. A mother told a newspaper, the Evening Telegram, about her two boys who were physically abused by two Brothers through a call for another story. The editor tried to investigate (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:136-177), but the publisher halted the story; he did not want to taint the image "of an institution with a record of a hundred years of good works" (Hughes 1991a:137).

The sixth instance occurred on April 10, 1979. Detective Sergeant Arthur Pike testified at an inquiry around a suspicious fire that the police department was participating in cover-ups, including the 1975 investigation into Mount Cashel. This was reported by two newspapers on May 17, 1975, though it gained no momentum. However, it did spark fear. The Order feared that the news reports would be used to 'play dirty' as an election ploy, though nothing happened (Daly 2014e:11; Higgins 2012a; Hughes 1991a:139, 149-150).

The seventh instance occurred in 1982. More police investigations into abuse occurred at Mount Cashel but laid no charges because they did not want to charge former students. These allegations involved older boys sexually abusing younger residents (Daly 2014e:11; Hughes 1991a:177).

**Action Being Taken**

The first events that were taken seriously at Mount Cashel happened between 1982 and 1983. David Burton was charged in 1982 for molestation of a boy who lived at the orphanage, ongoing for roughly a year. He pleaded guilty, was initially sentenced to four months in jail and three years probation and was instructed to seek psychiatric help. This was lowered to time served, which was 12 days after an appeal, and instead of probation, the court was told that the Christian Brothers could handle the rest (Daly 2014e:11; Higgins 2012a; Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a: 162; NLSCTD 2000:4).

As stated in the introduction of my thesis, it was just after this that sexual abuse within the Catholic Church came into the public eye with the Lafayette case in 1984-

1985 and the Badgley report in 1984 (Badgley et al. 1984; Doyle 2003:190). More generalized abuse by the Catholic Church was also in the public eye with Residential Schools and the lack of an official apology when other churches have done so (Bush 2015; Smith 2017). This, along with the many other factors I have discussed let to the following situation.

**Scandal**

A series of events began on February 13, 1989, when the radio show, open-line on VOCM, aired a caller, Steve Neary, who spoke of the fire inquiry in which numerous cover-ups were brought to light, including the 1975 Mount Cashel Investigation. A telephone call to the Attorney General Hyslop, by a Mrs. Caddigan, a listener of the show, requested a public inquiry into the 1975 Mount Cashel cover-ups. Mr. Hyslop simply told Mrs. Caddigan to contact her MHA if she wished for an inquiry to be conducted (Daly 2014d:8, 12; Daly 2014e:9; Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:179).

The next day, Mr. Hyslop had a phone conversation with John Mahoney, a court of appeal judge, about the broadcast. It took Mahoney's wife talking to him about the cover-ups to set things in motion (Daly 2014d:12; Higgins 2012b). "Hyslop then engaged in a flurry of activity with momentous consequences" (Hughes 1991a:179). These actions included requests of documents and meetings with various people, including Justice Lynn Verge.

On February 15, 1989, Lynn Verge announced that the RNC was reopening their 1975 investigation (Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a: 139, 179-184). Upon hearing that

the investigation was being reopened, Shane Earle went to the police on February 16, 1989, to give a statement, and was “the first former resident to do so” (Daly 2014d:12).

Michael Harris, a reporter and author, wrote an editorial on Mount Cashel, published on March 12, 1989. Mr. Earle responded to these events by contacting Mr. Harris and having a two-part story published, which affected the public (Daly 2014d:12-13, Daly 2014e:12; Higgins 2012b; Hughes 1991a:189-190). Mr. Earle later stated that after he spoke with the RNC on March 12, 1989, and saw Harris’ article, he directly contacted Mr. Harris, in fear that the police were doing nothing.

He was unaware that the police were investigating due to their tactic of keeping the news from the public. The publishing of the editorial changed the investigating, and police decided that they would be more public, especially regarding informants (Hughes 1991a:193). In addition, on April 5, 1989, Shane Earle “announce[d] he [would be] fil[ing] a lawsuit against the Christian Brothers and the provincial government” (Higgins 2012b).

A few weeks later, two pivotal events occurred, both on April 14, 1989. The Newfoundland Government announced a Royal Commission of Inquiry, and the first charges were laid against the Christian Brothers (Higgins 2012b; NLSCTD 1991f:2). Following suit, on April 23, 1989, The Newfoundland Archbishop appointed a former Lieutenant-Governor to lead an inquiry into the sexual abuse perpetrated by the Christian Brothers, dubbed ‘the Winter Commission’ (Catholic Church Archdiocese of St. John’s [CCASJ] 1990a:vii; Higgins 2012b).

After all of the negative publicity and stress, the announcement came that Mount Cashel Orphanage would close on November 27, 1989. The ninth arrest of a Christian

Brother was the tipping point for the announcement. At this time, there were roughly 70 boys still there. After a gradual phasing out, the orphanage officially closed on June 1, 1990 (Daly 2014c:27; GLOB, 27 November 1989:A2; Higgins 2012b).

**Action of Archdiocese: The Winter Commission**

This inquiry had several goals: understanding why abuse was occurring in the system; how it went undetected; offering aid in the form of procedures, recommendations and aid services (CCASJ 1990a: v). The Church's initial response (a non-response to the Mount Cashel Scandal) was seen in poor taste, so they chose to remedy the situation by following in a similar manner to the Hughes Inquiry, discussed in more detail below, to rebuild their shattered community bonds (CCASJ 1990a:vii-ix).

The Winter Commission chose to name those charged, with their titles removed, and not name any victims (CCASJ 1990a:1, 11). They concluded that the Archdiocesan was aware of the abuse and that instead of adequately responding to this knowledge, the church denied the issue, reprimanded those clergy involved, or employed self-help programs that were insufficient (CCASJ 1990a:2, 24). It was recommended that the Archdiocesan "formally acknowledge its share of guilt and responsibility and that the Archdiocesan administration apologize in such a way as to remove any suggestion that the victims were to blame" (CCASJ 1990a:141).

On the day that these findings were released, Archbishop Alphonsus Penny announced his resignation and apologized for the abuse committed by the Clergy, but only in a general sense (CCASJ 1990a:1; Daly 2014a:231; Higgins 2012b). A formal

apology for the Mount Cashel survivors by the Christian Brothers of Ireland came on April 5, 1992 (Daly 2014a:231). The government never apologized (Daly 2014c:27). The closest that the government came to an official apology was a statement made on December 2, 1996, by the minister of justice, which stated that actions had been taken to provide adequate compensation for the victims and lessen the emotional impact of the lengthy trials (Decker 1996). As Daly stated, “[t]here was no mention of apology or regret in the statement” (2014a:231). The Winter Commission findings were released on July 18, 1990 (Higgins 2012b).

**Action of the Province: The Hughes Inquiry**

The Royal Commission of Inquiry, more commonly known as the Hughes Inquiry, was not a legal trial (Hughes 1991a:xi). It was done to understand how the justice system had handled the sexual abuse allegations at Mount Cashel and to examine how complaints made to the police and service officials were disregarded (Higgins 2012b; Canadian Press [CP], 6 June 2016). Twenty out of the 25 boys who came forward in 1975 dealt with the inquiry in some capacity. No Christian Brothers testified (Hughes 1991a:197-199). From these trial and other research, a two-volume document was made that discussed the history of Mount Cashel, the timeline of the events that occurred at the orphanage, and elsewhere, makes recommendations for how to change and deal with situations like this, and also contains copies of primary documentation such as signed statements and police records (Hughes 1991a, 1991b). This was

entitled *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Response of the Newfoundland* (Hughes 1991a, 1991b).

### *Criminal Justice System to Complaints*

There have been numerous critiques regarding the Hughes Inquiry, both for what it started (an examination of sexual abuse claims against the church) and how it handled the influx of information. It put stress on the police force, who wanted more staff to deal with the increase in sexual and physical abuse cases and complaints from the inquiry. This special investigation unit was put in place by the end of November 1992. This unit was entrusted with child physical and sexual abuse cases involving incidents where children are under the care of someone who is not their parents (Hughes 1991a:195-198).

The inquiry also implicated homosexuality as part of the blame for the abuse that happened at Mount Cashel (Kinsman 1993; McCormick 2014:82). This, in turn, caused the media to grip onto the “homosexual acts rather than [seeing them] as abuse or pedophilia” (McCormick 2014:78). Instead of seeing these instances as an abuse of power, homosexuality and child sexual abuse were intrinsically linked in mass media discussions. According to the Canadian News Index, with 238 citations in 1989 discussing the Hughes Inquiry, there were numerous and far-reaching implications as a result of it (Kinsman 1993; McCormick 2014:70, 83).

According to Overton (1993), the Hughes Inquiry focused on sexual abuse, not the physical (83). This was thought to be the case due to how physical abuse was perceived at the time. Physical abuse, i.e., corporal punishment, was the way of the

Christian Brothers, and to a certain extent, this type of physical punishment was considered normal. It was acknowledged that in the case of Mount Cashel, it was taken too far (Hughes 1991a:200; Overton 1993:84-85).

The Inquiry also brought about the idea of effectiveness. One newspaper quoted, "distraught former orphanage residents are asked to put their trust in a system that has already failed them" (The Record [TR], 3 October 1989:4). Lastly, the Hughes commission was not a smooth process; on September 21, 1989, there was a bomb threat, and consequently, the court was closed for the day to ensure the safety of all (Toronto Star [TS], 21 September 1989:A19). The Hughes Inquiry was officially submitted on May 31, 1991; however, as there was still a legal trial underway, there was a decision made to hold it back from the public. It was officially released to the public on April 24, 1992 (Daly 2014e:13; Higgins 2012b).

**Other Works Resulting from the Hughes Inquiry**

In 1990, The Working Group on Child Sexual Abuse submitted a document to the Hughes commission entitled, *A Brief Submission to Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Response of the Newfoundland Criminal Justice System to Complaints.* This report addressed some of the Hughes Inquiry issues to help those dealing with sexual abuse (WGOCSA 1990:4). This document discussed how the Hughes inquiry brought the abuse to the forefront of our lives in an extremely public way, allowing for an opening of a discussion on abuse, which was previously nonexistent. However, they also outlined that work was still needed because the inquiry showed abuse in a particular light – boys

in a religious institution being abused by men. There was also the fear that this type of abuse had occurred in the past and that it was not a problem of the present (WGOCSA 1990:6).

Michelle Melendy published a master's thesis in 1993 for the Department of Social Work at Memorial University entitled, "The Victims'/Survivors' Perception of Participating in the Hughes Inquiry." She interviewed three males who were abused at Mount Cashel and participated in the Hughes Inquiry. Facilitated by the lawyer who represented the men at the inquiry, research was done after the inquiry before the Hughes Inquiry Report was released, and court dates were not yet set (Melendy 1993: 47-48, 68, 78).

In 1991, Derek O'Brien, a former Mount Cashel resident, released a book entitled, *Suffer Little Children: An Autobiography of a Foster Child.* There was a publication ban on the book in 1992, as his former foster mother was on trial. The announcement of the book being barred came on the same day as the public release of the Hughes Inquiry, and after a previous ban was in place during the trials of the Christian Brothers, but that was briefly lifted after the last trial occurred. O'Brien said this was not right since the Hughes Inquiry was now public (TS, 24 April 1992a:A15). While not wholly the focus, O'Brien discussed his life at Mount Cashel Orphanage, good and bad events that happened to him while he was there, what he witnessed, or what he was told (O'Brien 1991). At the end of the autobiography, O'Brien briefly discussed the Hughes Inquiry, specifically how he talked with people on the phone and had letters sent to him about it (O'Brien 1991:159). O'Brien commented on one of the conclusions from the Hughes Inquiry, which was a pledge from the Minister of Social Services to hire

50 more social workers as being, “Just what we need. More of the same people who couldn’t do their jobs” (O’Brien 1991:164). This showed the Hughes Inquiry demonstrated a need for something; there was still apprehension from those that lived through the events at Mount Cashel and elsewhere, and a feeling that more could yet be done.

## Legal Trials

### *Criminal*

The legal battles regarding the 1975 cover-up began on April 14, 1989, when the first charges against members of the Christian Brothers were laid (NLSCTD 1991f:2). On September 27, 1989, several of the Brothers tried to have the charges dismissed and appealed when this did not work, and they were subsequently upheld (NLSCTD 1989; Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court of Appeal [NLSCA] 1990). Edward English petitioned to have his trial held outside of St. John’s because he thought the Hughes Inquiry's publicity would not have made for a fair trial, but this was turned down (NLSCTD 1991d:1-5). On May 21, 1991, Stephen Rooney was the first Christian Brother to be found guilty. Six charges lead to the sentencing of six years of imprisonment (NLSCTD 1991g). On June 3, 1991, Harold Thorne was found guilty of four charges, which also carried six years of imprisonment (NLSCTD 1991h). On July 8, 1991, Joseph Burke was found guilty of four charges and was sentenced to 25 months imprisonment (NLSCTD 1991b). On August 6, 1991, Edward French was found guilty of three charges and was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. Edward English was

found guilty of 13 charges and was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment (NLSCTD 1991c; NLSCTD 1991e). On February 9, 1992, Allan Ralph was found guilty of 10 charges and was sentenced to four years imprisonment (NLSCA 1993:12; NLSCA 1994b:9). Douglas Kenny was found guilty of seven charges on March 31, 1992, and was sentenced to five years imprisonment on April 14, 1992 (NLSCTD 1992a; NLSCTD 1992b).

At the tail end of these criminal trials, it was released the abuse at Mount Cashel had been going on for decades longer than the public had been told, going back to the 1940s and 1950s (GLOB, 6 March 1992:A4).

Round two of the legal battles with appeals and various applications began on June 25, 1992, with an application for costs by Douglas Kenny (NLSCTD 1992c). Out of four convicted Brothers, two were given increased jail time, and one's sentence was lowered, and the other's was lowered until he was discharged absolutely (NLSCA 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996a:1; GLOB, 24 May 1996:A4).

On November 19, 1996, two Christian Brothers, Ronald Lasik and John Murphy were charged with offences relating to Mount Cashel. However, John Murphy was not officially arrested until May 11, 1998 (NLSCA 2000; NLSCTD 2003:1, 3). Gerard Barry was found guilty of four charges on July 7, 1998, and sentenced to three years imprisonment on August 21, 1998 (NLSCA 2001:3; NLSCTD 1998). On June 5, 1999, Ronald Lasik was found guilty of 19 charges for events over 40 years earlier and was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment on July 27, 1999. This was reduced to 10 years six months for time served (NLSCA 1999; GLOB, 7 June 1999:A3). In July 1999, David Burton was charged, but on June 30, 2000, his application for a stay of proceedings,

halting any legal process, was granted (NLSCTD 2000). On June 15, 2004, John Murphy was sentenced to 20 months to be served in the community (NLSCTD 2004b). Raymond Lahey, a former priest for the Mount Cashel orphanage, was charged in September 2009 for possessing and importing child pornography (not associated with the orphanage). In October of the same year, a former Mount Cashel resident came forward with an allegation that Lahey had possessed child pornography in the 1980s (CP, 8 April 2010).

***Civil***

Civil trials are a different matter. On April 5, 1989, a resident announced that he was suing the Christian Brothers and the provincial government (Daly 2014e:13; Higgins 2012b). He settled on August 25, 1995, with an undisclosed amount of money from the Christian Brothers (Daly 2014e:13; Higgins 2012b). Four other major civil suits followed. The first was settled out of court in 1997, with an $11 million payout to roughly forty residents (Higgins 2012b). The next suit, settled on November 10, 2004 (NLSCTD 2004a), involved compensation for the Mount Cashel victims by selling two Vancouver schools owned by the Brothers. This trial's liquidation was a lengthy and volatile process that ended up with the two schools being saved (Foot 2004:25; GLOB, 26 July 2002:A8; TS, 26 July 2002:A21). On April 5, 2003, another settlement was reached for $16 million to be distributed between 83 people (Higgins 2012b). On May 23, 2013, another settlement was announced, involving monetary settlement and other assets. This settlement involved $16.5 million to 420 individuals (CP, 23 May 2013; Daly 2014e:13; CP, 15 December 2016).

As of 2016, there was a civil trial involving roughly 60 claimants, arguing that the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corp. of St. John's was responsible for compensation to the victims of alleged abuse that occurred as far back as the 1940s (CP, 6 June 2016). On March 16, 2018, the judge ruled that the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation was not liable for the abuse in the 1950s because the senior priest who the boys reported it to probably did not believe them. The good reputation of the Christian Brothers made the abuse stories seem unlikely (CP, 20 March 2018; NLSCGD 2018; Sweet 2019).

Immediately a call for an appeal was made. Gemma Hickey, a local activist, stated,

> "Allowing the force of an alleged reputation to override actual notice from extremely vulnerable children is very concerning to me. Another indication that even today, those fortunate enough to have a 'good reputation' will not have to answer for the consequences of their actions" (CP, 20 March 2018)

Budden and Associates, the survivors' law firm, released a document on March 20, 2018, discussing the court's decision and their plan to appeal (Budden and Associates 2018). The Archdiocese also issued a statement: while they never participated in the orphanage's operation, they sympathized with the victims as they went through genuine abuse (CH, 21 March 2018: A9). An appeal was heard in court on March 22, 2019 (NLSCGD 2018; Sweet 2019). As stated at the beginning of my thesis,

the appeal decision was released on July 29, 2020, making the St. John's Catholic Church liable for the abuse (CBC News 2020a).

**Demolition and Later Events**

After the scandal rocked Newfoundland, the Mount Cashel Estate was left vacant. Marjorie Doyle (2013) discussed a clip that CBC radio aired in November of 1989 that talks about the Mount Cashel estate's future. "FOR SALE: fine old establishment and acres of prime real estate in St. Johns East. Must sell fast. Management wants out" (Doyle 2013:189). Doyle equated the closure of Mount Cashel to "an alcoholic throwing out the booze in his house. It gets rid of the immediate problem, but it's not a long-term solution" (Doyle 2013:189). She also surmised that Mount Cashel is simply concrete, architecture, a building. The real thing of concern is what happened inside those four walls (Doyle 2013:189). Doyle posed interesting ideas for the time, such as whether the congregation should have closed instead of the orphanage. She also highlighted the reversal of power into the institutionalized children's hands now that their voices are being heard (Doyle 2013:189-190). Finally, she questioned whether Mount Cashel's other memories would be affected by the wrongdoings that occurred there. Will the great band be preserved? What of the garden parties (Doyle 2013:190)? This train of thought aligns well with the archaeology of difficult heritage and questioning whether the memory should be altered when it focuses on the perpetrators (Logan and Reeves 2009b:2). In this case, it would be those who ran the events.

On April 3, 1992, the Christian Brothers announced that the orphanage would be torn down, and on July 21, 1992, the once-great Orphanage began to crumble to the ground, starting with the demolition of the estate. This work continued for two months. The demolition of the orphanage occurred quietly, without fuss from the public or city, many not aware of its occurrence (Figure 5).


Figure 5. Mount Cashel Orphanage demolition. Source: Adams and Hornstein 2015:50.

Roughly 20 former residents attended the demolition (Adams and Hornstein 2015:49, 54; Daly 2014c:27; GLOB 25 April 1992:A10; Higgins 2012b). Adams and Hornstein (2015:47) suggest that Mount Cashel was purposefully demolished to instil a collective forgetfulness of the crimes that occurred at the site, and by demolishing the

building, “its disappearance was associated with the erasure of a painful memory” (Adams and Hornstein 2015:50). This erasure may have partially come from the survivors. Trew (2005) stated that “[M]any of the Mount Cashel abuse victims wanted the orphanage torn down and the site made into a memorial park” (62). While this is a form of erasure, they still wanted to have something to show that an event did occur there. This shows the juxtaposition of memory, its physical embodiment with what needs to be remembered and what people want to forget. Today, this can be looked back upon as a request for a counter-monument. Survivors wanted to counter the existing social connotation but still have a form of commemoration that focused on what they wanted (Osborne 2017:1; Stevens et al. 2012:952; Young 1999). As we know today, this early request was denied.

After demolition, the next step was to decide what to do with the property. In November of 1992, the Roman Catholic Church announced that it intended to sell the property (Higgins 2012b). The sale of the estate was supposed to be used to finance programs for the survivors, not for financial compensation (TS, 4 April 1992b:A26).

Sobeys also announced that it wanted to build a grocery store on the land. In April of 1993, it became known that Sobeys was negotiating to buy the area within the next five years (Higgins 2012b). This did happen, though there were many obstacles and changes in plans. On March 26, 1997, Sobeys requested to have the Mount Cashel property rezoned as commercial property (Brannan 1999:3-4). The property was officially obtained by Sobeys in April of 1998, with permission to build the store and housing developments granted on April 8, 1998 (Adams and Hornstein 2015:51; Higgins 2012b).

Contention continued. On May 4, 1998, Beaton Sheppard Limited submitted a publication, *Land - Use Impact Assessment for the Development of the Mount Cashel Property for Sobeys Inc.,* to the city of St. John's. The proposed development called for 66 detached family homes, a "tot lot" play area for children, a 6,600 square metre supermarket with a 385-car parking lot, and a linear park which "could be suitably refined as a memorial to the victims of Mount Cashel" (Beaton Sheppard Limited 1998: section 1 introduction). The park was proposed to be 5,000 square feet (Beaton Sheppard Limited 1998:Section 2 "traffic study" pg. 3). Of this land use impact assessment, exactly two pages exist dedicated to the memorial park. Section 10.0 includes the "Design considerations for Memorial Park," which consists of a singular map for the design (Figure 6).

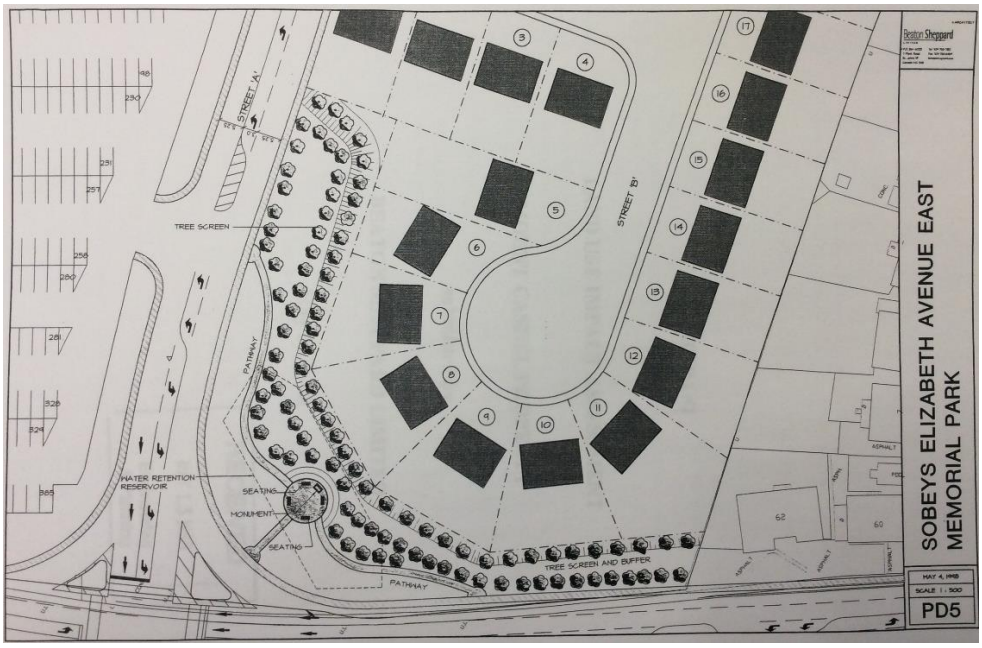



Figure 6. Original memorial park map. Source: Beaton Sheppard Limited, 1998.

Addendum number one, submitted on May 13, 1998, is a revised map of the memorial park plan (Beaton Sheppard Limited 1998) (Figure 7).

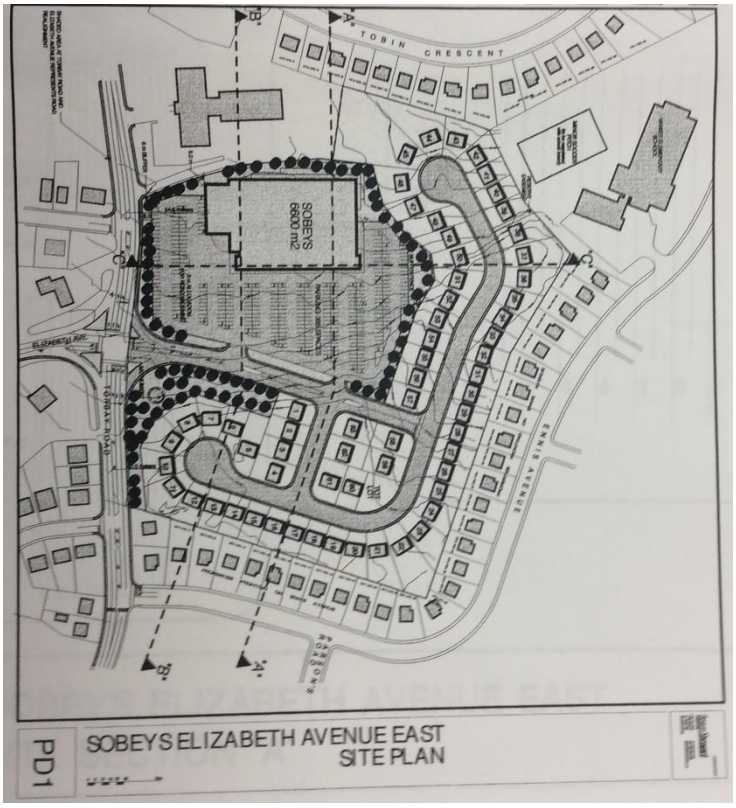



Figure 7. Revised map. Source: Beaton Sheppard Limited, 1998.

There was some contention surrounding this rezoning and the municipal plan. An amendment report for this was filed, and a public hearing was undertaken in 1999. Several issues were examined, the most contentious regarding the Deputy Mayor and Mayor being in a conflict of interest relationship with Sobeys and the fact that their votes on the rezoning were integral in the passing of the amendment (Brannan 1999:1). It became known that the Deputy Mayor knew that Sobeys wished to purchase the land, and he submitted a correspondence two days before Sobeys' proposal outlining their desire to do so. This was seen as the Deputy Mayor having a conflict of interest with

advance knowledge. However, this correspondence was not accepted as proof when the original report was reviewed for amendment (Brannan 1999:4).

During the public hearing, there were various valid reasons given not to rezone the site for commercial purposes, such as the already large number of businesses in the area and the fact there were elementary schools nearby. None of the proposed reasons involved the memory or heritage of the area (Brannan 1999:5).

This amendment report's recommendation was to reject the proposal favouring the local opposition, instead of rezoning the area for commercial purposes, considering other developments, such as one of the competing proposals – a hockey school (Brannan 1999:7-8).

This was seen as a positive addition, though the same negative issues that were raised still followed (Brannan 1999:7-8). In 1998, a publication was released entitled *Report to the Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs with Respect to a Public Hearing on Proposed Amendment no. 84 to the St. John's Municipal Plan* by Gallant (1998). This report outlined several steps that were taken, based on previous studies regarding the new development. These included traffic studies, a change in designation to allow for a commercial property that is only 9,000 square feet, noise impact studies, neighbourhood impact studies, and a survey of residents, which indicated a positive feeling toward development (Gallant 1998:3, 5).

This report also stated something that was not mentioned in previous proposals. “The Mount Cashel property is a beautiful parcel of land, located in a central portion of the city. Once the decision to develop is made, there is no going back” (Gallant 1998:12). Gallant highlighted the nature of St. John’s, being “historic, mature and

grand” (1998:87). He also emphasized that the Mount Cashel property plays into this distinction, and he recommended, once again, to deny the application (Gallant 1998:13, 87).

This report never mentioned the orphanage or the heritage that the site holds, nor does it discuss the memorial park's development. Instead, this is done by a survivor of Mount Cashel, and it was published in a newspaper in 1993.

Dereck O’Brien wished to see a memorial park on the site instead of a supermarket. He wanted families to use and enjoy the area: "Take the whole site and turn it into a park, dress it up with nice gardens and swings for the children. It's the least that can be done for the pain and suffering of the kids who went through there” (VS, 23 August 1993:A8). He said that there needed to be some form of acknowledgement to those that underwent abuse, especially since there is no longer any physical reminder (VS, 23 August 1993:A8).

1998 was when development and approvals gained momentum. The Memorial Park was approved in 1998 (Daly 2014b:247). $20 million was spent to build the grocery store and housing development on the property (Daly 2014c:27). The memorial park was estimated to have been created in 1999 (Daly 2014b:247). I was not able to find any exact dates regarding the creation of the memorial park.

**Modern Day**

The current landscape of the former Mount Cashel estate is different a hundred years ago, or even 30 years ago. Where Sobeys is today, “Mount Cashel once looked

south toward Signal Hill and the city that lay below" (Reardon 2015:19). The building is a strip mall with no trace of past life (Adams and Hornstein 2015:50-51) (Figure 8).

Figure 8. The former Mount Cashel Orphanage site; Sobeys (left), memorial park (right).

Trew argued that locals often refer to the Sobeys as Mount Cashel Sobeys keeping the memory alive (2005:63). This is important because the actual form of memorialization, the park, is ineffective (Adams and Hornstein 2015:53) (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Modern memorial park.

There have been other informal ways that Mount Cashel has been memorialized, in real and imaged space (Adams and Hornstein 2015:53). For instance, local residents have taken it upon themselves to create small memorials for the orphanage (Adams and Hornstein 2015:52). Adams and Hornstein discussed how, as of 2009, a Google Map image still displayed the location of the original orphanage (2015:53). This is still true in 2020 (Google 2020).

St. John's has a document on file entitled, *History: Street Names, Areas, Monuments, Plaques* (2012). The Mount Cashel Memorial is not on this list. There are, however, multiple mentions of street names associated with Mount Cashel, such as Ennis Avenue, O'Grady Street, O'Regan Place, O'Regan Road, Rumboldt Place, and Slattery Road (please see pages 72-73 of this thesis for the connections and implications). There are also places listed named after Irish Christian Brothers, such as Conway Cresent and Keane Place. However, in 2018 there was a document entitled "Monument Inventory Report," which lists 'Mount Cashel Markers' (Department of Public Works Parks Services Division 2018:8) (Figure 10).

Figure 10. The two gateposts within the memorial park.

They mark Mount Cashel Orphanage's former location with images that are included. This document lists monuments on city-owned spaces and is maintained by the city (DPWPSD 2018:2).

**Other publications, Media, and Notable Events**

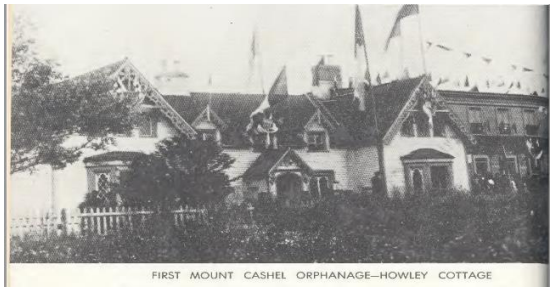
There have been various other publications that have been released related to the Mount Cashel scandal. In 1990, Michael Harris released a fictional book based on the events that happened at Mount Cashel surrounding the scandal entitled, *Unholy Orders*. Robert Hunt released *Townies,* a book that discussed some of the history of Mount Cashel (Hunt 2015). There was a CBC television film based on Mount Cashel, called "The Boys of St. Vincent" in 1992 (Smith 1992). While it involves fictional characters, the story does stay very close to the real events at Mount Cashel. Near its release, one newspaper discussed how some individuals might see this film as anti-Catholic, but that is too simplistic of a view. It intended to shed light on dark times (Martin 1995:25).

In 1994, a support services manual entitled, *Victim/Witness Support Services for Multiple Child Sexual Abuse Court Trials* by the Institute for Human Resources Development was published. Although it was released shortly after the Hughes Inquiry, this document dealt with the legal trials. "The primary purpose of this manual is to identify a range of strategies and a practical framework that will assist victims/witnesses in multiple victim child sexual abuse trials" (Institute for Human Recourses Development

[IHRD] 1994:1). The Mount Cashel trials prompted this and how support services were delivered (IHRD 1994:1).

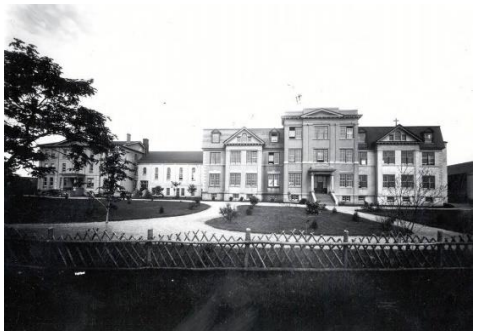
In 2013, Gemma Hickey founded The Pathways Foundation in St. John's (Pathways Foundation 2018). It is in place to support and guide survivors of religious institutional abuse. Hickey was a victim of abuse by a Roman Catholic priest. Their foundation has commented on the Mount Cashel Orphanage situation in the past. "[T]he lawsuit and related media coverage force survivors to re-live that pain" Hickey said. "It triggers us, and it also re-traumatizes us as a province." (CP, 6 June 2016).

Mount Cashel Orphanage has a long and complicated history. The physical building has changed from a cottage to no longer existing, with family homes, a commercial development, and a memorial park in its place (Figure 11).




Howley Cottage

Pre 1926



1948


1992

2019

Figure 11: Timeline of the Progression of the Mount Cashel Orphanage Building.

Sources: 02. 04. 025. http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/arch_geog/id/2882; 2. 04. 028, http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/arch_geog/id/2884; Adams and Hornstein 2015:50; COCB 1951:5

The Orphanage that was once known for its good in society shifted to be a place of shame. There have also been some good social implications that resulted from the difficult history of child abuse, such as changing how abuse allegations are handled in the justice system in Newfoundland (Hughes 1991a, 1991b, IHRD 1994). Despite this, there lacks appropriate memorialization for Mount Cashel Orphanage, even with requests from survivors (Trew 2005:62). The next chapter will discuss other social and physical factors that affected the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage.

# Chapter Three: Failure to Remember (The Sediment Falling)

## How Does One Go About Covering the Past?

As a young researcher, I had to search quite hard for data, material, and people, related to Mount Cashel Orphanage. Considering it was an event that occurred well within living memory and lifetime, this seemed odd. This shows that St. John's has failed at dealing with Mount Cashel Orphanage's difficult heritage through inadequate commemoration.

Whether this is due to an active or intentional form of erasure or an unintentional lack of active work toward its memory is unclear. Even if there was no cover-up, Mount Cashel has never been adequately memorialized. To do so, someone would have needed to advocate for such a thing actively. In addition to this, memory is fluid, inconsistent, and malleable (Drivdahl and Hyman 2013:1080). How we look at the past can change over time, depending on external factors such as current circumstances, like politics (Olick:1999:341). Therefore, I propose that a combination of societal factors has contributed to the lack of proper memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. Society left the shameful heritage in the past. There is also a clear relationship between the physical and the social. The physical covering up of Mount Cashel Orphanage both reflects and affects a social cover-up.

Through archival research and interviews, I have found that a lack of proper memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage exists because physical and social factors have prevented this from occurring over the years. These factors are the underlying

reasons why Mount Cashel Orphanage was not effectively memorialized. They either have been deliberately put into place or have occurred as a natural consequence of other actions. Each was adding a new possible reason or way in which the past was buried. It is as if the sediments of time rapidly accumulated over these events, much in the same way as an archaeological site is buried with dirt and debris over time. In the case of Mount Cashel Orphanage, it occurred rapidly, both physically and socially, to the point that 31 years after the scandal, it does not look like anything had ever happened there. Yet there are still implications from Mount Cashel that exist today. The legal ramifications are still ongoing (CBC News 2020a). This chapter will offer an in-depth discussion of the physical and social factors that have aided in preventing the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage.

**Demolition of the Orphanage**

As stated in the previous chapter, Mount Cashel Orphanage was closed on April 3, 1992, and was subsequently torn down over two months, starting on July 21, 1992 (Adams and Hornstein 2015:49; GLOB, 25 April 1992:A10; Higgins 2012b). This removal initiated the act of tangibly burying Mount Cashel's heritage, becoming the first physical trigger for actively forgetting the past. With no building to provide a reference or a place to visit, acts of commemoration or remembrance involving original or near original infrastructures were eliminated.

Another popular example of this, within the realm of difficult contemporary heritage, is the Anne Frank House. A young Jewish girl, her family, and another family

lived in a hidden Annex in Amsterdam during World War Two. During the Nazi occupation of Holland, Anne wrote about her daily life in her diary. A tip sent the Nazis to the Annex, where they detained those living there, sending them to concentration camps. The only one to survive was Anne's father, Otto. Anne's diary was eventually published, resulting in her becoming an icon of World War Two.

The Anne Frank House was turned into a museum in the 1960s to educate people about the war, with a stripped-down but intact apartment, which still has movie posters from Anne on the walls (Brockman 2017:25-27).

With the demolition of Mount Cashel Orphanage, the opportunity to create a similar type of immersive and visual educational experience with the original infrastructure was removed. However, there were still many opportunities for memorialization at that time, such as building an infrastructure for a museum, monument, or other larger physical type of commemoration.

Building infrastructure for memorialization could only be possible if the intent of removing the orphanage were to remove the problematic past from the landscape, but not to forget the shameful past entirely. Adams and Hornstein (2015) discussed how destroying the building was an example of repressing the past by "transferring blame to what will be the missing architecture" (47). After the demolition, former resident Dereck O'Brien suggested using the space to create a memorial park – a way to ensure the acknowledgement of the events and those that lived through them – and change the tone of the place to something happier. Thus, at this point, there was still someone advocating for the memory of the Mount Cashel Orphanage (VS, 23 August 1993:A8). As we know today, this only partially occurred.

## Addition of the Superstore and the Housing Development

The next physical factor in the prevention of the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage, which reinforces the idea proposed by Adams and Hornstein (2015) of forgetting the past (49), was the building of Sobeys and housing development.

Between November 1992 and late 1998 (Higgins 2012b; Daly 2014b:27, 247-248), each piece of material being added to the site was an expedited version of soil accumulation, removing the difficult past from the present through a physical embodiment of the passage of time. By adding these substantial and expansive infrastructure pieces, the difficult landscape that once existed was being hidden underneath new brick and mortar.

Whether or not the intention to hide the landscape existed, as Adams and Hornstein (2015) argued, it was hidden. They point out that if the building was just removed, it "takes on an air of memorialization" (Adams and Hornstein 2015:49). However, adding a 'replacement' on top (the store and the houses) added to the 'erasure' (Adams and Hornstein 2015:49). Even with the addition of these buildings, there is still an opportunity for memorialization in the area. After all, what is in a name?

## Existing Memorialization

The existing memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage has not adequately advocated for the memory of the scandal. To gateposts that once sat at the entrance of Mount Cashel Orphanage with no explanation as to why the memorial exists (Adams

and Hornstein 2015:51-52). As mentioned earlier in my thesis, this is no proper memorial. This is an inferior form of memorialization that both represses the history and perpetuates the silence. There are no signs to denote what the significance of this park is. There are no plaques to educate visitors about what happened here. One has to know the history of what happened at this location to understand why this ‘park’ exists. One would not intuitively know that the two posts that remain are gateposts from the orphanage (Adams and Hornstein 2015:51-52). As well, questions arise, such as how do these gateposts memorialize an abusive situation without adding more context with something else such as a plaque? In addition to this, it has been noted that this park is often not cleared of snow during the winter, so it does not provide accessible memorialization (Trew 2005:63). It is silent and repressed under snow for so many months, and then it exists merely as a silent and repressed place. The park was erected by Sobeys, effectively washing their hands of any obligation to memorialization (Adams and Horstein 2015:52). People can argue that memorialization does exist for Mount Cashel Orphanage, and they would be right. Still, this existing act of memorialization can also be seen as more of a barrier to the holistic remembrance of the orphanage and the scandal. It's inadequate at best. It exists to say that it has been done, but it has not been done correctly, in conjunction with those affected, and it does nothing to show Newfoundland’s holistic past.

**The Naming of "Howley Estates"**

If you visit the website for Sobeys and view the name of the location built on top of Mount Cashel Orphanage, it is called "Sobeys St. John's Howley Estates" (Sobeys Inc. 2019). The daycare in the associated neighbourhood is known as Little People's Workshop, St. John's-Howley Estates location (Little People's Workshop 2020).

For my research, I was unable to find any mention of the naming "Howley Estates" for this area before the Sobeys was built. I also do not know why or by whom the name was chosen. I can make an educated guess it was named Howley Estates after Bishop Howley, the person who donated/sold the land for Mount Cashel Orphanage, by Sobeys since they now own the Estate (Adams and Hornstein 2015:51; COCB 1951:48; O'Flaherty 2009:1ix). This is a complete physical and social erasure of Mount Cashel Orphanage from the area and surrounding landscape – physically – because there will be no real dedication or signage that includes the old orphanage's name, and socially – because there would have been a conscious decision to exclude Mount Cashel from the common name for the area.

It is one thing to choose to name these locations after a prominent figure from the area, Bishop Howley, but it is another when the city already had a dedication to Howley in the form of two streets named after him – *Howley Avenue* and *Howley Avenue Extension* – both named in 1921 (St. John's 2012). In conjunction with the shameful twentieth-century history, the naming choice now acts as a form of erasure and whitewashing. Roughly one hundred years of history has been removed from the landscape, and it will continue to be covered up through the lack of a social reminder of

the history and memory of the area. It makes sense the name ‘Howley’ was chosen to eliminate the memory of Mount Cashel to bring back memories that pre-existed Mount Cashel, but it is still an erasure.

**Street Names Connected to the Irish Christian Brothers**

As discussed previously, there are plenty of roads in St. John’s that have ties to Mount Cashel Orphanage. Some streets were named before the scandal, and some were named years after. Specifically, there are streets named after educators at Mount Cashel and Irish Christian Brothers. At least two of the roads, O’Grady Street and Rumbodlt Place, were named after the scandal (St. John’s 2012). O’Grady Street was named on either September 14 or 17, 1998, for “[t]ies to Mount Cashel” (St. Johns 2012:165). I was unable to determine who this referred to. Rumboldt Place was named on September 14, 1998, for Ignasius Romboldt and his connection to Mount Cashel (St. Johns 2012:201). Rumboldt was a resident of the orphanage when he was younger and a music director of the orphanage when he was older. His time at the Orphanage spanned 1936-1952. He was an esteemed and well-known musician in Newfoundland (Dunsmore 1984; Woodford and King 2007).

The other streets with connections to Mount Cashel were named in 1964. Slattery Road was named after the first Principal of Mount Cashel Orphanage, Reverend Slattery (St. John’s 2012:209). A wing of the orphanage was also named after him (COCB 1951:48, 103). Ennis Avenue was named for Brother Ennis, who was a teacher at Mount Cashel at the time. Land purchased for city expansion was also bought from Ennis (St. John’s 2012:80). Ennis was superior at Mount Cashel for a

period, and there was a wing named after him as well (COCB 1951:48, 103). O'Regan Place and O'Regan Avenue were named for the same reason. "The memory of Reverend Brother Thomas O'Regan, who was closely associated with Mount Cashel" (St. John's 2012:166). Also, for "the munificence of the O'Regan family to Mount Cashel,'" (St. John's 2012:166). This is because O'Regan's family paid for many of the renovations at the orphanage, and there was also a wing named after him (COCB 1951:48,103).

In 1964, Conway Crescent was named after Brother Conway, a member of the Irish Christian Brothers, and a teacher at Holy Cross (St. John's 2012:58-59). It does not mention a connection to Mount Cashel. Despite this, there is one. The Christian Brothers of Ireland's diamond jubilee document indicates a clear connection between Conway and Mount Cashel as a parental figure (COCB 1951:97). Finally, Keane Place was named in 1976 after Brother Keane, a member of the Irish Christian Brothers. The only connection to Mount Cashel, in this case, was his work in the order (St. John's 2012:122).

None of the streets are named after individuals mentioned or were part of the scandal, the Hughes commission, or the legal trials. However, the fact that those individuals could have been involved in, or simply knew about, the difficult history of Mount Cashel while it was ongoing can be a social factor to the detriment of the memorialization and commemoration of Mount Cashel Orphanage, considering its difficult history. That is to say, by keeping these street names, the city is perpetuating the idea that the Irish Christian Brothers' history outweighs the hurt that their

organization did to many boys and their families. It shows that one interpretation of history is more important than another and to remember.

The older street names are of well-known individuals associated with the Order, and they are more likely to bring up memories for those who were abused in the orphanage. One of the older street names has a double connotation – while not connected to the orphanage, but around the time of the 1989 scandal – a St. John's Roman Catholic priest named Francis Slattery was charged with gross indecency toward a young boy (Allen 1989:16). Proceedings were stayed for his trial for reasons unknown, but the accusation was still known, with Slattery being mentioned in Maclean's, and in the Winter report (Allen 1989:16; CCASJ 1990a:1). While this was not necessarily intended to be named after a well-known individual who allegedly committed child sexual assault, that connection to the street name still exists.

After keeping the previous names, choosing to name two streets after people with ties to Mount Cashel after the scandal does not seem to be sensitive to the situation, even if one of these individuals was revered in our society.

As seen from the history of Mount Cashel, abuse at the orphanage was an occurrence known to many. It is possible that these people knew about the abuse, even if they did not perpetuate it, and that alone could be triggering for individuals who were abused. On top of this, they were named when criminal trials were still ongoing, just a few months after John Murphey was arrested, and Gerard Barry was sentenced (NLSCA 2001:3; NLSCTD 1998; NLSCTD 2003:3).

Subject #1 made a cynical comment regarding how the city can encourage holistic remembrance by having "a subdivision with pedophile priests and brothers as

the names of the street." This clearly shows how the negative link is made for someone connected to Mount Cashel in 2019.

Aside from this, there are both physical and social barriers to changing these street names. For those named before the scandal, why should the city change the names of streets that are about those that did good and were not mentioned as part of the scandal? There are also logistical challenges associated with changing street names,  like the price tag. While there is no official price from the City of St. John's for changing a street name, it is easy to think of some things that would need to be changed and paid for once a street name is changed. For example, people would need to update their documents, such as their driver's licences. As well, the city would need to change its architectural plans and switch out signage. This would need to be paid for out of pocket by residents, through municipal budgets or increased taxes, none of which seem like favourable options for the city, or its citizens, for something that could be left alone.

**Secularism, Religion, and Remembrance**

Colonial Canada was founded on religion (Buckingham 2014:7). In Canada, we have the right to religious freedom, and the government tries to protect minority groups from being discriminated against based on their religious views (Buckingham 2014:29). In the 1960s, secularism began to rise in Canada, with religion becoming a privatized affair under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Buckingham 2014:19-30). Secularism is "the belief that religion should not be involved with the ordinary social and political

activities of a country" (Cambridge University Dictionary 2020). While Canada has a secular government, it is not a fully secularized country, which still causes debate between religion and society (Buckingham 2014:5). Canada and Newfoundland both involve religion as part of their acts of remembrance. This might be a social factor for some, as Mount Cashel Orphanage is associated with a religious order, the Christian Brothers of Ireland, a Christian group. It's possible Mount Cashel survivors do not want to interact with religion, especially Christianity since it is a direct reminder of their abusers. As you can see from the next few examples, that extremely hard to do in Canada in the case of commemoration practices.

Remembrance Day, and the commemoration of soldiers and war, are important across many countries. Yet Canada seems to be one of the few nations that blindly use religion as part of its ceremonies. Veterans Affairs Canada, a government organization, has released a guide outlining a basic commemorative service. While it does not say that a priest must perform the service, it does suggest including prayers and blessings (Veterans Affairs Canada 2019a). For example, a 2015 article stated that at the National Remembrance Day Ceremony in Ottawa, a Catholic priest recited prayers, and after an invitation for God's blessing, he invited those in attendance "simply to use this moment for personal reflection as others pray" (CBC News 2015). In 2019, other 'Spiritual Leaders' are the ones calling for peace in Canada at our Remembrance Day ceremonies. In this case, the request came from a Rabbi. While not a Christian leader, he is still a religious leader (Berthiaume 2019). In Newfoundland, memorial services for The Great Wars are held in churches on the first of July as a part of a long tradition, and to commemorate a larger sacrifice that happened in 1916 (Eaton 2019). To some, this

religious interference may seem mundane and ordinary. As someone who grew up in Newfoundland attending these ceremonies, I would not have blinked twice at a priest reciting a prayer or having a commemoration ceremony held in a church. Newfoundland has a long history and tradition of religion, which has implications for the region's politics.

In the mid-nineteenth century, each Newfoundland political party had a known religious counterpart. The Liberals were connected with Catholics, and Conservatives were connected with Protestant, or anti-Catholic members of the populace. People voted for the party associated with their religion (Greene 1970:147). Today the government is still be intertwined with religion. In 2016, the Newfoundland government raised a “Christian Flag” for holy week, which was removed shortly thereafter, after complaints that the flag perpetuated homophobia (Brown 2016). Should the government even have raised a religious flag considering its secularism? Brown (2016) acknowledged that “separation of church and state has always been blurry in Newfoundland and Labrador.” Newfoundland was one of the few provinces that tried to control abortions after they were decriminalized in Canada in 1969, limiting women’s access until 1998 (Rayside, Sabin and Thomas 2017:123). Sexual orientation rights were also slow to be incorporated into Newfoundland’s legislation (Rayside, Sabin and Thomas 2017:124). Today, our provincial motto directly translates to “Seek Ye First the Kingdom of God” (The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2019).

With the intertwining of religion and government being so prominent still, it does make sense we use religion in our remembrance practices such as ceremonies and commemoration. Newfoundland and Canada have not begun to question how

having a non-secular ceremony without ‘prayer’ could be beneficial and inclusionary, while a religious one can be alienating. This is a substantial barrier for one person connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage. During my interview, they described how having a person who is part of the revered social elite connected to painful history negatively as a part of a ceremony was a poor idea. “You know, don’t have some dude that represents that officiate over shit. It’s like; it’s a slap in the face, you know” (Subject # 1 2019). They represent an organization that covered up pedophilic acts, “proven in court, to do horrendous acts,” and are continuously celebrated (Subject # 1 2019).

A lack of appropriate memorialization for Mount Cashel Orphanage may have occurred because people may have thought commemoration without religion in Canada was not possible. Survivors would have preferred not to do it if they need to interact with religion. The continuance to use religion for commemoration is also a constant reminder that the religion that abused children is more important than the abused children, alienating survivors. Lastly, perhaps do the intertwining of religion and commemoration, religious groups did not want to partake in any commemoration because of the abuse scandal since it portrayed them negatively. Either way, secularism and religion are factor’s against the commemoration of Mount Cashel Orphanage.

**‘Delinquent’ Boys versus ‘Respected’ Religious Authority**

The individuals that the difficult past concerns can be part of why constructive commemoration has not occurred. The perpetrators, the Irish Christian Brothers, were seen as “respected and influential” (Hughes 1991a:113). As well, they were considered

community authority figures (Overton 1993:84) and were an “indispensable resource to Newfoundland Catholics” (Hughes 2000:250). The survivors were young boys, whose families could not provide proper care for them, or were orphans (Hughes 2000:250). Hughes (2000) argued there were few actual delinquent boys at Mount Cashel (250). In his autobiography, O’Brien (1991), a former resident, said there was a stigma that the boys in Mount Cashel were unmanageable, unreasonable, and outcasts (142). This stigma and authoritarian viewpoint caused some to question if the scandal would weaken the authority and increase the delinquency (Overton 1993:84). The good and long reputation among the Christian Brothers outweighed the words of the young delinquent boys (CP, 20 March 2018; Hughes 1991a:137). While there has been progress in this area, specifically the multitude of charges laid, perhaps this idea still exists, but in more of a subtle way. By ignoring the voices of the ‘delinquents’ who spoke up, again, to only remember the good things that the Irish Christian Brothers did, instead of the bad. This was inadvertently what was happening, even if the actual agenda was not being pushed. As well, the idea that these boys ‘brought it upon themselves,’ and “could have said ‘[n]o, thank you very much,” was thrown around by a Catholic Bishop, Colin Campell (TS, 11 August 1989:A23). Considering both the ‘delinquency’ and the sense of mind to ‘defy authority by saying no,’ give the upper hand to the religious body, and perpetuate the message that those in positions of authority were not as bad as the victims themselves, and thus were above reproach.

**The Scale of the Scandal**

The size of the scandal is a possible social factor to prevent the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. The scandal occurred at a single orphanage in a small province in Canada. Despite the effects of the scandal reaching as far as Vancouver, Canada (TS, 26 July 2002:A21), in the grand scheme of things, this history is incredibly small. It may not seem as important to recognize, maintain, or memorialize as other events, even of difficult history. For example, as seen previously, there was some debate over whether to sell two Vancouver schools run by the Irish Christian Brothers to pay for restitution in Newfoundland. The sentiment that they held was that the small crimes in Newfoundland were not as important as keeping those schools open in Vancouver for other children, even if the same organization ran them as those perpetrating the abuse in Newfoundland. “Why should we have to pay for crimes that were committed 5,000 miles away?” (CNT, 6 November 2002:6).

Another example is residential school memorialization. Residential schools spanned the entirety of Canada, where cultural genocide, which included physical and sexual abuse of children, was committed by the government and the churches. In 2008, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was created to try to rectify past wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples, which included commemoration of residential schools to educate people about the past and to help those affected by residential schools to heal, as well as to reconcile the relationship with Indigenous people (TRCC 2015). The events at Mount Cashel seem relatively minor compared to the events at residential schools, which happened countrywide. Though similar

happenings occurred at both places (i.e., physical and sexual assault by religious persons), one seems to have affected more people, leading to more effort being put into reconciliation and memorialization of residential schools. The focus of residential schools could be directing it away from other acts of remembrance of institutionalized abuse. This is not to say that there should not be memorialization for residential schools. I hope that this focus will open the door for more solidarity among survivors of clergy sexual abuse.

However, Mount Cashel is part of a global history of institutionalized child abuse, which happened worldwide. The Christian Brothers operated many orphanages like Mount Cashel. For example, in the United States, Briscoe Memorial School in Washington, USA, run by the Brothers, was subject to allegations of physical and sexual abuse, which authority figures did nothing about, and this eventually resulted in settlements (Tu 2004; Winter 2013). There is no memorialization for this scandal.

At a Catholic Children's home, Smyllum Park Orphanage, which was run by nuns in Scotland, it was found that children were abused physically, emotionally, and sexually along with being severely mistreated, to the point that children died, and their deaths were covered up. A memorial exists for the orphanage, but it is for those that died while in their care, not to commemorate the overall abuse (BBC News 2018; Grant 2017). A rare example in which memorialization exists for Orphanage Abuse is in Australia. Neerkol Orphans Memorial exists for Neerkol Orphanage. It consists of the sign from the original gates, as well as plaques, and is to "commemorate those who were placed in institutionalized care" (Monument Australia 2010). Physical and sexual abuse occurred at Neerkol Orphanage, and it was covered up by a government official

(Brisbane Times 2015; Monument Australia 2010). Each of these instances involve a single orphanage in which abuse occurred and was covered up, which may be a factor in the lack of memorialization for the childhood abuse that occurred there. It could also be the fact that they are part of a shameful history, which I will discuss next.

**Difficult versus Shameful Heritage**

'Difficult heritage' is an all-encompassing term used by many authors such as Burström and Gelderblom (2011), Macdonald (2009a), and Wollentz (2017) to refer to heritage that is associated with "a past that is recognised as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity" (Macdonald 2009a:1). However, 'shameful heritage' is a more specific term to describe difficult history that focuses on painful or shameful history; it shows "the destructive and cruel side of history" (Logan and Reeves 2009b:1). It describes shameful situations because of how society or certain individuals treated people in the past (Logan and Reeves 2009b:1). Maybe some difficult histories are easier to remember, advocate for, and memorialize for society because they are not shameful histories, such as 9/11. Thousands of people were, and continue to be, affected by these tragic events. 2,977 people lost their lives during the terror attacks, including first responders (CNN Editorial Research 2019). 3,949 civilian aircraft were forced to land at the closest airport after the call to ground all commercial and civilian planes came soon after the plane struck the towers (Atkins 2011a:173; Atkins 2011b 470-472). As well, those that participated in clean-up efforts at Ground Zero still

experience drastic effects, such as cancer and respiratory illness (Atkins 2011c:120). This is difficult history, but we are not ashamed of the attacks. Moreover, in commemoration of 9/11, we focus on the innocent victims of the terror attacks (as per counter-monumentality) or other places' generosity. For example, Newfoundland proudly boasts its efforts in 9/11, such as with the Broadway show, “Come From Away” (Come From Away 2020). Gander, NL helped, housed, and fed, almost 7,000 passengers whose planes had to land during the attacks, earning itself a name for hospitality in the time of hardship (Lackey 2017).

**Canada/Newfoundland as Prideful**

Pride, specifically pride of where you are from, can be a massive trigger toward a lack of memorialization of shameful heritage if that place does not want to show the dark part of its past. Both Newfoundland and Canada are very prideful and focus on their difficult history's positive aspects to unite us (as do most western countries). For example, the Veterans Affairs Canada website lists memorials in Canada and has references to places and objects “to remember the sacrifices made by the men and women who have served our great nation” (2019b). Instead of a monument to those that lost their lives serving in the army, Canada chooses to play up their war effort using this type of terminology to show their pride in their war effort. Newfoundland does the same. The war memorial in downtown St. John’s was erected to “[commemorate] all of Newfoundland’s wartime achievements” (Veterans Affairs Canada 2019b), celebrating their role and the positive aspects of the war. If our respected and honoured heritage

and acts of commemoration focus on the past positives, it stands to reason why there is hesitation to commemorate the darkness.

However, there is light at the end of this tunnel. Canada has begun to recognize its dark past, and we are beginning to question its sources of pride. An article, released in 2014, questioned the use of the word “pride” concerning a growing nation “that has just come to recognize the genocide that afforded us our national wealth” (Henderson 2014). We are beginning to question if every part of our past should make us feel national pride. We can certainly choose to feel it, but we must also recognize that bad has also happened.

This can be seen in how Canada is now choosing to address issues concerning residential schools, and their memorialization. Like Mount Cashel, many residential schools have ‘disappeared’ from the Canadian landscape, demolished possibly to forget (Carr 2011). Some residential schools have been memorialized such as The Mohawk Institute. However, in 2019 there was a call for Canadians to confront their past and memorialize all residential schools (Kielburger and Keilburger 2019). Work has slowly begun. There is a memorial register of Residential school deaths, with the Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (Johnson 2018). As of August 30, 2019 the Government of Canada planned five initiatives to commemorate this history including: funding; working with those affected; holding a commemorative concert; an awareness campaign; conferences focusing on Indigenous initiatives; as well as, the creation and implementation of an educational program. In all, roughly $7 million was provided over two years (2019-2020) “to commemorate the legacy of residential schools” (The

Government of Canada 2019b). Now that Canada is starting to recognize and actively commemorate its difficult history, there is hope that a trickle-down effect will occur

**Silence**

Silence about difficult heritage is undoubtedly a contributor to a lack of memorialization. If people do not actively speak up about issues, it is hard for those who have not experienced firsthand to know about them, making it easy to forget past events. If people do not wish to speak about the past, that further synthesizes the idea that history could be forgotten. If people are shamed for speaking up, in fear of political or social repercussions, that is also a way of repressing the past. The silence that is created from fear, apprehension, or not wanting to speak up can prevent memorialization because it goes against the predominant standpoint. If there are no actual places or spaces to speak up, that creates a physical silencer.

Contributors to silence can include news outlets not being willing to cover a story, or publishers not being willing to publish a particular book, or supporting only limited publishing of the book because of its contentious content. Another form of silence is created when the audience does not want to listen, or the audience, after listening, continues to stay silent. Thus no active memory work is being done. You could say all that you need to, but you could just as well be yelling at clouds if no one is willing to use the information. You can write social media posts, go to rallies, protest, but nothing may ever come of it. Choosing to put out information even if it is not used immediately may be the most promising for modern problems, as the information now exists somewhere,

mainly if you express yourself in a permanent way, such as on the Internet. It offers the potential for future use, such as what I am trying to accomplish with my thesis, and the past silence on Mount Cashel Orphanage, even if the present chooses to stay silent. While the option always exists that the past may be forgotten entirely, there is still some hope that it will not be, giving the opportunity to learn from a difficult past.

**Blind Trust**

'Blind trust' or 'unconditional trust' refers to "trust without doubtful and conscious elaboration" (Rompf 2012:216). Rompf explains how blind or unconditional trust causes oneself to think that there is a 'reduction' or 'suspension' of risk involved with whatever or whoever they are trusting (220). In addition to this, religion is part of a bias of trust called social distance in which one favours ideas from one's own group (Carlin and Love 2013:45). Much of Newfoundland was and is Catholic and would be part of this social distance trust. The Mount Cashel Orphanage Scandal occurred because we as a society blindly trusted those in positions of power to care for vulnerable children. We thought there was no risk, even when those children spoke out against them, and showed that we could not continue to trust them. We blindly trusted the government and the police to take action, where none was taken. In addition, we blindly accepted the idea that the stories told in the media were the whole truth. Were there other factors? Did we not want to waste resources? Did we not care enough about those affected? Did we care more about those covering up the acts? Looking back, society as a whole was

part of the problem and had some responsibility for what happened at Mount Cashel because much more could have been done to stop what happened.

Today, we still perpetuate the idea of blind trust, and society is still responsible for the lack of actions taken at Mount Cashel. We now believe what those boys had to say, but we do not show this because we are hiding the past. By not tackling difficult heritage head-on, we are taking a particular stance toward the past. To heal old wounds, this cycle of blind trust needs to be broken. Moreover, to do so, we need to acknowledge that we are still actively covering up the past, using societal factors that perpetuate a lack of remembrance of a shameful past. Even if this was not the intention that began the cascade of effects, because "ultimate trust can lead to ultimate evil" (Subject # 1). While all of the above triggers may seem small and inconsequential on their own, together, they make up a very significant cover-up. Mount Cashel is not adequately memorialized because of various factors. As Subject #1 put it when discussing how we can encourage holistic history, "it's the little things that matter."

## Conclusion

Adams and Hornstein (2015) declared that the events that occurred at Mount Cashel Orphanage were purposefully covered up; I am arguing that prideful places such as Canada and Newfoundland handle problematic events poorly. Ultimately, proper collaboration with survivors was not done. As a result, Mount Cashel was inevitably going to be covered up through social processes and physical acts. We did not equip ourselves as a city, province, or country to handle these shameful events and instead

ignored what happened. Canada is trying to break this cycle with residential school commemoration, acknowledging that difficult pasts exist. They do not need to be glorified, and we do not need to be proud of them to recognize them, remember them, or commemorate them. Newfoundland and St. John’s can follow suit with Mount Cashel Orphanage to counteract the factors that have been put into place by memorializing the events with the survivors' help.

# Chapter Four: How to Memorialize (Excavate and Display the Past)

## To Commemorate or not to Commemorate Difficult Heritage?

We have already learned that Mount Cashel Orphanage's difficult heritage was covered up, possibly without deliberate intent to remove this event from history and living memory. Nonetheless, it happened. The previous chapter described specifics as to why memorialization did not occur for Mount Cashel Orphanage. This chapter will begin by examining different arguments for and against the commemoration/memorialization of Mount Cashel's difficult heritage. This order was chosen intentionally to match the order of the creation of an archaeological site, followed by the traditional archaeological excavation. The natural processes occur first, and then the excavation and study occur later.

There are a number of arguments for commemoration and memorialization, and an equal amount of reasoning against commemoration and memorialization. Many factors can contribute to this, such as the politics of the past and present, scale, 'difficultness,' and temporal distance. As these are ever-changing factors, the choice for commemoration can change as well, and so can the arguments against commemoration (Condit 2014; Skultans 2014; Vintzksy-Seroussi 2002). I will discuss some of the reasoning available for and against the commemoration of difficult history around Mount Cashel Orphanage.

The first argument in favour of commemoration includes keeping the wound open and visible, to educate and prevent similar events in the future. This is a popular notion and is often the argument used for the creation of museums, especially those concerned with dramatic events such as genocide (Brett et al. 2007:6; Sturdy Colls 2015:15). For example, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's (USHMM) 'About' section on their website discusses how the museum's aim is to educate people by giving them the opportunity to study the actions of genocides in the past (not just the Holocaust). Their goal is to work toward the prevention of this type of tragedy in the future by encouraging the creation of policies and tools (USHMM 2019). While honouring those that died, this 'living memorial' serves to make sure the past is not repeated (Sodaro 2018:30-31).

The previous reasoning for commemoration is closely connected to the next: commemoration occurs as a symbolic act of remembrance, for reflection, or mourning. This promotion is often linked to the innocent, the victims, or the 'good' individuals that are part of difficult history. An example of commemoration for the sake of remembrance, which is connected to the difficult past, is the poppy. It is used to honour veterans of war, and by wearing a poppy, someone is choosing to remember or reflect upon veterans, a war, or even a veteran who may have participated in one or both of The Great Wars (Isles 2008:206; Legion 2020). Poppies are worn over the heart and are "a sacred symbol of Remembrance" (Legion 2020). While the USHMM example is focused on commemoration for the sake of education, this second type of commemoration, while allowing us to think about an atrocity, is also a symbol of reflection and memory (Isles 2008:218).

There are legitimate arguments against having or participating in commemoration. These include people wishing to have a portion of their past closed and be allowed to forget, or commemoration may cause issues in the current political climate. The Holocaust, specifically Nazi-centred history, is one of the many examples where these arguments can be applied. Often the distinction between remembering, in this case, comes down to sites that are focused on victims and sites that are focused on perpetrators (Macdonald 2009:3b).

Memorialization and commemoration are concepts that validate the past, and by doing so with perpetrator history, it raises the idea that the past they pushed for is somehow legitimized. It poses the risk that the memorialization or commemoration of a particular site or act creates a 'destination' for extremists or right-wing individuals who wish to make a pilgrimage (Macdonald 2009b:3-4). Bruström and Gelderblom (2011) discussed this notion in-depth, with their article on whether Bückerberg, a site of significance to the Nazi party, should be a recognized heritage site.

The last argument against memorialization or commemoration is more of a lack of an argument – simply not wanting to deal with it. This is the unwillingness of those in the present to address the problematic past and, therefore, suppress it. I suggest that this is the category where most discussion on Mount Cashel Orphanage occurs where there is currently no discussion on the orphanage outside of the legal ramifications.

Mahoney (2015) discussed this from the viewpoint of African American Heritage in the United States, specifically the Southern United States, in which the destruction of difficult heritage has become the norm. Mahoney (2015:56) argues that "erasing these sites from the landscape through demolition or benign neglect is another form of

ignoring or denying cultural heritage." The colonial history of the United States, in conjunction with modern prejudices and ideas of racism, have inadvertently made these sites unimportant in the eyes of American heritage. Having little value means having little commemoration (Mahoney 2015:57). This is in contrast to the call for the removal of statues of historical colonial figures currently happening around the world, including Newfoundland. The removal does not erase the difficult past but instead opens a dialogue and shifts the narrative to focus on the victims, which also happens to be one of the main notions of counter-monumentality (CBC News 2020b; Young 1999).

In recent years, archaeology has been seen as a way to confront and engage with this difficult past by educating the public about what occurred, giving power back to those who needed it, such as descendant communities (Mahoney 2015:58, 64). "[Providing] a sense of justice, a form of healing, and a validation of a history that would otherwise be erased or ignored" (Mahoney 2015:64). Vintzksy-Seroussi (2002) described this as a shift in ideology – moving from the memorialization of the 'good old days' to a commemoration of painful pasts and events. However, he identified difficult histories as events that have moral trauma and contention instead of focusing on how tragic the events were (Vintzksy-Seroussi 2002:31).

Each of the above-mentioned arguments, for or against commemoration, poses different viewpoints on how the difficult past's remembrance should be handled. Remembrance of each event should be handled on a case-by-case basis because there are a variety of factors that go into each decision. Many readers may agree; the past should not be suppressed just because it is difficult, but the choice for commemoration is difficult with many factors to consider. Concerning the current lack of

memorialization/commemoration of Mount Cashel, it ultimately came down to the fact that there was no real collaboration with those affected; there were no necessary hard-hitting conversations. Thus, the lack of a proper form of memorialization has perpetuated the idea that the difficult past must be 'covered' because it is difficult.

**Interviews**

There are multiple viewpoints regarding the remembrance of the Mount Cashel Orphanage and its heritage. Some want the building torn down so the past would be forgotten (Adams and Hornstein 2015:47), others want a memorial park for symbolic remembrance (Trew 2005:62; VS, 23 August 1993:A8), and still others feel a memorial park is not enough of a recognizable act of commemoration (Adams and Hornstein 2015:53).

For my thesis, I completed two interviews with individuals connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage's heritage (Subject #1 and Subject # 2). I did this for two reasons: 1) to gather their insight on general topics regarding the memory and memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage; and 2) to determine how they felt regarding the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. I use "he/she" not disclose their gender. This was chosen in consultation with both interview subjects to determine a term they were the most comfortable with. While I have done everything in my power to keep both individuals as anonymous as possible, there may be some recognizable identifiers, depending on the questions that I chose to ask and their possible answers.

***Subject 1***

Subject # 1 gave me insight into what he/she thought about the importance of memorialization in a variety of situations. He/she felt that memorialization is important for events of both positive and negative natures, because,

> it's important for society, present and future, to understand the merits, values, or errors, whichever way you wanted to perceive them to be that led up to those events and either to celebrate them or remember them for future societal actions and reflections.

Subject #1 also elaborated on how he/she thought memorialization is important on different levels, for society and for individuals. For him/her, memorialization was a way to learn about certain societies' history. The people, the place, the culture, and the series of events that lead up to the specific memorialized event. Are we doing this to celebrate something, or are we doing this so we do not repeat past errors? For difficult history specifically, they expressed that memorialization was extremely important. "[As] long as those reasons are positive, either as a corrective or celebrative, then sure, it is important." You do not need to have been directly connected to an event to understand the merits of difficult heritage memorialization. "We need to question how we act as individuals; how we act as a society." However, he/she does believe that during the creation of memorialization, action must be taken to include or at least offer an invitation to those affected, directly or indirectly, "in the spirit of reconciliation."

When asked if he/she was aware of any existing memorialization for Mount Cashel Orphanage, he/she answered, in a cynical way, “[T]here’s a beautiful shopping mall in its honour.” As stated earlier in my thesis, there is a memorial park right next to this shopping center, but this person either forgot about it, did not believe it was an adequate form of memorialization, or never knew of its existence to begin with.

No attempt was made to work with those directly or indirectly with Mount Cashel Orphanage. I then chose to ask he/she, “should more memorialization exist for Mount Cashel?” He/she answered yes, something should exist, and provided me with some ideas on what this could be, which I discuss at the end of this chapter. Subject # 1 proposed that the reason for the lack of memorialization was not that someone did not think to do it. An emotional-filled response discussed how it was part of a grand cover-up,

> It was the individuals, it was the people, it was the church, the unseparation of church and state. The corruption of greed and society and the putting the face, you know. The connections. There’s more to this story then we even know. It’s the connections that, between individuals in the church, in the police, in the government, in all aspects of society, and the networking that happened in there. And, you know, we could, they could do no evil, and if they did, it got covered up, so, yeah. At the expense, right through the whole reason why they had an inquiry was so they did none of them would be prosecuted, they were immune to prosecution, so they did the public inquiry. I mean it just goes on and on and on. And the perception of the public is different than what’s happening behind the

> scenes. The cover-up started and it ended, it's probably not quite over yet, but right through settlement court cases, it got moved to Ontario so they wouldn't be anything in Newfoundland, you know. It just, it was, everything was disgusting from start to finish. And it just disgusts me to this day. So, nothing was learned. If anything, skills on getting away with these sort of things were honed, right up until now. So yeah, There's a reason why there's no [memorialization].

With these reasons behind this lack of an appropriate form of memorialization, Interview Subject # 1 highlighted the unwillingness to address the problematic or shameful past.

Next, in the interview, I focused on holistic (both good and bad) memory while keeping Mount Cashel Orphanage fresh in mind. How can society encourage remembrance of the difficult past instead of covering it up? He/she suggested annual remembrance or a physical act of commemoration like a plaque that gets the difficult message across.

I then asked how various interest groups, like cities or universities, do their part in encouraging holistic memory. This brought out some remarks that can be seen as brash or sarcastic but still play an important role in the larger picture and show how someone connected to this place can still have a good sense of humour. He/she suggested incorporating subject matter such as information like documents or photographs about the holistic history that we are trying to capture, which is a good idea. This would reach a wide range of people. However, naming a subdivision after priests of the Irish Christian Brotherhood, instead of focusing on turning the past into a learning

opportunity, seems a bad idea. Nevertheless, that is precisely what occurred in St. John's, which is why I am sure the interviewee suggested the naming of the subdivision streets after the Irish Christian Brothers with a chuckle.

However, some things that he/she chose to say after this quip may seem just as harsh but more appropriate – a haunted house incorporating Mount Cashel Orphanage or a sign in Sobeys that acknowledges the abuse that occurred on the land.

Interview subject # 1 chose to focus on the negative because of things that people wish to ignore, but these things need to be incorporated to understand the holistic picture. He/she posed the idea of having the expression "Mount Cashel Orphanage Test" become an official term in child welfare, meaning "to make sure a safe environment exists for children" because there have been lessons that needed to be learned from the events that happened at Mount Cashel Orphanage. This would be a less obvious form of memorialization that would be 'useful' but still invoke remembrance of what happened at the orphanage. Lastly, he/she proposed that religious dogma, not faith, should be removed in our society (complete separation of church and state). Religious institutions should be penalized for their atrocities through constitutional law, and ceremonies should not be ruled by religion.

Finally, I asked if Newfoundland, or the place that they reside in, has done its job in the remembrance of the past. He/she chose to answer about Newfoundland and Mount Cashel Orphanage, and that was no, it has not. For example, he/she stated that in some areas of remembrance, such as the war memorial in downtown St. John's, Newfoundland has done a great job, but not in the case of Mount Cashel Orphanage. "It's not about anymore putting guilt upon something or someone, its more about making

sure it doesn't happen again to someone." He/she thought that the lack of adequately addressing the past should instigate a shift toward an educational and prevention-focused act of memorialization.

### *Subject 2*

Subject # 2 offered a different perspective on memory and memorialization than Subject # 1, due to the different nature of how they were connected to the history of Mount Cashel Orphanage. Subject # 2 has a clerical background, so I chose to ask different questions of them than those I asked of Subject # 1. My intent to have individuals from different backgrounds was to create the most holistic picture of the past that I could and present it in my research.

I first began by asking if the Roman Catholic Church (referred to hereafter as "the Church") documents its history. Subject #2 answered that it does, especially its material heritage, such as retaining its documents. The diocese in St. John's has an archive dedicated to preserving its own history, with a full-time archivist employed. He/she also believed that the Vatican has a department called the "Patrimony of the Church," and there is the Vatican library, in which there are old collections of documents.

I then asked if the Church has any official, or quasi-official, position on memorialization in general. Subject # 2 answered that, to some extent, yes, events may be memorialized, but most of this happened on a local level regarding their foundations, and local history if it connected in some way to the Church, and they are both often comingled, especially in a place like Newfoundland, where the Church played a significant role in its development.

From my standpoint, while it is true, the Church has been a part of wider-reaching memorialization efforts, such as when the Vatican chose to hold a memorial in memory of the Jewish individuals killed in World War Two (TS, 16 February 1994:A18), it seems that the Roman Catholic Church, in general, focuses on memory and reconciliation over memorialization, particularly when it comes to difficult memory within the community. Instead of participating in physical memorialization, the church focuses on reconciliation from memories. For example, Phillips (2014) discussed how the Church memorialized their dead in Spain's civil war, but chose to avoid memorializing aspects that could endanger the democracy that it helped bring about (287-289). Phillips stated that the church could handle difficulties through 'reconciliation, which can include "apology, contrition, penance, and forgiveness" (2014:289). This can also be clearly seen in the work, *"*Memory and Reconciliation: the Church and the Faults of the Past" (2000). It is about how the Church's obligation to right past wrongs is to help purify the memory by apologizing for wrongdoing and seeking forgiveness. There is also a difference between historical and theological judgment and the "ethical repercussions it may have in the present" (Anonymous 2000:228). By acknowledging past wrongs, new doors are being opened in the present (Anonymous 2000:236). This can be seen more locally in Canada, in the case of how the Church has dealt with residential schools. They were not really held liable for memorialization processes except for aspects that they would have already been part of, but instead are being held liable for the healing and reconciliation part of the process (TRCC 2015:232-233, 260-262).

When asked if he/she was personally in favour of keeping historical information, Subject # 2 told me with certainty that yes, he/she was. He/she studied history in

University, having been part of the Episcopal library that was being used as a museum during certain times of the year, and he/she is a member of the Basilica committee.

When asked what Subject # 2 thought made something important enough to be memorialized, he/she answered that its significance to the present, such as the date of the opening of the parish they are currently in, is what made something important.

After examining some issues regarding memorialization, I moved briefly onto the topic of memory. I asked Subject # 2 who he/she thought were the keepers of memory, and he/she replied that everyone is. Memories are shared among people, and whether they are right or wrong, they shape who we are as people. I briefly asked about the relationship between memory and artifacts, and he/she relayed that different objects would hold different meanings for different people. Some may have meaning that is more personal, while others may have more of a “community” meaning. I pose that this is important regarding the memorialization of Mount Cashel because the existing memorial is centred around a ‘community’ meaning, the orphanage and the Irish Christian Brothers. The personal meaning for survivors viewing this memorial may lean towards hatred because they see a symbol that focuses on the perpetrators rather than them.

After this, I asked what Subject # 2 thought of general commemoration and memorialization. For him/her, it was very important. He/she went further to say so because people may forget or simply not know their history. Some people might not think the past is important enough to remember. “Quite forgetting, while we’re here, why do we do things the way we do them? It’s very much conditioned by the past.”

The interview then moved toward what Subject # 2 thought of the heritagization of difficult history. He/she responded by saying that difficult history had not been memorialized often, possibly because of shying away from it. When heritagization comes into question in Canadian society, such as with the memorialization in some provinces of Sir John Macdonald, “[t]hey try to forget it, we’ll say.”

I moved on to ask about what he/she thought about the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. Subject # 2 stated that he/she thought memorialization would be useful but chose not to say how it should be done,

> Clearly, it’s something that shouldn’t be forgotten…I think the survivors of sexual abuse would perhaps find it helpful if it was memorialized in some way, not that they need the constant reminder. But that they perhaps would be hurt if they thought the whole community or the province just forgot about it and said let’s close the book and move on, you know.

Subject # 2 then told me how he/she had visited places of “difficult remembrance,” such as Auschwitz. He/she discussed how these sites are memorialized so that we can be educated about past wrongs, so we can learn from them, and not repeat history, because it’s easy to forget and easy to place blame when it could so easily happen to other places and people. He/she also stated that this type of memorialization should also be linked to the bigger issue at hand:

> Well first off, sexual abuse committed by clergy, which subsequent to the disclosure of Mount Cashel is been revealed to be going on in many parts of the world, I think; and the Church has been forced to face up to it, which is a good thing, and that's ongoing and needs to be ongoing.

Specifically, in the Newfoundland context, he/she stated that after the Mount Cashel scandal came into the light, child abuse was brought forward in many parts of society, including families, communities, and schools. "It permeated society we'll say. Not that's unique, and that's happened everywhere." He/she elaborated how Mount Cashel was one puzzle piece in a much larger societal issue that memorialization can educate about, especially because it was one that was ignored.

When asked if Subject # 2 was aware of any existing memorialization for Mount Cashel, he/she told me about the two gate posts and how he/she was old enough to remember Mount Cashel and the gate posts. To them, the posts reminded them of the former orphanage.

When asked if Subject # 2 thought this was an appropriate form of memorialization, he/she stated that it was a hard question to answer. He/she did not think it was inappropriate but was also unsure if it was enough. They also reiterated that it is a hard line between reiterating what happened there and educating people about the larger issue at hand. I then asked if another form of memorialization should exist. He/she again stated,

That's difficult to answer. You could see it as a criticism of the Catholic Church, and you do not want to compartmentalise difficult history, because then you are not getting the whole picture. It's like saying well, only the Germans would have murdered Jews in the Second World War, no one else would do that. But we know other people would do it, and do it today, for example, and so on. There's anti-Semitic events going on in lots of places.

I then asked if the Church should be involved in the memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage. He/she stated that it should, but it was hard to answer how.

I think in the sense that there should be an acknowledgement of what happened there should be truth. It happened there. And certainly, as an institution, we should take steps to make sure, to try to make sure this doesn't happen in our parishes and institutions, ever again. And I think that's one thing. And perhaps to acknowledge the pain and suffering the survivors experience. And so on.

Finally, with the idea in mind that Canada is becoming more aware of their participation in shameful history, I asked if he/she thought the political climate of today affects how we view memorialization. He/she answered, in broader terms, yes.

The "mythology" of a place can have a strong hold of how someone views what happened there. John Cabot was once considered a great explorer,

> and they had to know 1497 was when he discovered Newfoundland, but today, we know there were Indigenous groups here, and he wasn't even the first European here, that was the Norse. [They thought that] these 'historical revelations sometimes shake our mythology, and perhaps, and that's a good thing.'

**Modern Artifacts of the Contemporary Past**

From the interview that I conducted with Subject # 1, it has come to the surface that there may be a shift in what we typically consider 'material culture' or 'artifacts' between archaeology and contemporary archeology, and this may shape how we choose to memorialize the contemporary past.

When I asked Subject # 1 if there was any remaining material culture that they were aware of for Mount Cashel, he/she replied that there is, specifically, videos. Videos of life in the orphanage during its prime, including events like the Irish Christian Brothers' anniversaries, an event that was ongoing during the abuse timeline. As well, videos exist of the Hughes Inquiry, news clips, and interviews.

Subject # 1 also included pictures in this category. Regarding the question of if there was anything left of the building, he/she just stated, "it was a nice-looking building, but that's not the significance of the events. It was the individuals." What Subject #1 suggested was important was something that showed the people. Yet it was something intangible.

This may be a personal choice about Mount Cashel Orphanage remaining part of material culture, but perhaps this is a shift in how we view material culture in the contemporary era? A change from tangible artifacts like books, to tangible items like videotapes, to intangible items like a digital mp4 file. Videos are also very interactive. You can pause them, play them, see and hear the past people, rearrange time through editing, and 'touch' the past in a sense, without having to pick up an object from that physical time period.

Archaeology has begun to grapple with this idea of digital media and its 'intangibility' regarding physical artifacts (for example, Morgan 2012). Still, it seems that the majority of the current focus is on digitizing physical objects such as models or 3D imaging (examples such as Shott 2014 and Garstki 2017). However, there is still a strong focus on the tangible.

When discussing my thesis proposal, I was often asked how my project could be considered "archaeology" because I would focus on a site that no longer existed, which could not be physically accessed and my primary source of data was memory obtained through personal communication. I framed the answer to my research question as if I am still excavating the past, not in a literal sense, to garner a more holistic vision and advise how to proceed from where I am.

In contemporary archaeology, some sites may no longer exist, such as Mount Cashel, but many 'artifacts' exist digitally. Perhaps we need to reshape how we view archaeology to encompass this modern intangibility. I am in no way questioning the validity of contemporary archaeology. Harrison has already pointed out that many still feel the need to justify contemporary archaeology despite almost no critiques

(2011:142, 144). I am just suggesting that our mindset of what we perceive as ‘artifacts’ needs to be updated to reflect the changing times. I am also not equating this type of archaeology to the archaeology of purely digital spaces, such as the archaeology of video games (Reinhard 2017), or the archaeology of digital abandonment sites (Law and Morgan 2014), I am talking about using digital artifacts to understand the past, present, and future of a physical site, combining tangible and intangible lines.

**Memorialization Proposal**

With all of the previous information in mind, the goal of my thesis is to open a discussion about what should be done to pursue memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage, using information gained from Subject # 1 and Subject # 2, to counteract “the cultural amnesia that accompanies temporal passing” (Meskell 2002:571). This memorialization would be an important part of a trend of going back and recognizing Canada’s difficult heritage. While I did discuss a few ways in which holistic memory can be encouraged regarding Mount Cashel Orphanage, although these can be seen as a type of memorialization, they are more like smaller acts of remembrance. I am going to discuss what should be done in order to reach an effective act of remembrance.

The first step would be to engage with Mount Cashel survivors. Memorialization would be put into place for them to commemorate their experience at the orphanage to raise awareness and stop any further happenings of religious institutional abuse. Talks should occur with other stakeholders such as the family of Mount Cashel survivors, the City of St. John’s, the local Archdiocese, and the RCMP. These groups played a role in the Mount Cashel scandal and can provide valuable information such as a discussion

on past wrongs, insight into what survivors who have passed may have wanted, and possible closure for those affected. I engaged with two individuals connected to Mount Cashel and asked for their input on memorialization for Mount Cashel. Due to confidentiality, I cannot say how they are connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage.

An interactive learning experience is key, according to Subject # 1, and he/she suggested a plaque with names and dates to begin with – something to establish a cognitive link. He/she indicated that this would mean something different to those who lived through it than for the next generation, but it would still provoke thought. As well, a small plaque could include an official statement from the local Roman Catholic Archdiocese, as an act of reconciliation and a way to acknowledge the wrongs that were committed here, as per the suggestion from Subject # 2.

While this is certainly appropriate, I fear that using just a plaque, after all of the covering up of the orphanage's history, would seem dismissive and could be viewed as an apprehensive act of appeasing, akin to the memorial park put in place by Sobeys. However, I am not a survivor of Mount Cashel. I can voice my concern, but it is ultimately up to them. I asked Subject # 1 if they thought that the memorialization should focus on being 'positive' or being a 'learning experience.' He/she indicated it should be both,

> A learning experience with positive, with positive emphasis on an outcome and the outcome, be what an individual, creating stewards of individuals, of abuse of and trust. In a positive fun way if possible. Creating those

cognitive tags that create checks and balances when entrusting future generations and the care and upkeep of society's children.

The next step would then be to create a term of reference for an artist based on survivors' and stakeholders' engagement. In addition to being educational and interactive, Subject # 1 suggested the idea of a false front. This would mean that you view whatever it is from the outside, and as you move closer or walk through it, it changes to show what was happening on the inside. Then the individual can decide to delve deeper into the exhibit/subject or stop there and still walk away with the message that what you see on the surface of something is not always what it appears when you look a little deeper. Mount Cashel Orphanage may have seemed like a great place to send a desperate child, but that was not the case. The 'memorial' park is quite beautiful, and it is very serene. Therefore, I suggest it is a false front that is already available. Again, this would still ultimately come down to what the survivors wish for memorialization. This is just an already available option. Something else to keep in mind is the idea of counter-monumentality. In this situation, we are already engaging with survivors. Moreover, as with the idea of counter-monumentality, we are trying to come up with memorialization that would not glorify those that perpetrated the crimes. This would make remembrance by the survivors, for the survivors.

Lastly, as Mount Cashel is part of contemporary society, I would like to open the suggestion of digital memorialization. This could be in addition to a physical memorial or it could be stand-alone. There could be many barriers to the physical memorialization of Mount Cashel, such as permission from those living and working in the area, permission

from the City of St. John's, cost, and space. With digital memorialization, many of those barriers do not exist. Price is still an issue, but it would be immensely lower. Much of what remains of Mount Cashel is intangible. Memory, videos, photographs. Perhaps an appropriate form of memorialization could also be intangible. All of the previous information acquired, including being educational, interactive, and a false front, could be employed. In this case, instead of an artist, a web developer or coder would need to be consulted. This option also connects well with my previous section regarding modern material culture. Online memorialization can also be continuously updated if new information emerges. The idea is that this option is continually promoted in some way so that the past is not covered. This could be done through educational institutions, news outlets, social media, or even using the as an inscription on a plaque in the park.

## Conclusion

The appropriate memorialization of Mount Cashel Orphanage is an important question. Those associated with it have expressed this. Sobeys' action of putting up the gatepost memorial fulfilled its memorialization obligation; however, it was the bare minimum that Sobeys could do (Adams and Hornstein 2015:52). In a more general sense, Adams and Hornstein also discussed how a building's demolition could be seen as a form of erasure of uncomfortable history (Adams and Hornstein 2015:47). Thus, the city and the province are doing a disservice to those involved and their history by letting a private business put up an ineffective memorial after the orphanage's demolition, effectively disowning the difficult past. In my thesis, I have described why it

is important to memorialize and remember difficult history when those associated with the difficult history want it remembered. Due to the history of this site, I have also described how there are largely no physical artifacts left to display in a traditional sense, which forces us to view the past through an intangible lens. This is especially important in the case of Mount Cashel Orphanage because, as Subject #1 expressed, the memorialization of the individuals' history is more important than what remains of the building.

This final section has described what should be done to pursue appropriate memorialization for Mount Cashel Orphanage, which includes collaboration with survivors, creating a term of reference, and the suggestion to have digital memorialization. My thesis is a first step to opening the door for appropriate memorialization for Mount Cashel Orphanage and places of shame, providing an avenue for those connected to the orphanage to voice their opinion and concerns. I have outlined ideas from only two individuals. This may vary from the majority, but we will not know until we have these hard-hitting conversations. Based off my research, better memorialization is sought, and I hope I have provided an outline of what and how to obtain this memorialization.

# Chapter Five: Conclusion

## Mount Cashel's Painful Past

Mount Cashel Orphanage is one example of many instances of difficult and shameful heritage in Newfoundland (and Canada) (such as Residential Schools for Canada or the Beothuk extinction for Newfoundland). It is one that there has been a refusal to properly address. While various aspects of its history have been subject to study or scrutiny (e.g. CCASJ 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; Hughes 1991a, 1991b; Melendy 1993) including its memorialization (Adams and Horsntein 2015), the reasons behind this lack of memorialization have not been examined. There are many underlying reasons why Mount Cashel Orphanage has not been properly memorialized, including physical and social factors that ultimately prevented it and perpetuated a cover-up.

Each factor added sediment that buried the past a little deeper. Through interviews and archival research, I had to unearth these layers through the systematic excavation of the past. These factors included the removal of the orphanage, the addition of stores and housing, the existing memorialization, the naming of "Howley Estates," street names connected to the Irish Christian Brothers, secularism and the role of religion in remembrance, 'delinquent' boys versus 'respected' religious authority, the scale of the scandal, 'difficult' versus 'shameful' heritage, Canada and Newfoundland being prideful places, silence, and blind trust.

I conclude that these factors created a natural progression of events that led to an inevitable continuance of cover-ups that was not intentional, but we are all responsible as a society for what happened at Mount Cashel.

I examined the reasons for and against the memorialization of difficult heritage, including keeping the wound open, to educate people and to prevent this type of situation from recurring. This included symbolic acts of remembrance for reflection or mourning, wishing to forget about the past, causing issues within the current political climate, or simply the unwillingness to address the past. Which of these occurs might happen on a case-by-case basis, but the past should not simply be covered up because it is difficult.

I then discussed what the individuals connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage found important regarding its memorialization and memory, ultimately determining that remembrance is important, and Newfoundland and Canada should have worked harder to address this problematic past through commemoration. Subject # 1 wished to see a memorial that showed that the cover-up existed and continues to this day, but they also wanted it to be interactive or hands-on. This again was done through ‘excavation’ to gather data, in other words, an informal interview.

Finally, I proposed how, through collaboration, memorialization could be done appropriately as a way to both ‘excavate’ the truth and ‘display’ it in a constructive way, to weaken the effect of ‘cultural amnesia’ that has come from not engaging with difficult history. I did this by proposing what should be done in order to pursue appropriate memorialization. This included collaboration, creating a term of reference, and being open to the idea of digital memorialization.

We are becoming increasingly aware that painful or shameful history exists. With this increased awareness comes the question of how best to acknowledge/memorialize these events as well. Throughout this thesis, I have explored various reasons for and against memorialization as a possible acknowledgment route. Narrowing it down to one be-all-end all-narrative path of memorialization for every type of shameful history is impossible. It should be explored on a case-by-case basis, in conjunction with living individuals who went through, witnessed, or are related to those who participated in, or related to, the history in some way.

I discuss that in the case of Mount Cashel Orphanage, a local example, memorialization should occur based on the wishes of those involved. They want something that is interactive, with a false front, to stop the oppression of difficult heritage, and to unveil this ‘cover-up’ yet again. I believe it is our duty as archaeologists to uncover the past, work with the survivors of these events to best highlight their hardships and what they wish remembered, even if this is nothing at all. It is not our place, as archaeologists, to keep the wound open if those connected with it want it gone. However, we should be willing to take it on and give them a voice if they want it remembered.

**Avenues for Future Work or Research**

I hope this work is a starting point for those scholars interested in pursuing collaboration with those connected to Mount Cashel Orphanage to create commemoration or memorialization, as there is an expressed need and an interest. It

can be as I suggested in my thesis, or it can be approached in a completely different way.

Continuance of collaboration and keeping an open communication line is key to the success of any future projects. I suggest that there should be more engagement with the archaeology of difficult history within Newfoundland and Canada, whether it is contemporary or not. By engaging with this history, we are helping to remove the stigma associated with difficult history and will be able to address issues instead of repressing them. Holistic remembrance is vital to have a full picture of history.

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