

Final Report of the Building Name Consultation Advisory Committee

September 29, 2020
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Committee was asked to determine whether the law school building should continue to be named Sir John A. Macdonald Hall.

Recommendation

After extensive consultations with Queen's stakeholders, the majority of the Committee supports removing Sir John A. Macdonald's name from the law school building for the reasons shared in this report.

The members sharing the position of Queen's Office of Advancement's representative on the Committee abstained from making a recommendation at this time and their separate reasons are included in this report.

Process

The Committee began its work on July 16, 2020. During the first two weeks, the Committee developed the Terms of Reference, survey wording, as well as a robust consultation process and schedule.

The Committee also developed a set of Principles to guide its work. The Committee recognized very quickly that the question of the building name required it to engage with the past, the present and the future. The Committee determined that using an Indigenous lens provided it with a helpful framework for this work, and so the Principles are structured around the sweetgrass braid. The first strand of the braid represents the seven generations who came before; the second strand represents the seven Grandfather teachings of Love, Respect, Courage, Honesty, Humility, Wisdom, and Truth; and the third strand represents the next seven generations. The braid weaves these three strands together, demonstrating how our past, present and future are woven together. The lessons from which this framework are drawn articulate general teachings for everyday life; they contain no intrinsic prescription for the issue at hand, but are values that speak to everyone.

The consultation received over 2,800 survey responses, 158 email responses, one voicemail, and two video statements. Live online submissions took place on August 19, 2020 and September 10, 2020 where the Committee heard from six individuals and one Queen's organization. Additional efforts were made to engage Indigenous and racialized students, faculty and staff, local urban Indigenous people and neighbouring First Nations.

The quantitative results and qualitative analysis of the responses indicate that the Queen's community is divided on this issue. This result tracks across all categories of relationship to the law school, with the exceptions that faculty and staff overwhelmingly favour removing the name, while alumni who graduated before 2000 narrowly favour keeping the name.

Reasons for the Majority of the Committee

In its analysis of the Queen's University Naming Policy, the Principal's Implementation Committee Report on Diversity and Inclusion (PICRDI), and Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi -- Extending the Rafters: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force Final Report, the Committee concluded that central to Queen's values and reputation is the creation of a climate of inclusion, of welcome and safety for diverse

students, staff, and faculty. Throughout the consultation process, the Committee consistently heard from Indigenous, racialized, and marginalized groups that the current name of the law school building creates feelings ranging from exclusion to trauma. Although the Committee thinks that it is important to centralize historically marginalized voices in this process, it does not suggest that it heard these concerns only from racialized students. On the question of whether Queen's is creating a climate of inclusion, of welcome and safety for diverse students, staff, and faculty, however, these groups indicated that, to make Queen's a safer and more inclusive climate for diverse students, the name must be removed from the law building.

The recommendation to remove the name is not primarily or even secondarily based on an assessment of Macdonald's character. Our recommendation is based on the terrible harm Sir John A. Macdonald's actions, from a position of the highest possible leadership, had on generations of people, and thus on the continued harm we do to those people who associate his name with their suffering by seeming to celebrate it with a name on a building in an institution of higher learning. Commemoration, as distinct from history itself, is not the teaching but the selective remembering of certain parts of history that are considered important or valuable.

The Committee recognizes the voices of those opposed to removing the name in Part II.B. The Committee addresses their concerns with respect to Sir John A. Macdonald's blameworthiness, the idea of "No Macdonald, no Canada", the importance of history, the erasing of history, removing the name as merely performative or trivial, and 'cancel culture'. The Committee also considered Sir John A. Macdonald's connection to Queen's and the reasons for naming the building in his honour when it was opened in 1960. The Committee acknowledges these views and feelings but are unable to accept that such feelings of pride or concern are sufficient to justify the continuing harm to Indigenous, racialized, and marginalized groups.

Reasons for the Representative of Queen's Office of Advancement

The Office of Advancement has opted to abstain from voting at this time. The consultation process made it clear that there is not an obvious consensus among alumni, students and community members. It is clear that Advancement cannot endorse a position one way or the other without leaving approximately 50 percent of its alumni stakeholders behind. We feel this would be harmful to creating an environment of reconciliation within our alumni community. The Office of Advancement will commit to a robust program to engage alumni in a dialogue around the university's commitment to truth and reconciliation as well as its efforts around EDI. It is our hope that this program of education and dialogue will bring the alumni community closer to consensus on this highly important issue.

Part I – Background, Principles and Consultation Process

A. Petition

In June of this year, a petition was launched, asking Principal Deane to rename the law building at 128 Union Street after Queen’s Law alumna and Mohawk lawyer Patricia Monture.

On July 1, 2020, a letter was delivered to the Board of Trustees, with letters of support for the petition endorsed by 26 Queen’s clubs, including the Indigenous Law Student’s Alliance, the Queen’s Christian Legal Fellowship, First Generation Network – Queen’s Chapter, the Queen’s Black Premedical Association, and Queen’s Women in Science and Engineering; the International Graduate Students Working Group and PSAC Local 901, representing tutorial assistants, research assistants, teaching fellow and post-doctoral scholars at Queen’s; two departments at Queen’s; nine law professors and three professors in other departments; 50 law alumni (’15-’20); and the Smith Commerce Society.

As of September 25, 2020, the petition had 4,624 signatures, including many from individuals based in Kingston and who identify as Queen’s students and alumni.

B. Initiation of the Building Name Consultation Process

In June of this year, Principal Deane asked Dean Walters of the Faculty of Law “to begin a process of community consultation and deliberation on the name of the law building and then to submit a report and recommendation to him.”¹

C. Committee Composition

We cannot speak to the process for selecting members of the Committee, since membership on the Committee was determined by Dean Walters, in consultation with the Principal and others. The Committee consisted of two law students, two law faculty, three law alumni and three Queen’s alumni. Three of these members are Indigenous. These members sat on the Committee in their personal capacity, rather than as representatives of their office, organization, or stakeholder group. The Committee also included a representative of Queen’s Office of Advancement. Two individuals shared this role. The Committee was co-chaired by Jeffrey Fung (Law ’08) and Gail Henderson (Associate Dean Faculty Relations, Faculty of Law).

The other Committee members were Scott Anderson, Carol Ann Budd, Shira Crawley, Rico Garcia, Leigh Kalin, Jennifer Keenan, Sara Mainville, Emily Prieur, Jean Thomas and Marcus Wong.

¹ “Building Name Consultation Process”, online: <https://law.queensu.ca/about/consultation>.

D. Limited Mandate

Although the Committee heard submissions from a number of stakeholders commenting on or suggesting potential new names, or alternatives to removing the name, our mandate was limited to making a recommendation on whether the current name on the building should remain or be removed.

E. The Timeline

The Committee met for the first time on July 16, 2020. We submitted our recommendation and report to Dean Walters on September 29, 2020. In our review of similar processes undertaken by other institutions and municipalities, this was a very compressed timeline, which left us very little room for planning, because we had to begin the consultation process right away.

Despite the constraints imposed by both the timeline and the pandemic, we heard a broad range of views from a wide variety of stakeholders, including students, faculty and alumni from every decade dating back to the 1950s. Details of the consultation process are provided below.

F. The Committee's Work and Consultations

The Committee met twelve times between mid-July and the end of September. In addition, the Co-Chairs were in regular communication with Queen's staff assisting with the administration of the consultation process.

The Committee generally took a consensus approach to decision-making, although as noted below, we were unable to reach a consensus on our final recommendation.

The Committee's Terms of Reference asked us to do the following:

- “Develop a framework of principles that will guide the collection of opinions and the development of a recommendation.
- Together with the Dean of Law, approve a survey that will allow interested people to submit written statements to express their opinions regarding the building's name.
- Reach out to stakeholders to solicit their opinions.
- Determine a schedule and plans for the committee to hear oral comments or submissions from interested people.
- Review written statements and a summary of the oral comments or submissions.
- Provide a report with a recommendation to the Dean about the present name of the building.”

The Terms of Reference are provided in Appendix A.

1. The Principles

i. Background

In keeping with our Terms of Reference, we “consult[ed] principles developed by other universities which have addressed questions about names of buildings or other physical spaces.” Some submissions to the consultation also suggested that we draw on these precedents.

Specifically, we reviewed the following sets of principles and reports:

- George Washington University Naming Taskforce Renaming Framework Guiding Principles
- McGill University Working Group on Principles of Commemoration and Renaming Final Report
- Report of the Committee to Establish Principles on Renaming (Yale)
- Report of the Trustee Committee on Woodrow Wilson’s Legacy at Princeton
- Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis

Also in accordance with the Terms of Reference, we drew on the *Principal’s Implementation Committee on Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion (PICRDI), Final Report (10 April 2017)* and *Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi -- Extending the Rafters: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force Final Report*.

Our Principles expressly reference the principles and recommendations from these reports which we felt were most relevant and helpful to our task.

We recognized very quickly that the question of the building name requires us to engage with the past, the present and the future. We determined that using an Indigenous lens provided us with a helpful framework for this work, and so the Principles are structured around the sweetgrass braid. The first strand of the braid represents the seven generations who came before us; the second strand represents the seven Grandfather teachings; and the third strand represents the next seven generations. The braid weaves these three strands together, demonstrating how our past, present and future are woven together. The lessons from which this framework is drawn are general teachings for everyday life; they are not specific to the issue at hand.

We then incorporated the principles and recommendations drawn from the reports listed above, which are specific to issues of naming, into this framework. These Principles guided both our consultations and the formulation of our recommendation.

ii. The Principles

The question of the building name requires us to engage with the past, the present and the future. We determined that using an Indigenous lens provided us with a helpful framework for this work.

“Our stories say that of all the plants, wiingaash, or sweetgrass, was the very first to grow on the earth, its fragrance a sweet memory of Skywoman’s hand. Accordingly, it is honored as one of the four sacred plants of my people. Breath in its scent and you start to remember things you didn’t know you’d forgotten. Our elders say that ceremonies are the way we “remember to remember””

– Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants*

The Indigenous teaching for braiding sweetgrass referenced below was shared by a committee member who attributes it to Bezhig Waabske Ma’iingan Gewetigaabo (One White Wolf Standing in All Four Directions), Deb St. Amant, Elder in Residence at Queen’s University Faculty of Education.

As we braid the 3 strands, each composed of 7 blades of sweetgrass, we are reminded to:

1. Remember the 7 generations that came before us, what they went through to give us the life we have today, what they taught us, and to respect their contributions
2. Apply the 7 Grandfathers Teachings to our life each day
3. Consider the impact of our decisions and actions on the next 7 generations that come after us

1st Strand - Going back 7 generations takes us to the time of Sir John A. Macdonald. His policies have impacted the last 7 generations of all people living in Canada. His influence on Canada’s historical development as a nation is the reason he is widely commemorated in Canada. His policies on Indigenous Peoples and Chinese Canadians is why this commemoration is being questioned now.

Queen’s commitment to reconciliation as expressed in *Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi Extending the Rafters: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force Final Report (TRCTF Report)* deals with how we move forward in the aftermath of the Residential Schools’ impact on the past 7 generations of Indigenous people in Canada.

Looking back on the past and the connection between Sir John A. Macdonald and the building name:

- *What was the actual influence on and direct connection to Queen's University of Sir John A. Macdonald?* [GWU Principles]
- *What was the University’s earlier consideration of the appropriateness of the name, i.e. why did they choose it?* [GWU Principles]
- *What were the impacts of Sir John A. Macdonald actions? Decisions to retain a name or to rename come with obligations of nonerasure, contextualization, and process* [Yale Principles]

2nd Strand – Applying the 7 teachings to the task at hand:

1. Love – to know love is to know peace, it is based on kindness for all
 - *The feelings of stakeholders matter* [from McGill Principles]
2. Respect – realizing the value of all people and showing courteous consideration and appreciation
 - *We will listen to all who wish to express their views and perspectives*
3. Courage – doing what is right even when the consequences may be unpleasant
 - *There are potential consequences and risks to any recommendation regarding the building name* [from McGill Principles]
4. Honesty – acting with integrity, our work is truthful and trustworthy
 - *We will endeavour to keep an open mind during the process*
 - *We will not prejudge an outcome to our deliberation*
5. Humility – we must consider ourselves equal with one another
 - *We honour Queen's commitment to equity, inclusion and diversity as expressed in the TRCTF and PICRDI reports*
6. Wisdom – our knowledge and intelligence combined with the experiences of life, used for good. It is inspired from diverse sources around us
 - *We looked to principles used to guide similar conversations and formulate recommendations at other institutions and governments in Canada and the United States.*
 - *We have paid attention to the experience of others and have learned from other conversations.*
7. Truth – To know all these things is to know truth, seeking to understand and share our truth allows us to act without regret
 - *We will seek opportunities to educate and further reconciliation* [GWU Principles]
 - *Need to have truth before reconciliation.*

3rd Strand – Looking ahead to consider how the recommendation we put forward will impact the next 7 generations of students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, coming to the University.

Not only does our work influence the next 7 generations of Canadian law students, we recognize the role the law school plays in shaping society, as our graduates become the practicing lawyers who will influence the field of law and politics for the next 150 years. Sir John A. Macdonald is an example.

- *The commitment to reconciliation is a present priority with a focus and a goal to be achieved for future generations to build upon.*
- *Names and images matter* [from McGill Principles]
- *Appropriateness of continued commemoration of Sir John A. Macdonald by having the law building bear his name*
 - How can the University continue its commitment to reconciliation, especially with respect to the way this building is named, as well as provide an accurate and balanced understanding of the legacy of Sir John A. Macdonald?
 - How does the building name relate to fulfilling the recommendation in the TRCTF to promote inclusive learning and community spaces on campus, including culturally validating spaces for Indigenous students? [TRCTF Recommendations]

2. The Survey

As noted above, the Committee was asked to work with Dean Walters in approving a survey to be circulated to all students, faculty, staff and alumni and posted to the Building Name Consultation web page. The purpose of the survey was to provide a convenient way for stakeholders to express their views on the building name. We also consulted the Human Rights and Equity Office on the best approach to gathering demographic information on respondents. The HREO advised us against asking respondents specifically about whether they self-identify as Indigenous or racialized. Instead they suggested the open-ended question set out below.

The survey asked two substantive questions. The first was

Despite the reasons for honouring Macdonald when the Law building at Queen’s University was named in 1960, there is now an important social debate as to whether that name is consistent with the University’s commitment to diversity and inclusion and also its commitment to the significant project of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. Do you believe that the law school building should continue to be named John A. Macdonald Hall?

Respondents were asked to answer Yes, No or No Opinion.

The second was “What would you like to tell us about this issue and its importance to you (e.g. personally, in your role/position, etc.)?” Respondents had the option to fill in text in the box provided and/or upload a document.

The survey also asked respondents about their relationship to the law school and whether they consented to the Committee quoting from their response in the report with or without attribution. With respect to relationship to law school, respondents were able to choose more than one category. The categories were: law student or alumni, Queen’s student or alumni, faculty, staff, community member, and “I am interested in the issue of the building name.”

The survey was launched July 30th and closed September 18th. The Committee received 2,850 responses. Of these, 2137 included a written response. The analysis of the written responses is described below.

The quantitative results of the survey indicate that the Queen's community is divided on this issue. Overall, slightly more respondents were in favour of removing the name than those in favour of keeping it, by a margin of just under 3.5 per cent. A very small number of respondents – only 75 or less than 3 per cent – selected “no opinion”. This result tracks across all categories of relationship to the law school, with the exceptions that faculty and staff overwhelmingly favour removing the name, and alumni who graduated before 2000 favour keeping the name.

A report of the quantitative survey results is included in Appendix B.

3. Other modes of consultation

The constraints imposed by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic prevented the Committee from conducting any consultations (or Committee meetings, for that matter) in person. Instead, the Committee aimed to provide stakeholders with as many ways to express their views to the Committee as was possible in the time we had. To this end, stakeholders were able to submit their views by email, voicemail, and by uploading a video statement. We received 158 emails, one voicemail and two video statements. Everyone who emailed the consultation email address was added to a list to receive updates on the process.

We also held live online submissions via Zoom on two dates: August 19 and September 10. These events were promoted through the law consultation email list and through the consultation web page. Six individuals and one group participated in the live online submissions. Participants spoke with and presented to a sub-panel of Committee members. The sub-panel was provided with the opportunity to ask follow-up questions of presenters following their submission/presentation and did so.

The Office of Advancement held five focus groups: one with Alumni Branch Leaders; one with the Queen's Student Alumni Association; two with University Council; and one which included representatives from Four Directions and Indigenous alumna and current graduate students. A summary provided to the Committee of the focus groups described the sentiment of the University Council focus groups as “neutral”, and the other three “strongly unanimous” in favour of removing the name. Transcripts of the focus groups were also provided to the Committee.

The Committee also took additional steps to ensure that we heard from voices that have been historically marginalized at Queen's. The Committee met with Advisors from the Human Rights and Equity Office and with Knowledge Keeper/Elder/Cultural Advisor Allen Doxtator and Elder in Residence Wendy Phillips. A Committee Co-Chair spoke with the Office of Indigenous Initiative about engaging Indigenous students, faculty and staff. Committee members also engaged in outreach. One Committee member met with current Indigenous law students.

Two Indigenous members of the Queen's community organized two talking circles for people to share their views. Committee members were invited to attend, and two members attended the second circle. The talking

circles were recorded and the recordings shared with Committee members on the promise that access would be limited to Committee members.

The Committee also heard from Queen's Aboriginal Council and a Committee co-chair spoke with leaders and representatives of two neighbouring First Nations. Another Committee member was present for one of these conversations.

Finally, a Committee Co-Chair reached out to and spoke with a representative of the City of Kingston.

G. Content Analysis

As noted above, 2,137 survey respondents included a written response. These ranged in length from a few words to multi-page attachments. The Committee also received 158 written submissions by email. Committee members reviewed these individual submissions, but we also determined that we needed to gain an overall understanding of what we were hearing. To that end, we hired three Queen's graduate students to perform a content analysis of these written submissions. Hiring was based on relevant experience performing content analysis of large volumes of survey responses and experience working with the software NVivo.

Similar to the survey results, written submissions were split almost evenly between keeping the name (49%) and removing the name (48%). However, at least four submissions represented groups: PSAC Local 901 (submission on behalf of 2,000+ Teaching Assistants, Research Assistants, Teaching Fellows and Postdoctoral Scholars on Queen's Campus); the Senate Educational Equity Committee (14 members); the Queen's Law Student Society [Core] (seven law students); and the Political Studies Graduate Student Association. These groups were all in favour of removing the name.

The full report of the content analysis is included in Appendix C. Questions about the content analysis should be directed to the Committee Co-Chairs.

H. Criticisms of the Process

The Committee heard from stakeholders who were critical of the consultation process. Questions were raised regarding the composition of the Committee, specifically whether the Committee included Indigenous people and people of colour. One respondent questioned how those who have not been personally and emotionally affected by this issue be granted the authority to speak on it. Others questioned whether there was sufficient diversity in terms of age. It was also suggested that the Committee should include a historian.

As noted above, we are unable to speak directly to the process for selecting Committee members. Although we did not have a historian on the Committee, we spoke with two professors from the University of Manitoba and a retired civil servant with expertise on the history of the federal government's treatment of Indigenous Peoples and the movement in Canada for Indigenous rights. Committee members also took steps to inform themselves of the history and shared numerous resources. A Committee member also reached out to the Queen's University Historian and we received a submission from him.

One submission criticized the form of the survey question (Yes/No) and suggested that these results should be given little weight.

Another point that was raised by some respondents was a desire for more information and context on the issue. The Committee struggled with this request and how it fit within our mandate and the potential conflict with our commitment to hear from all views in an impartial manner and with open minds.

There was some concern expressed that those in favour of keeping the name might not come forward to share their views with the Committee, given the current political climate. This was not the case.

The Committee also heard that the consultation process required racialized and Indigenous members of the Queen's community to relive colonial and racist trauma, and that initiating this consultation demonstrated a lack of care for Indigenous and racialized members of the Queen's community. The Committee notes that extra efforts were required to ensure that we heard from stakeholders who have been historically marginalized at Queen's and we recognize the additional cost to these stakeholders in sharing their experiences of harm. This is a serious critique that the leadership at Queen's will have to take into account in any future deliberations or discussions about the name of this building.

I. Recommendation

Ten members of the Committee recommend removing the name. The reasons supporting this recommendation are below in Part II.

One member, representing the Office of Advancement, abstained from making a decision at this time. Their reasons are also set out below in Part III.

J. Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the staff of Queen's University who assisted the Committee on top of their regular responsibilities, many of which have increased due to the COVID-pandemic:

Michael Brean
Mark Deen
Ann Deer
Michael Fraser
Deanna Morash
Shaun Leung
Nancy Somers

We are also grateful for the assistance of Kim Buitenhuis, Steven Crighton, Melissa Forcione, and Karina Rider.

Part II – Reasons of the Majority of the Committee for Removing the Name

For the sake of readability, in this Part, “Committee” is used to refer to the ten members of the Committee who endorsed these reasons.

A. The Mandate of Queen’s University

1. Queen’s University Naming Policy

“No naming will be approved or, once approved, continued that could reasonably compromise the University's public image, reputation or commitment to its academic mission² and values.” (section 4.4 of Queen’s University Naming Policy).³

The question before the Board of Trustees is whether the continued naming of the law school building after Sir John A. Macdonald reasonably compromises the University’s public image, reputation or commitment to its academic mission and values. In the view of ten members of the Committee, the answer to this question is yes.

The University itself has indicated concern that Queen’s is regarded negatively regarding diversity, equity, and inclusion. In the PCRDI report the Principal’s committee found that “the negative reputation of the University, regarding its inaction towards incidents of racism, its perceived hostile climate, and lack of a critical mass in various racialized groups, have hindered its recruitment and retention efforts” of a diverse student body and faculty.

This is a vicious circle. The fact of lack of diversity gives rise to the perception that Queen’s is an unwelcoming or inhospitable place for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), and that perception is a barrier to changing that fact.

What are Queen’s values? As a University, Queen’s values and supports the academic freedom of its faculty and students. In keeping with this value, during the consultation process, the Committee heard from

² “The Mission of Queen's University”, online: <https://www.queensu.ca/secretariat/policies/senate/mission-statement-queens-university>

³ “Naming Policy”, online: <https://www.queensu.ca/secretariat/policies/senate/naming-policy#11>. In his email submission to the Committee, Queen’s University Historian Dr. Duncan McDowall noted that the institution’s approach to naming buildings has been “rather ad-hoc”: “there has been some consistency in the naming of its buildings (e.g. student residences have been named for former principals, senior administrators, trustees and rectors). Otherwise, the choice of name for many campus buildings has been loosely guided by an association with a prominent person in the field of professional or academic endeavour (e.g. Dunning Hall for Chancellor Charles Dunning, a federal finance minister in the 1920s or Harrison-LeCaine Hall after Hugh LeCaine, the composer of electronic music).”

everyone who wished to express a view on the building name, and listened to all views with an open mind.⁴ We related this value to the teachings of Respect and Honesty.

Queen's has also developed a longstanding commitment to the values of equity, diversity, and inclusion. This commitment is consistent with its mission of good citizenship and leadership within the nation and the community of nations.⁵ The Committee also committed to honouring this principle in our work.⁶ We related this value to the teaching of Humility, which recognizes our common humanity and equality.

In support of this value, the Principal made a declaration of a commitment to address systemic racism. Concrete steps identified as imperatives required by this commitment include:

- Identify barriers within university procedures to the recruitment and admission of racialized students, particularly Black and Indigenous students and enhance efforts and initiatives to diversify the student population;
- Increase financial support and promote centralized academic supports for under-represented students;
- Review and strengthen our institutional policies and procedures for addressing acts of racist violence and hatred, with an emphasis on trauma-informed care for those victimized;
- Provide additional anti-racism training and education for all staff and faculty;
- Increase mental health supports for students, staff and faculty affected by racism on campus;⁷

In the Principal's Implementation Committee Report on Diversity and Inclusion ("PICRDI"), calls to action also were laid out. These were also instruments to creating a climate of welcome and inclusion to diverse students.

As diversity was previously not prioritized by the University, the PICRDI recommended, among other things, accountability, training and education, and building diversity into the culture and climate at Queen's. In particular, Recommendations #3, #6 and #13 are most relevant to the Committee's work:

Recommendation #3 recognizes that "[s]enior officials of the university and deans need to take more responsibility for ensuring that racialized faculty feel welcome and settled in our community," and has included in the mandate of the Associate Vice-Principal (Equity) the goal of "[i]mproving the climate for racialized faculty and staff and pursuing initiatives that enhance retention."

⁴ Principles, above.

⁵ See the mission statement of the University

⁶ Principles, above.

⁷ Queen's University Administration's Declaration of Commitment to Address Systemic Racism, online: <https://www.queensu.ca/principal/anti-racism>.

Recommendation #6 recognizes “the important symbolic gesture of renaming the Policy Studies Building in honour of Robert Sutherland,” who was the first known black graduate from a Canadian university and law school. It also recognizes that more substantive action was required to improve diversity beyond the renaming of a building.

Recommendation #13 recognizes that Queen’s has a recruitment problem when it comes to Indigenous and racialized communities and aims to increase “targeted recruitment of students from underrepresented groups, particularly Indigenous students and urban outer city youth.” In particular, the PICRDI report laments that the “list of ‘top students’ in the GTA and Toronto...is often composed of many racialized populations – yet this is not reflected in our student body because we have failed to attract them to our school. There are many different barriers, not all of which are institutional by any means, but Queen’s can do better to recruit a diverse student body.”

Therefore, we must conclude that central to Queen’s values and reputation is *the creation of a climate of inclusion, of welcome and safety for diverse students, staff, and faculty.*

As noted above, the context in which this question arises is, in part, the advancement of a petition by a large group of students and faculty of the University. The petition refers to the Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi -- Extending the Rafters: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force Final Report, which states:

"The university must create culturally validating spaces by incorporating Indigenous art in common spaces, including Indigenous languages on welcome signs, plaques, and building names, and integrating traditional Indigenous plants across the campus gardens to recognize and honour the territory of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe Peoples." (2018, 12)

This recommendation was incorporated into the Committee’s Principles as an aspect of the need to look forward to how our work will affect the next seven generations.

Another part of the context of the decision is the recent acts of violence through the vandalism of the Four Directions Indigenous Students’ Centre. Queen’s is, as reflected in these recent acts of racism and violence, currently not a place of safety, welcome, and inclusion, for BIPOC students.

The decision regarding the name of the law school building must turn on whether keeping that name is consistent with actively taking steps to make Queen’s a safer, more inclusive, and more welcoming space for people from diverse backgrounds, including Indigenous people, and for people from other marginalized groups. We believe, for reasons developed below, that keeping the name “Sir John A. Macdonald” on the law school building is **not** consistent with the imperative to create a welcoming and inclusive climate on campus. Therefore, we believe that the Board of Trustees must remove the existing name from the law school building.

2. Listening to Indigenous and Marginalized Voices

Does the existing name of the law school building foster a climate of welcome, inclusiveness, and safety for BIPOC people at Queen’s? This is a question *only* BIPOC community members can answer, although

they are expressing frustration at the number of times they have been asked this or similar questions, with limited concrete steps taken in response.

Our consultation process surveyed and heard submissions from people of all backgrounds, ages, and types of affiliation with Queen's and Kingston. As is evident from both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of survey results and submissions, there is significant dissensus among the broader population regarding whether the name should stay, for a variety of reasons which we discuss below.

On this specific point, however, of how the name of the law school building contributes to the climate of the University for Indigenous, racialized, and marginalized groups, there was broad consensus in the responses we heard: keeping the existing name of the law school building creates feelings ranging from exclusion to trauma for those the University is charged with and committed to welcoming and including.

From a current ArtSci student of Indigenous heritage, we heard the following, which is a representative example of the responses we heard from virtually all respondents of Indigenous heritage, and those from racialized and marginalized groups:

"I already do not feel safe on campus due to many racist incidents against Indigenous people and this is another way in which my safety and comfort at my own school is being affected. Having to know that my school supports and celebrates the violent colonial actions by naming buildings after him is a true show that my fear is justified. John A. Macdonald is the reason many of my ancestors, including my grandmother attended residential school. It is absolutely and wildly inappropriate to continue to celebrate this vile man on campus and then tell students you support reconciliation. Actions speak far louder than words". – ArtSci Student

From the Queen's Law Students' Society (LSS), we heard:

"Proponents of change rightfully point out that MacDonald was involved in designing the Canadian Indian Residential School System, the Electoral Franchise Act of 1885, and the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885. These programs directly affected the ancestors of Black, Chinese, and Indigenous students who study at Queen's University. Many of these students have reported that the name of the law building is a continued reminder of the pain that has been inflicted by the Canadian state on them and their families."

"By changing the name of the law building, Queen's University would be protecting the mental health of their students while also potentially taking positive action towards increased representation of minorities that have not received the recognition they so deserve." Letter to the Board of Trustees, The Queen's Law Students' Society Core (LSS Core), June 15, 2020.

We heard from Indigenous participants that the name 'Sir John A. Macdonald' triggers trauma that they experienced attending residential school, or that they experience because their parents and grandparents are residential school Survivors. We heard of the myriad ways in which the trauma resulting from the wrongs against Indigenous people can be triggered: a sight, a smell, a sound. Being in the building named after the figure who represents that wrong to many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, seeing his name elevated

and commemorated, is not only triggering of the trauma but sends the message that the University does not care about the harmful experience of the people traumatized by it.

As another alumn puts this point:

How are Indigenous students, staff and faculty supposed to take the university seriously when it says it's working toward reconciliation if we don't hear them when they say that this is the very least that we can do? – BEd & MEd Alumn

Although we think it is important to centralize historically marginalized voices in this process, we do not suggest that we heard these concerns *only* from racialized students, or that only racialized students will benefit from removing the name. All members of the Queen's community will benefit from steps taken towards true reconciliation and inclusion.

The question of whether to remove the name from the building has raised a number of objections from members of the University community which we will discuss below. But *on this particular question*, which is supposed to guide the actions of the administration, the voices we heard could not have given a clearer answer: in order to make Queen's a safer and more inclusive climate for diverse students the name must be removed from the law building. Therefore its continuation is not consistent with Queen's values and is damaging to its reputation.

B. Concerns and Responses: Voices in Dialogue

Our mandate was broader than answering whether the existing name of the law school building fosters a climate of welcome, inclusiveness, and safety for BIPOC people at Queen's. In our consultation process, the broader question of whether to keep the name of the law school building was put to the widest possible community of stakeholders at Queen's and in the local community and surrounding area. As is evident from the numerical results of our survey, described above, the opinion of this larger community is deeply divided about the right answer to the question.

The content analysis of written survey responses revealed little common ground between the two views. This makes a decision difficult, of course, because it means that no matter what is decided, many people will be disappointed, unhappy and even angry. Our Principles tell us that these feelings matter and need to be acknowledged. The Committee also recognizes that this raises a concern that our recommendation will create ongoing division in the Queen's community. Nonetheless, the question must be answered. We are guided by the teaching of Courage in this regard.

Now that the question has been raised, there is no way forward that can be neutral. An action is required of the University one way or the other: whatever it decides will be an expression of value. Not about the past, but about the present and the future. As we heard again and again, students, faculty, and many alumni are calling for the action of *removing* the name because that action will have a particular meaning in the here and now. *Keeping* the name on the building is also an action that will send a message about the University's values. There is no neutral position available, so our decision must be made on the basis of values.

We are guided by the Teachings of Love, Respect, and Humility, which tell us that we must include, hear, and respect all views and opinions on the question.

In pursuit of our mandate to listen to both sides, we take the view that we must give our reasons in response to the objections raised to the decision we are recommending. We must articulate our reasons in response to those voices who oppose our decision: we do this out of love, respect, and humility, as well as that of seeking truth. Guided by the 1st teaching of Love, and that feelings matter, we pay attention to those people who have strong feelings that the name should stay. Our decision will disappoint them, but we hope that our reasons will allow them to see that we have heard them. We hope that by bringing the reasons for removing the name into close and respectful dialogue with those who oppose removing it, this report can be a first step toward our 6th teaching of Wisdom: a better understanding in our community as a whole.

The responses we heard in favour of keeping the name expressed a number of themes and ideas which can be expressed in six objections to our recommendation, and we will proceed by addressing and responding to each of these, explaining in each case why it was ultimately not an opinion that would prevail in the result. The harm to, and exclusion of, Indigenous people in particular but also all people from racialized and marginalized communities is a strong reason to remove the name. The question is thus whether any of the reasons expressed by those who oppose doing so are important enough to truly outweigh the harm and exclusion of those racialized and marginalized.

We recognize the voice of those opposed to removing the name as exemplified by three members of the Queen's community:

It is always tempting to judge historical figures by today's standards. However, in my [v]iew this is unfair and the context of the times a person lived in needs to be considered. Further the positive contributions of the person need to be taken into account. As a founding father of Confederation and Canada's first prime minister and a prominent lawyer in his own right Sir John A Macdonald continues to deserve recognition and his name should not be removed from the Law School Building— ArtSci & Law Alumn

Sir John A. MacDonald played an incredibly important role in constitution and the formation of our country, and he is from Kingston so is also a very important figure in local history. The policies around residential schools and his treatment of minorities were consistent with attitudes held at the time and while we should look back now and recognize that this was wrong, it is not fair to hold figures of the past to today's societal standards. We cannot erase our country's history because of actions that we are just now realizing were wrong, we can only move forward and make things better from here on in. The name should not be changed. – ArtSci Student

If perfection has become the new standard social activists apply to governments, businesses, politicians, and institutions, then few in this mortal world will meet that standard. Even fewer institutions and politicians will be judged satisfactory when today's new standard of perfection is applied to events occurring decades and centuries in the past. - Anonymous Written Submission

The concerns raised by these voices will be addressed below.

1. Blameworthiness

i. An Ordinary Man

Many people who said we should keep the name expressed the view that, for various reasons – some of which we will articulate separately below – Sir John A. Macdonald was not blameworthy in the way that would warrant removing his name from the building. We heard that we are ‘trying’ Sir John A. Macdonald in absentia, from a different time, and that to do so is unfair. We heard that he was a man with complex intentions, who perhaps did not know better than to do what he did (this theme will be addressed more fully below), and that he suffered a great deal in his personal life. He had children and a wife who suffered and died. We heard that he was an imperfect person like the rest of us, and that it is unfair to hold him to a higher standard.

Our recommendation does not reflect and is not intended as a holistic evaluation of the moral character of Sir John A. Macdonald. We recognize that people are complex, that no one is perfect, and that people act for many reasons, including the experience of suffering. All these things may be true of Sir John A. Macdonald. But they do not add up to a reason not to remove his name from the law school building.

In keeping with our Principles, we considered the impacts of actions taken by or supported by Sir John A. Macdonald as Prime Minister.

When people act in a public capacity, a leadership capacity, they are held to account for the impact of the actions taken because of their leadership. As leaders, they have a power to make decisions which is much greater than the ‘ordinary’ person. In taking on the portfolio of Indian Affairs, John A. Macdonald took upon himself a special responsibility for those who would be affected by his decisions in that capacity. To quote historian Sean Carleton from his presentation to the Committee,

While Macdonald was prime minister, the portfolio he chose for himself was Indian Affairs, he was the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. And, he used his position to marshal the resources necessary to initiate the Indian Residential Schools system and have it launched in 1883,⁸ and he continued to defend it as an effective tool of removing Indigenous children from their parents and communities, as a way of assimilating Indigenous peoples, but also disconnecting them from their culture that rooted them in the land - and this system continued until 1996.⁹

As Prime Minister of Canada, he took on an even greater responsibility – a responsibility which comes with accountability for the negative as well as the positive effects of his decisions on those over whom he holds

⁸ Church-run residential schools existed prior to 1883, but in the 1880s, “the federal government dramatically increased its involvement”. This involved funding to church-run schools and opening the first of its own industrial schools in 1883. See Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Lorimer, 2015) at 55-57.

⁹ Sean Carleton deputation transcript.

power. It is, as many people who argued that we should keep the name of the building told us, precisely because he was Prime Minister that he was commemorated and celebrated for so long.

This emphasis on leadership helps us to understand that it is *as Prime Minister* that Sir John A. Macdonald is responsible for the policies enacted by his government. Those policies harmed many generations of Indigenous people. Indigenous voices spoke movingly and eloquently about the ways in which Macdonald's name *and its elevation to prominence by Queen's on the building* triggers the deep pain associated with their experience of trauma, both past and present.

A useful contrast in this regard might be the reasons that Edinburgh University recently chose to remove the name of David Hume from its tower. Hume was highly influential as a philosopher and was famous as a Scot. But he was not the leader of Scotland. It has become clear that he held racist views. The elevation of his name at the University has therefore been deemed to reflect a condoning of those views. Whatever we think of that decision, it was made on a very different basis from the one we recommend here. Hume's racist character and racist views are *themselves* the reason that he is no longer to be commemorated.

Similarly, Queen's removed the name of Trustee Everett Collins' from the Richardson Hall board room due to his "strident anti-Semitism (not acknowledged or researched at the time of the room's naming)."¹⁰

Although Sir John A. Macdonald's racist views may be part of his character, and part of the reason for his government's policies, it is **not** primarily an evaluation of his character that is at issue here. It is the effect of the policies and his responsibility for them, and for the terrible harms that they engendered, harm that is still felt and experienced today.

ii. A Man of his Time

We come now to one of the most common objections to removing the name from the building: that we cannot judge a man of the nineteenth century by the standards of the twenty first. That he was a man of his time, and thus is not morally blameworthy for holding views that were widely held and viewed as morally acceptable in his time. We were referred to evidence from historians that in fact Macdonald's views and policies were considered extreme even by his peers.¹¹ That would indeed put an end to this kind of objection. But it was so commonly expressed that we want to address it carefully: if he was a man of his time, and held views about colonialism and race that were commonly held, how can we hold him responsible for holding those views?

This idea has some merit as a philosophical problem: can we do wrong if we do not know that we are doing wrong? It is an idea that plagues all attempts to rectify historical injustice.

There is parallel objection made against responsibility of those in the present, now that we do know, for wrongs done in the past. Many people who object, for instance, to reparations for slavery insist that since

¹⁰ Email submission of Dr. Duncan Mcdowall.

¹¹ Timothy J. Stanley, "John A. Macdonald, "the Chinese" and Racist State Formation in Canada", (2016) 3:1 Journal of Critical Race Inquiry at 23-26.

they in particular were not the ones who perpetuated that moral abhorrence, then even if people are still living under its shadow in very real ways, *the people of today* cannot be morally responsible for wrongs that took place before they are born.

The problem is that if both of these parallel philosophical objections are taken seriously, the implication is that *no one* can be responsible for historical wrongs, since those in the past are to be judged by a different standard, and those in the present did not actually commit the acts in question. So, if we hew closely to the philosophical question of moral blameworthiness, we are paralyzed: we cannot act to rectify the wrongs because, on that logic, no one is properly morally responsible for them.

Guided by the teaching of Wisdom, we focus on people's experience rather than on philosophical preoccupations. Humility guides us to see the matter differently, by focusing on our own responsibility, our own actions. The wrongful acts taken in pursuit of the policies of Sir John A. Macdonald's government created terrible harms. Those actions constituted cultural genocide.¹² We now have the capacity to take a small but important step to rectify that harm to the extent that we can: ceasing to elevate and celebrate Macdonald by naming the building housing the law faculty for him.

Because we have that capacity in the present, we are responsible for our action in that capacity. If we leave the name on the building, *we*, in the present, will be taking an action that celebrates and elevates a man who, because of his leadership role at the time in question, although a symbol of national pride for many, also stands for the abhorrent policies which have so seriously harmed a significant segment of our society since that time. If we take that action – leaving the name on the building – we will be re-perpetuating that harm. We must therefore take the other action available to us, namely, to remove the name.

The message we send if we remove the name is not primarily a condemnation of a single man's character, it is a message that *we*, in the present, take responsibility for our obligation not to continue the harm his policies created. As we heard from so many respondents: we cannot claim to intend reconciliation if *our* actions reflect an indifference to the harm to Indigenous peoples that reconciliation is meant to begin to repair.

Most importantly, the teachings of Truth and Humility tell us the following: we must recognize that even if Sir John A. Macdonald was surrounded by peers who shared his views, they were by no means the only moral views available at that time:

Indigenous people certainly did not share Macdonald's view that they were 'savages'¹³ and deserved to be stripped of the world they had inhabited for millennia.

¹² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Lorimer, 2015) at 1.

¹³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Lorimer, 2015) at 2.

Chinese people certainly did not share Macdonald's view that "they were biologically different from "Canadians" and that their presence threatened "the Aryan character" of Canadian society" to the point that they be stripped of their right to vote.¹⁴

Black people certainly did not share Macdonald's sympathies for the US Confederacy and its fight to maintain slavery.¹⁵

If we give credence to the idea that the moral views of people in the nineteenth century were simply universal in some way that justifies our continued exculpation of the Prime Minister at that time, we are in fact using the same lens to view the world as the one we recognize was wrong: that the views of white people, of colonial settlers, are the ones that 'count' as representative of the time. To the exclusion of the very real and very different views of the people excluded, marginalized, and wronged by those racist views.

iii. Shared Responsibility

We heard an objection to removing the name that took the form: 'you can't hold Sir John A. Macdonald responsible for the harms associated with his government's policies because those policies, and thus responsibility for the harms over many generations, were continued by other leaders after his time.' He is not solely responsible, on this view, and is thus not entirely blameworthy.

After considering this point of view, the Committee felt that this objection is very similar to the first concern about blameworthiness: the actions of a government over time are of course undertaken by many people. To some degree they do perhaps share the blame for the wrongs they perpetuated and the harms they caused. But again, Macdonald was the Prime Minister whose government put the relevant policies in place. As described in the Final Report of Queen's TRC Committee, Macdonald was a "major architect" of the residential school system. His governments also enacted some of the most harmful provisions of the *Indian Act*, including bans on traditional ceremonies. He thus holds a special kind of accountability for those wrongs and harms. The responsibility of other individuals for these and other harms is not the question before us. Our only question is whether keeping Macdonald's name on the building is the right or the wrong thing for *us* to do, given the message of exclusion and the harms it causes to people in the present.

In sum, philosophical questions of the appropriateness of holding that Macdonald had a morally blameworthy character are not central to our decision. Sir John A Macdonald represents the policies of his government to the generations of people harmed by them because he was Canada's leader. It is for this reason that keeping his name on the building perpetuates harm.

¹⁴ Timothy J. Stanley, "John A. Macdonald, "the Chinese" and Racist State Formation in Canada", (2016) 3:1 Journal of Critical Race Inquiry at 6.

¹⁵ Abigail B. Bakan, "Reconsidering the Underground Railroad: Slavery and Racialization in the Making of the Canadian State" at 18-19.

2. ‘No Macdonald, no Canada’

This is the phrase made famous by Richard Gwyn,¹⁶ and we heard its message repeated many times in our consultations. The idea has several dimensions which it’s important to disentangle.

We can see this idea expressed in some representative quotations from respondents in favour of keeping the name:

I believe it is important to continue celebrating Canada’s found[ing] fathers and their contribution to developing the nation we love today. Without men like John A. MacDonald, Canada may not be the secure, developed, and prosperous nation it is today.—ArtSci Student

I believe the building name should remain named after Sir John A. Macdonald full stop. Without him, there would be no Canada full-stop. — ArtSci Alumn

The idea that without Sir John A Macdonald there would be no Canada partly conveys the idea that because he was the architect of confederation, because his achievements include bringing together the political communities of Anglophone and Francophone peoples and extending the nation Westward, there would simply be no Canada without him. A news article a few days before the new law building’s official opening connects the naming of the law building to Macdonald’s story as an immigrant who “rose in fame and stature to the position of the first prime minister of Canada”, as well as his “efforts to bring about confederation, construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, [and] formation of the North West Mounted Police.”¹⁷

We must disentangle the creation of Canada as a political state from the means taken to effect its creation. It is the *means* used by Macdonald and his government in its treatment of Indigenous and other racialized minorities that were wrongful, and we must reject the idea that we cannot condemn those means because they were somehow an inevitable part of Canada’s creation.

Furthermore, contrary to some of the views expressed in our consultation, the Committee’s view is that Macdonald’s assimilationist policies toward Indigenous people were not inevitable. There was an alternate possibility available to the society that would become Canada. That possibility was made available by the early Treaty relationships,¹⁸ and was characterized by two societies living in peace and mutual respect. The breaking of Treaties was one part of the means Sir John A. Macdonald’s government used to create Canada, to acquire the land it saw as necessary for westward expansion.

¹⁶ Steve Paikin, “Remembering Richard Gwyn” TVO (17 Aug 2020), online: <https://www.tvo.org/article/remembering-richard-gwyn>.

¹⁷ “Macdonald Hall is Named After Canada’s First PM”, *Whig-Standard* (19 Oct 1960).

¹⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume One: Summary* (Lorimer, 2015) at, e.g., 53.

Macdonald's government treated Indigenous people as though they were not worthy of the kind of mutuality of respect that Macdonald worked so hard to engender in bringing together the French and English parts of Canada. Historian Sean Carleton, in his presentation to the Committee, noted that the "remarkable project of Canada"¹⁹ was experienced as oppression and genocide by many Indigenous nations who have lived in these lands, only recently claimed as Canada, since time immemorial with their own lifeways, including legal systems."²⁰

We heard from many people who agree that 'No Macdonald, No Canada' that they feel great pride in what Canada is and what Canada represents. And we heard from people who specifically referred to Macdonald's foundation of Canada on terms of inclusiveness and mutuality of respect, which gave rise to a society of multiculturalism, equality, diversity, rule of law, and concern for its citizens.

The national foundation Macdonald established involved mutuality of respect, and the value of diversity and inclusion *among the Anglophone and Francophone peoples*. But, crucially, its racist views about Indigenous peoples meant that his government failed to include them in its new society in the same respectful and inclusive way. Far from it: Macdonald's government took the view that, unlike French and English societies, Indigenous people should be assimilated rather than, as was done for the English and the French, having their societies included and recognized as equals in the project of Canada.

We quote here Sean Carleton, a historian we heard from, on Macdonald's government's treatment of Indigenous people:

Acquiring new territory and resources in the west saw Macdonald support going to war against the Metis and other Indigenous communities, supporting the creation of the reserve system, forcing Indigenous peoples onto the reserves to clear way for the railway, and enforcing their containment by supporting the operation of the Pass System, which existed outside the law, whereby Indigenous peoples were required to obtain a pass from the local Indian agent to leave the reserve. The idea was to restrict Indigenous mobility, particularly on the prairies, so they could not interfere with colonization and nation-building.

Moreover, Macdonald supported using starvation as a political tool: "I have reason to believe that the agents as a whole ... are doing all they can, by refusing food until the Indians are on the verge of starvation, to reduce the expense," Macdonald told the House of Commons in 1882.²¹ ...

After going to war in 1885 against the Metis and Indigenous allies, Macdonald sanctioned the arrest and execution of some of the leaders, including Louis Riel, in questionable legal proceedings. In explaining his objectives, Macdonald wrote, "The executions of the Indians ought to convince the Red Man that the White Man governs."

¹⁹ "Building Name Consultation Process", online: <https://law.queensu.ca/about/consultation>.

²⁰ Sean Carleton deputation transcript.

²¹ House of Commons Debates, Official Report, Volume 12.

Macdonald's government also used the Indian Act to criminalize powwows and potlatches, and these policies lasted well into the 20th century.

So, Macdonald also played a role as a nation destroyer; he was a father of confederation but he was also an architect of Canada's genocide against Indigenous peoples.

We heard from many Indigenous people who have a very different experience of what Canada is and what it represents. That experience and perspective has been excluded and marginalized, and if Queen's is to create a climate that welcomes Indigenous people it must not repeat the exclusion and marginalization of the Indigenous point of view, including that point of view on Macdonald himself: when respondents talk proudly and fervently about the Canada that Macdonald created, they fail to recognize the extent of the harm that the creation of Canada and its government did to Indigenous peoples. As one Indigenous woman said, "It hurts to know the people writing these words need to be reminded that Indigenous...people [are] and were part of the Canadian public."

We heard respondents say that they are proud of Canada, and want to extend that pride to one of its early representatives, in Sir John A. Macdonald. Some of the voices we heard were hard to interpret other than as reiterations of colonial and in some cases explicitly racist and hostile attitudes about Canada. The fact that we heard such responses reinforces the need for Queen's to act on the values of inclusion, welcome, and equality that it purports to espouse, and to remove the name on the law building which continues to express those racist attitudes about Canada.

For the majority of submissions which were not explicitly racist nor hostile, the teachings of Love and Humility guide us to interpret the expressions of pride in Canada in the best possible way. We do not want to undermine pride in and attachment to the Canadian *values* of inclusion, respect, diversity, and rule of law, that are appropriate bases of that pride. That those values are held close to the hearts of many Canadians points toward the possibility of a better future – one envisioned by First Nations Treaty signatories – of mutual trust, respect, and care. We recommend the removal of the existing name of the law school as an act in furtherance of those values, and that better future.

3. The importance of history

We heard respondents say that history is important: that it is important that we remember Sir John A. Macdonald in the full context of our current knowledge and awareness of his wrongs. We heard from many respondents who were simply unaware of the historical record regarding Canada's treatment of Indigenous and racialized people, in part or in full. And so we are cognizant of the need to better learn about Sir John A. Macdonald's legacy in all its truth. Having his name on the law school building, as it has been for more than fifty years, though, seems to have done little to promote that fuller understanding of his complicated legacy. In fact, many respondents told us that this very consultation and decision process was their first opportunity to learn about Sir John A. Macdonald's history and real legacy.

Having someone's name on a building does nothing to teach people about the richness of the history surrounding that person. It is, rather, more in the category of a commemoration than a piece of historical

pedagogy. History is the full record of events that occurred in the past. It is taught in classrooms and explored in monuments and museums. A name on the law school building is more truthfully interpreted as a commemoration of the person whose name it is. **Commemoration, as distinct from history itself, is not the teaching but the selective remembering of certain parts of history that are considered important or valuable.**

In the case of a named building, it is hard to avoid the implication that the person whose name it is was a person we should celebrate. While some aspects of Canada are indeed to be celebrated, as discussed above, Sir John A. Macdonald is so closely associated with the cultural genocide he perpetuated against Indigenous people that his commemoration on the name of the building can reasonably be understood as approval of his policies – the means by which he created Canada. And that message is the opposite of the one the University must send in order to create a climate of welcome and inclusion.

What we also heard, though, in listening to voices who had the ‘No Macdonald, No Canada’ view, was the following kind of attitude toward the racism, wrongful policies, and harms associated with Macdonald’s government and indeed with Canadian history. Richard Gwyn said: “While Macdonald did make mistakes, so did Canadians, collectively.”²² And this is surely right: as a society, the ordinary people of Canada have stood by while the government pursued vicious policies against Indigenous and racialized peoples. But Gwyn’s message, that this fact means that we are making Macdonald a scapegoat for our own mistakes, confuses individual responsibility with the responsibility of leaders for the policies of their governments.

More important to notice, though, is the reductive idea that the policies Macdonald perpetuated against Indigenous and racialized peoples were simply ‘a mistake’, much like the mistakes that many of us, as imperfect people, make in the course of our lives.

Many voices we heard expressed thoughts that had this kind of structure:

Although what Sir John A did was terrible, the views he had were generally expressed around the world. I believe the good he did, in creating Canada, much outweigh the racist actions he took. If anyone else had been prime minister at the time, the same racist policies would definitely have taken place. – ArtSci Student

The original reasons for choosing to name after Sir John A. are still applicable - local lawyer who went on to great achievements. Those achievements outweigh the role he had in residential schools. — ArtSci Alumn

We heard many people say that Macdonald was a political visionary, and that his treatment of Indigenous and racialized people, while wrong, is a kind of spot on his record or a stain on his legacy. And that while we should not ignore it, it does not spoil the rest. This way of thinking about Macdonald’s record, and indeed Canada’s history, was quite prevalent in the responses we heard.

²² Gwyn, ‘Canada’s First Scapegoat’, *The Walrus* (20 July 2020).

We cannot act on this reasoning. This way of thinking fails to recognize the scale and severity of the wrongs at issue here, and risks diminishing them. As noted above, the first strand of our framework principles guides us to pay attention to history by thinking about the past seven generations. Seven generations into the past takes us to the time of Sir John A. Macdonald. And while non-Indigenous, non-racialized Canadians certainly benefitted from the creation of Canada and even from the means by which it was created, we must also pay attention to each of the seven generations of Indigenous and racialized people who came before us.

Each of those generations of people experienced pain and suffering hard to imagine for those who do not experience it and its legacy. It is hard to comprehend the extent of the wrong committed by the Canadian government when it took Indigenous children away from their homes and families, and out of the language and culture that made them who they were. That wrong was exponentially exacerbated by the neglect, humiliation, and abuse perpetrated against the children at countless residential and day schools for Indigenous children, schools which were made part of a federal policy of assimilation by Sir John A. Macdonald.

We must finally grasp the scale and severity of the harm that system perpetrated against each of the seven generations that precede us, and try to understand and empathize with the ongoing pain that exists in the families of residential school Survivors.

That Sir John A. Macdonald stands today as representative of this system is not surprising. He was its architect and the Prime Minister of the government that implemented it. And he could not have been more in favour of the brutally racist ideology of assimilation that he took to justify it. Macdonald understood the goal of the schools to be to “kill the Indian in the child”. He argued that “When the school is on the reserve, the child lives with his parents who are savages; he is surrounded by savages ... He is simply a savage who can read and write,” he told the House of Commons.

These wrongs and harms were found by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to be a cultural genocide. We cannot condone the continued minimization of that experience for Indigenous peoples by accepting its characterization as a mere spot on an otherwise excellent record, or as a mere mistake outweighed by political accomplishments. We heard from Survivors and Intergenerational Survivors that the name triggers memories of residential school experiences. In this consultation process, we heard about the harm that Indigenous people experience when walking into a building that honours a primary architect of the above policies. That experience is real and it is valid. It is a constant reminder of the harms that their ancestors, grandparents and parents experienced and the legacy of those harms that continue today. To elevate Macdonald’s name onto the law school building therefore directly works against a climate of welcome, safety, and inclusion for all marginalized students.

4. Denaming would be erasing history

We heard from a wide range of respondents who expressed concern that removing the name might ‘erase history’. We take this concern very seriously. Drawing on the “Yale Principles”, our Principles acknowledge that decisions about building names come with obligations of nonerasure. Furthermore, one

of the central lessons to emerge from our consultations is precisely that a broad range of Canadians do not know the history of Sir John A. Macdonald, but rather have learned a whitewashed version of his story.

As discussed above, we heard from many stakeholders that learning about the consultation prompted them to dig into the history of Sir John A. Macdonald. One inference we could draw from these comments is that having the name on the building, on its own, did little to prompt critical interest or reflection on this figure of Canadian history, and so encouraging students, faculty, staff and alumni to engage with this history cannot justify keeping the name.

We heard concerns from two Indigenous respondents that tearing things down is not a good way or path forward. But that is not the only way to think of this exercise. Rather, as many respondents said, we can think of it as a positive step forward toward telling a new story of the past that will make space for a new way forward together. On balance, we do not think that keeping the name ‘preserves’ history. And the negative repercussions of keeping the name are much greater.

Keeping the name will signal to some students, particularly Indigenous and students of Chinese descent, that they are not welcome at Queen’s, and that Queen’s’ commitment to equity, diversity and inclusion does not include a willingness to re-name spaces to be more welcoming to them. It would render Queen’s’ commitments to end systemic racism and implement the TRC recommendations toothless or hollow. We heard from a substantial number of respondents that keeping the name would be hypocritical and would belie Queen’s’ public statements about its values.

History is not limited to something in the past that we simply advert to by putting names from the past on buildings to remind us of it. It is an ongoing story, of which we are a part. Whatever we do, we will be making history and participating in it – nothing we do can erase history. The best we can hope for is to renew history for the better: create a space, in the law school, that signals welcome, inclusion; that, as one of our Indigenous respondents suggested – ‘is a good place, a good place to come together and learn’.

5. Removing the name is merely performative or trivial

An action can only be ‘merely’ performative or trivial if it has no significant effect in the real world. We heard profoundly moving testimonials from Indigenous people in particular, but also other racialized people, about how painful it is for them to see the name on the building, and for the space of the law school to be constantly associated with that name. Although removing the name on its own will not create an inclusive climate at Queen’s, we think it will have a significant impact.

Moreover, we know that symbols matter. It seems clear that the treatment of Indigenous peoples by Sir John A. Macdonald in his time was not in the spirit of the Two-Row Wampum, it was not to foster better nation-to-nation relationships. The Two-Row Wampum is featured in an installation by artist Hannah Clause titled “Words That are Lasting” in the atrium of the law building. It represents two canoes traveling side by side, each on a parallel path, treating the other as independent and worthy of respect. This idea signifies the better future the idea of reconciliation envisages for our country, and which the removal of the name only begins to make possible. The symbolism of the name on the front of building seems to directly contradict the message this work of art is communicating.

Although the Committee’s view is that removing the name is not merely performative or trivial, stakeholders were very clear that removing the name on its own is not enough to make Queen’s a safe and welcoming place to BIPOC, and that there are more substantive actions, both within and beyond the Faculty of Law that must be taken.²³

6. Removing the name is to participate in ‘cancel culture’²⁴

We heard a number of voices in favour of keeping the name on the building who said that removing it would be a manifestation of ‘cancel culture’ and would be to act on a left-wing ideology. We reject the idea that we are acting on any ideology. We are acting on the basis of our Terms of Reference and the Principles we developed as instructed by those Terms of Reference

We considered the past carefully, and concluded that the pain and harm to Indigenous peoples had been marginalized in our understanding of our past and in our narrative about Canada. We constantly hold in view the future seven generations, guided by the 3rd strand, through our prioritization of the pain and trauma associated with the name of the building for many members of our community.

We are further guided by the third strand in our reflection that Queen’s is a place primarily of education, and is a place, too, of privilege: it is the fortunate among our society who are able to study at Queen’s and benefit from everything it has to offer. We have an obligation to make sure that that benefit is truly available to all Canadians, so that we are contributing to the future in a just and equitable way, and playing our part in creating a more just society for the seven generations ahead of us, who are relying on us to do so.

The idea of ‘cancel culture’ is just that – an idea which interprets actions in a particular way. It sees attempts to recreate our society in light of our values in terms only of the past – of erasure of what was already there. But it is not clear why the past, the status quo, should have any special entitlement to prevail over considerations about the present and the future. People of all generations take action – in many cases radical action, as we might indeed think about Sir John A. Macdonald – to affect their society in the way they think will be for the better. Our actions are thus always acts of renewal: they imply evaluations of the past but also expressions of our present values and of hope about our future. Our own time, or culture, is no different from any other in that respect.

Most importantly, we cannot speak to any future decisions that seem to resemble this one. In particular, we do not wish to be interpreted as making recommendations on any other commemorations or historical sites involving Macdonald, in the City of Kingston or elsewhere. We must evaluate each proposed action one by one, so that we can do the right thing in each particular context on its own terms. In this context, as discussed above, **we are not primarily recommending removal of the name from the law building because of a**

²³ See PICRDI, Recommendation #6, noted above.

²⁴ The Merriam-Webster Dictionary explains that “[c]anceling and cancel culture have to do with the removing of support for public figures in response to their objectionable behavior or opinions. This can include boycotts or refusal to promote their work.” Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “Words We’re Watching: What It Means to Get ‘Canceled’”, online: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/cancel-culture-words-were-watching>.

person's character. Our recommendation is based on the terrible harm John A Macdonald's actions from a position of the highest possible leadership had on generations of people, and thus on the continued harm we do to those people who associate his name with their suffering by seeming to celebrate it with a name on a building in an institution of higher learning. Again, a building name is unlike a museum or monument, which provides much greater scope for discussion of a complicated legacy.

The same principle applies to the objection we heard that there is some kind of logical imperative to remove all names associated with our colonial past if we remove this one, that if we remove the name we create the danger of a slippery slope and we will lose all the symbols that help us identify ourselves. We must consider each decision one by one. Lawyers especially are extremely familiar with the slippery slope style of argument: if we change one norm, then we will have to change all our norms and rules. Sometimes a change does represent a call to rethink our norms. More often, it simply creates one reason to consider when making future decisions. Each decision must be made and evaluated on its own terms, and no single decision creates an imperative to make any future decisions in a particular way.

The culture of this moment, to the extent that it is removing names and symbols from some places, is questioning just what symbols we want to define us. If symbols, including names, do shape our sense of identity, then we must be especially sure that the symbols we erect are ones which reflect the identity we truly want to have. If they are, as the name of the law school building is, at least in part a representation of racist policies and a history of injustice, then we are entitled to reject them as emblems of our identity, in order to create a better society with which to identify.

C. Sir John A Macdonald's Connection to Queen's and the Original Reasons for Choosing the Building Name

Although it was not identified in the content analysis as a theme in the submissions of respondents, in other processes reconsidering building names the historical connection between the person and the institution and the original reasons for choosing the name were relevant. The Committee agreed that we should look at these, and incorporated them into our Principles under the 1st strand.

Sir John A. Macdonald's historical connection to Queen's is not extensive, at least not in comparison to the namesakes of many other buildings on campus, but there was more of a connection than many members of the Committee anticipated. In his submission to the Committee, Queen's University Historian Duncan McDowall described Macdonald as "centrally instrumental in the founding of Queen's", through his "active role in the local agitation to establish a college in eastern Ontario."²⁵ He was a founding trustee of Queen's. He also played a lead role in establishing Queen's medical school, by hosting a meeting to promote it at his home.

²⁵ Email submission to the Committee.

Documentation of the history of the name appears to be thin. Dean Walters provided to the Committee photocopies of news clippings that he had collected for a previous project. A story in the Kingston *Whig-Standard* in May 1960 about the new law building stated that the name was given “in tribute to the first Prime Minister of Canada, distinguished lawyer, a founder and lifelong friend of the university.”²⁶ Nothing in the material provided suggests that the negative aspects of Macdonald’s legacy were considered at the time of the building’s opening.

Historian Sean Carleton noted that although “[s]ome statues [of Macdonald] were erected after his death in the early 1890s...the vast majority of statues and honorific names were erected/given in the 1960s and 1970s, in the leadup to Canada’s centennial in 1967 and at a time of French-English tensions and movements for Quebec separation. Many people looked to the past for a unifying figure, someone important who brought French and English Canadians together, and Macdonald seemed an easy choice”.²⁷ One email submission made a similar connection, noting that “In the period I was at Queen’s the Vietnam war and mood of Canadian nationalism made Macdonald an apt and, indeed, exceptional hero.”

In his 1960 convocation address, lawyer and then Treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada JJ Robinette was “happy” to think “that your law school will forever be associated with the name and memory of that great lawyer John Macdonald.”²⁸ He also described the role of the law school, specifically law professors, in “influenc[ing] the development of the law as a means of social justice.”

An article in the Queen’s Journal announcing that the sitting Prime Minister at the time, John Diefenbaker, would attend to officially open the building, noted that Diefenbaker was “a great admirer of Sir John and has been a keen student of his life and achievements.”²⁹

An article in the Kingston *Whig-Standard* describing the opening ceremony, notes that Diefenbaker officially opened the building by cutting “three woven strands of ribbons”, strands in the Queen’s colours, red, gold and blue.³⁰ In his speech, Diefenbaker said that “he hoped the opening of the new hall would be one more step toward achieving universal order.” The article also described “student ‘shenanigans’”, including a banner renaming the building “Laurier Hall”, which was cut down before Diefenbaker’s arrival, and a large picture of Lester Pearson taped to the outside of a window.

Although Sir John A. Macdonald’s role as a founding trustee and supporter of Queen’s should continue to be acknowledged, as a reason for keeping the name, it does not outweigh the reasons set out above in favour of removal.

²⁶ “Law Building to Be Named After John A. Macdonald”, *Whig-Standard* (28 May 1960).

²⁷ Sean Carleton deputation transcript.

²⁸ “Queen’s Law Group Praised By Law Society Treasurer”, *Whig-Standard* (28 May 1960).

²⁹ “Prime Minister Here Thursday”, *Queen’s Journal* (18 Oct 1960).

³⁰ “Diefenbaker Opens New Law Building”, *Whig-Standard* (21 Oct 1960).

D. Conclusion

To remove the existing name of the law building is especially important for the law school at Queen's. A law school has a distinctive place in society because it creates the advocates and judges who will shape the law and indeed the society for generations to come. Many politicians have been to law school, as have many policy-makers and other social leaders. For that reason, Canadian law schools have recognized their special responsibility to take steps to rectify the injustice in our society where Indigenous peoples are concerned. This imperative is specified in the TRC report and is embraced at Queen's in particular in the Extending the Rafters report. Queen's has further made commitments to pay special attention to the climate of our campus for BIPOC students and staff.

Part of fulfilling this imperative for the law school means outreach and recruitment of Indigenous students. We reiterate here that Indigenous students were of one voice where the question of the impact of the law building's name is concerned. This question is therefore not an abstract one, or one about freedom of speech or the merits of 'cancel culture'. This is a question about the shape of the law school and the University's demographic, and about the identity and reputation of the University, because it is about how people feel about coming to and staying at Queen's. It is therefore about the demographic of leadership in this country. If the law school student demographic does not change to include more Indigenous and marginalized people it will be perpetuating the injustice in our society that our students so profoundly speak against in their responses.

One respondent expressed the concern that removing the name will cause greater harm to Indigenous students through the backlash from non-Indigenous students and will harden attitudes in Kingston against neighbouring First Nations. That people have this fear is a very sad fact. It suggests the extent of the work that remains to be done to change racist attitudes to Indigenous peoples in Canada and in our local community. If Queen's chooses to keep the name, it does nothing to challenge those attitudes – in fact it silently reinforces them. Our Principles guide us to be courageous in our recommendation. We must, as an institution, send the message as clearly as possible that racist attitudes are not welcome or condoned at Queen's, and that racist actions will attract repercussions.

The value of Truth guides us to recognize that the name of the law school building is alienating, and makes Indigenous and racialized students feel excluded and unwelcome. When they are students here it makes them feel like outsiders in an institution already structured in a way that marginalizes them and their history. A building is not like a statue: a statue one can ignore, choose to walk around, or throw paint on as a protest. The law school building's name is a symbol each student must see each time they walk into its front doors. It is a symbol they see on emails and other communications from the school. To the extent that it defines the law school or speaks to its identity, it excludes their experience and alienates them. For such reasons, we recommend the name's removal.

E. Additional Thoughts

Although beyond the question of whether to keep or remove the name of John A. Macdonald from the law school building, some Committee Members felt that the following actions could facilitate further dialogue

about Sir John A. Macdonald's complicated legacy in conjunction with the name being removed from the law school building:

- Plaque explaining that the law school building removed the name of Sir John A. Macdonald because of his complicated and hurtful legacy; and
- Indigenous ceremony involving Indigenous alumni of the law school during the formal removal of the name of Sir John A. Macdonald from the law school building.

Again, questions of next steps are beyond the Committee's mandate, and although some stakeholders submitted comments on alternatives or additional actions, our focus was on views in favour or against keeping the building name.

In particular, the ten members who signed on to these reasons were divided on the idea of a plaque. On the one hand, a plaque might respond to concerns on both sides of this question about erasing history. On the other hand, a plaque in the law building might continue the very harm that removing the name is intended to address. In any case, such a plaque would require care and thoughtfulness – and time.

We also heard that if the Board of Trustees decides to follow the Committee's recommendation and remove the name that Queen's may want to "pause" before taking any next steps, including coming up with a new name.

Part III – The Reasons of the Office of Advancement for Abstaining

The Office of Advancement has opted to abstain from voting at this time. The consultation process made it clear that there is not an obvious consensus among alumni, students and community members. It is clear that Advancement cannot endorse a position one way or the other without leaving approximately 50 percent of its alumni stakeholders behind. We feel this would be harmful to creating an environment of reconciliation within our alumni community. The Office of Advancement will commit to a robust program to engage alumni in a dialogue around the university's commitment to truth and reconciliation as well as its efforts around EDI. It is our hope that this program of education and dialogue will bring the alumni community closer to consensus on this highly important issue.

APPENDIX A

Macdonald Hall Building Name Consultation Advisory Committee to the Dean Terms of Reference July 30, 2020

The Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Patrick Deane, has asked the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Mark Walters, to initiate a consultation process to review the name of the Law Faculty building, Sir John A. Macdonald Hall. Macdonald was one of the principal architects of confederation and the first prime minister of Canada. However, concerns have been raised about the policies he advanced in relation to Indigenous peoples, in particular the residential school system, and in relation to other national, ethnic, and racial groups.

Through this consultation process, opinions will be invited from interested people from within and outside the Queen's community regarding the name of the building. The Principal has asked the Dean of Law to consider the results of this consultation process and to make a recommendation on the matter to him. The Principal will take into consideration the results of the consultation process and the Dean's recommendation and develop his own recommendation to be submitted to the Queen's University Board of Trustees in time for a meeting expected during the Fall Term. The authority to make decisions about campus building names rests with the Board of Trustees.

The consultation process involves the formation of an advisory committee with a diverse membership, including Indigenous members, drawn from students, faculty, staff, and alumni, that will welcome and consider comments from interested people about the law building name. Students, faculty and staff within the Faculty of Law will also have an opportunity to express their views on this issue, either directly or through their representatives, in a meeting of the law school's Faculty Board. Based upon these consultations, the Dean of Law will present a report and recommendation regarding the name of the building to Principal Deane on or before October 1, 2020. The various recommendations produced during this process will remain confidential until such time as they are presented to the Board of Trustees.

A broad range of ideas about the building name will be welcomed. However, this process will not seek suggestions on alternative names for the building. A process for re-naming the law building would follow only upon a decision by the Board of Trustees that the present name should be removed or changed.

Terms of Reference for the Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee will:

- Develop a framework of principles that will guide the collection of opinions and the development of a recommendation (for further detail, see below).
- Together with the Dean of Law, approve a survey that will allow interested people to submit written statements to express their opinions regarding the building's name.
- Reach out to stakeholders to solicit their opinions.
- Determine a schedule and plans for the committee to hear oral comments or submissions from interested people.
- Review written statements and a summary of the oral comments or submissions.
- Provide a report with a recommendation to the Dean about the present name of the building on or before September 28, 2020.

Principles to Govern the Advisory Committee's Work

1. The advisory committee will develop a framework of principles to guide its work. In doing so, it may wish to consult principles developed by other universities which have addressed questions about names of buildings or other physical spaces. It should be sensitive, however, to the need for institutions to craft their responses to such questions in a manner that respects their individual and distinctive contexts.
2. In the case of Queen's University, the context that should inform the work of the Committee includes the commitment by the University to equity, diversity and inclusion, as expressed in the *Principal's Implementation Committee on Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion (PICRDI), Final Report* (10 April 2017), and the commitment by the University to reconciliation, as expressed in *Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi -- Extending the Rafters: Truth and Reconciliation Commission Task Force Final Report*.
3. In carrying out its work, the advisory committee will seek to abide by principles of procedural fairness. It will take reasonable steps to ensure that the consultation process is seen to be fair by everyone interested in the building name.
4. Although certain committee members may have formed opinions about the building name, during the consultative process the committee members are expected to hear and fairly consider the views presented to them with an open mind. During the consultation process, the committee members are to conduct themselves in an impartial manner and avoid advancing particular positions.
5. Once the survey questions have been set and the consultation process formally launched, the advisory committee will carry out its work independently without intervention from the Dean of Law.
6. After considering all submissions and points of view, the members of the committee will weigh carefully what they have heard, exercise their own judgment, and develop a recommendation. If a consensus proves impossible, separate statements from committee members may be included in the committee's final report.

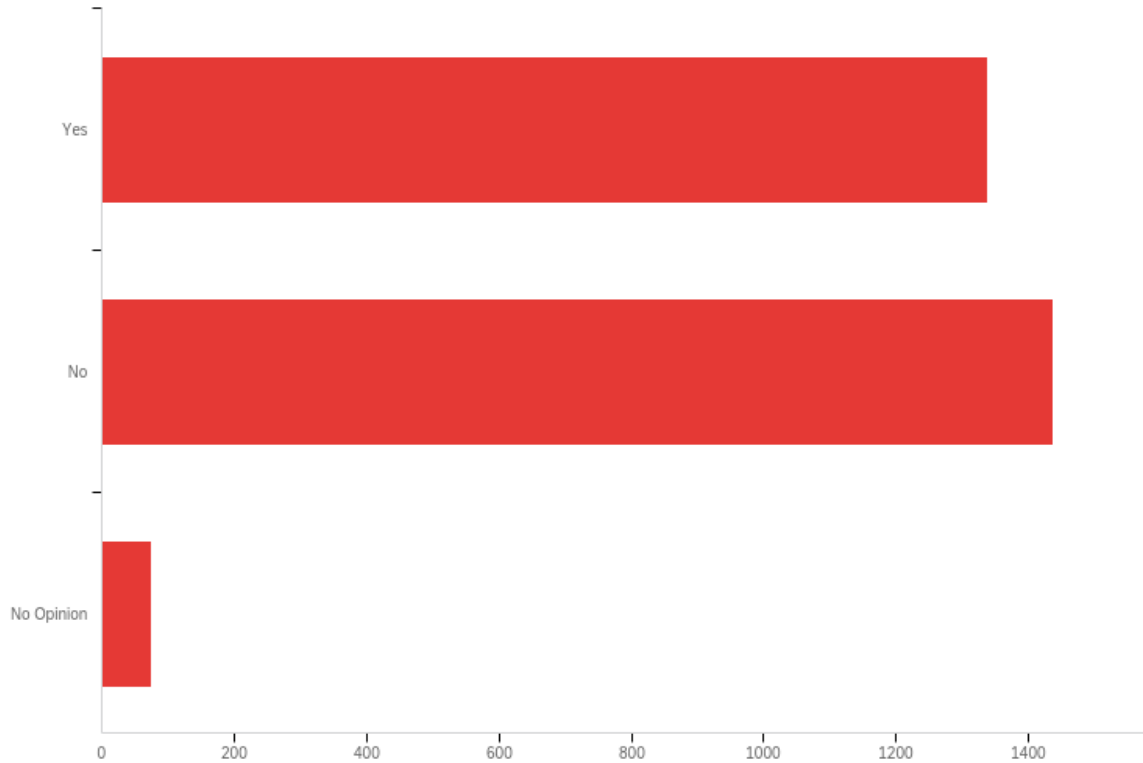
Membership

| | |
|--------------|--|
| S. Anderson | Executive Director, Office of Advancement, Communications (Co-member with L. Kalin representing Queen's Office of Advancement) |
| C.A. Budd | B.Sc. Eng. '89; D.Sc. '16, Partner, Veritable Wealth Advisory; Community Co-chair Aboriginal Council of Queen's University |
| S. Crawley | Law '21 |
| J. Fung | Law '08, Associate General Counsel, Nissan Canada Inc. (Co-chair) |
| R. Garcia | ArtSci '13, President, Queen's University Alumni Association |
| G. Henderson | Associate Professor and Associate Dean (Faculty Relations), Faculty of Law (Co-chair) |
| L. Kalin | BAH '92, Associate Vice-Principal, Office of Advancement (Co-member with S. Anderson representing Queen's Office of Advancement) |
| J. Keenan | Law '90, Chair, Dignitas International |
| S. Mainville | Law '04, Olthuis Kleer Townshend LLP |
| E. Prieur | Law '22 |
| J. Thomas | Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law |
| M. Wong | ArtSci '03, Vice Chair, Executive Committee, University Council |

Appendix B

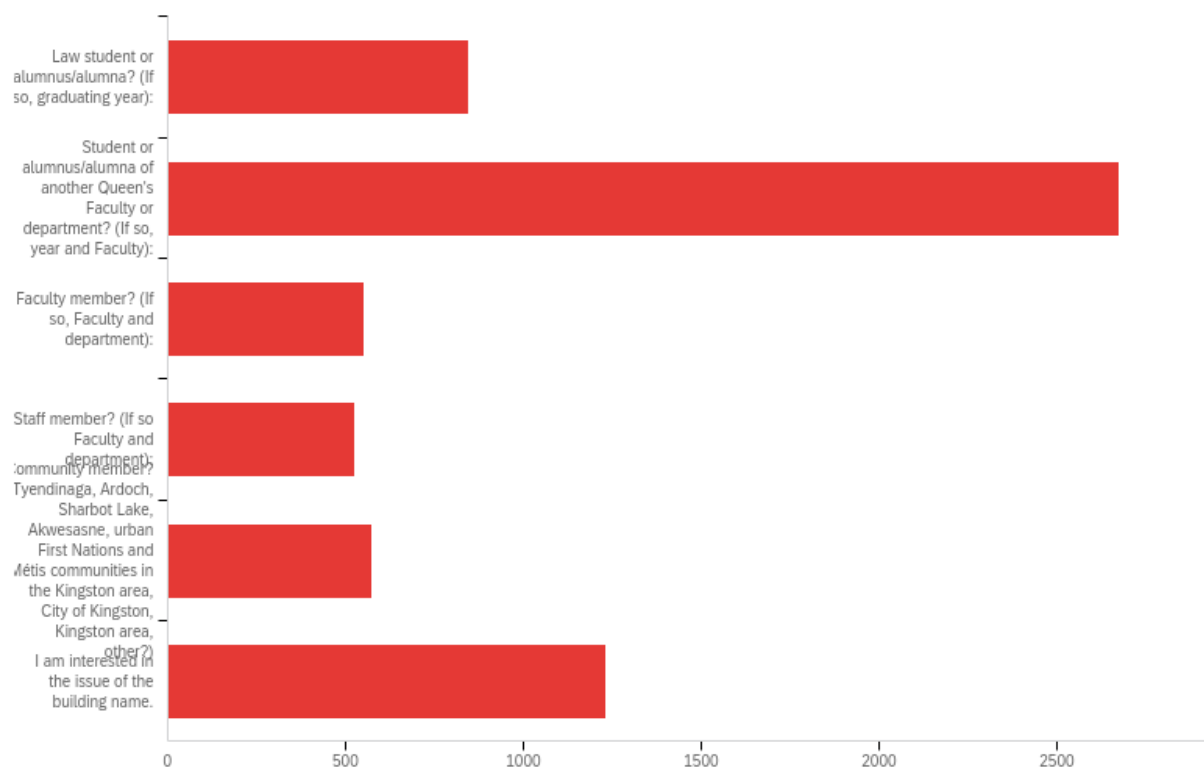
Survey Results as of September 19, 2020

Do you believe that the law school building should continue to be named John A. Macdonald Hall?



| # | Answer | % | Count |
|---|------------|--------|-------|
| 1 | Yes | 46.95% | 1338 |
| 2 | No | 50.42% | 1437 |
| 3 | No Opinion | 2.63% | 75 |
| | Total | 100% | 2850 |

Relationship to Law School



| # | Answer | % | Count |
|---|--|--------|-------|
| 1 | Law student or alumnus/alumna? (If so, graduating year): | 13.20% | 844 |
| 2 | Student or alumnus/alumna of another Queen's Faculty or department? (If so, year and Faculty): | 41.79% | 2672 |
| 3 | Faculty member? (If so, Faculty and department): | 8.59% | 549 |
| 4 | Staff member? (If so Faculty and department): | 8.21% | 525 |
| 5 | Community member? (Tyendinaga, Ardoch, Sharbot Lake, Akwesasne, urban First Nations and Métis communities in the Kingston area, City of Kingston, Kingston area, other?) | 8.95% | 572 |
| 6 | I am interested in the issue of the building name. | 19.27% | 1232 |

Relationship to Law School broken out by category

Note: This question was multi-select, so some respondents may be counted in multiple categories.

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|--|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Queen's Students/Alumni | 2176 | 896 | 944 | 39 | 297 |
| Percentages | 100% | 41% | 43% | 2% | 14% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 896 | 944 | 39 | 1879 |
| 48% | 50% | 2% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Faculty | 78 | 14 | 48 | 2 | 14 |
| Percentages | 100% | 18% | 62% | 3% | 18% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 14 | 48 | 2 | 64 |
| 22% | 75% | 3% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|--------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Staff | 77 | 17 | 44 | 1 | 15 |
| Percentages | 100% | 22% | 57% | 1% | 19% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 17 | 44 | 1 | 62 |
| 27% | 71% | 2% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|------------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Community | 56 | 23 | 25 | 0 | 8 |
| Percentages | 100% | 41% | 45% | 0% | 14% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 23 | 25 | 0 | 48 |
| 48% | 52% | 0% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - I am interested | 147 | 55 | 59 | 1 | 32 |
| Percentages | 100% | 37% | 40% | 1% | 22% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 55 | 59 | 1 | 115 |
| 48% | 51% | 1% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|--|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Law Students/Alumni | 867 | 345 | 363 | 32 | 127 |
| Percentages | 100% | 40% | 42% | 4% | 15% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 345 | 363 | 32 | 740 |
| 47% | 49% | 4% | 100% |

Broken out - Law Students/Alumni

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Law Students | 154 | 32 | 89 | 4 | 29 |
| Percentages | 100% | 21% | 58% | 3% | 19% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 32 | 89 | 4 | 125 |
| 26% | 71% | 3% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Alumni | 713 | 313 | 274 | 28 | 98 |
| Percentages | 100% | 44% | 38% | 4% | 14% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 313 | 274 | 28 | 615 |
| 51% | 45% | 5% | 100% |

Broken out - Law Students by decade

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 1950's | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Percentages | 100% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 100% | 0% | 0% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 1960's | 15 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Percentages | 100% | 60% | 40% | 0% | 0% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 9 | 6 | 0 | 15 |
| 60% | 40% | 0% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 1970's | 50 | 35 | 7 | 1 | 7 |
| Percentages | 100% | 70% | 14% | 2% | 14% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 35 | 7 | 1 | 43 |
| 81% | 16% | 2% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 1980's | 49 | 27 | 15 | 2 | 5 |
| Percentages | 100% | 55% | 31% | 4% | 10% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 27 | 15 | 2 | 44 |
| 61% | 34% | 5% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 1990's | 39 | 24 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| Percentages | 100% | 62% | 10% | 5% | 23% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 24 | 4 | 2 | 30 |
| 80% | 13% | 7% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 2000's | 40 | 16 | 16 | 2 | 6 |
| Percentages | 100% | 40% | 40% | 5% | 15% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 16 | 16 | 2 | 34 |
| 47% | 47% | 6% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 2010's | 103 | 29 | 48 | 5 | 21 |
| Percentages | 100% | 28% | 47% | 5% | 20% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 29 | 48 | 5 | 82 |
| 35% | 59% | 6% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - 2020's | 204 | 50 | 113 | 6 | 35 |
| Percentages | 100% | 25% | 55% | 3% | 17% |

No Blanks

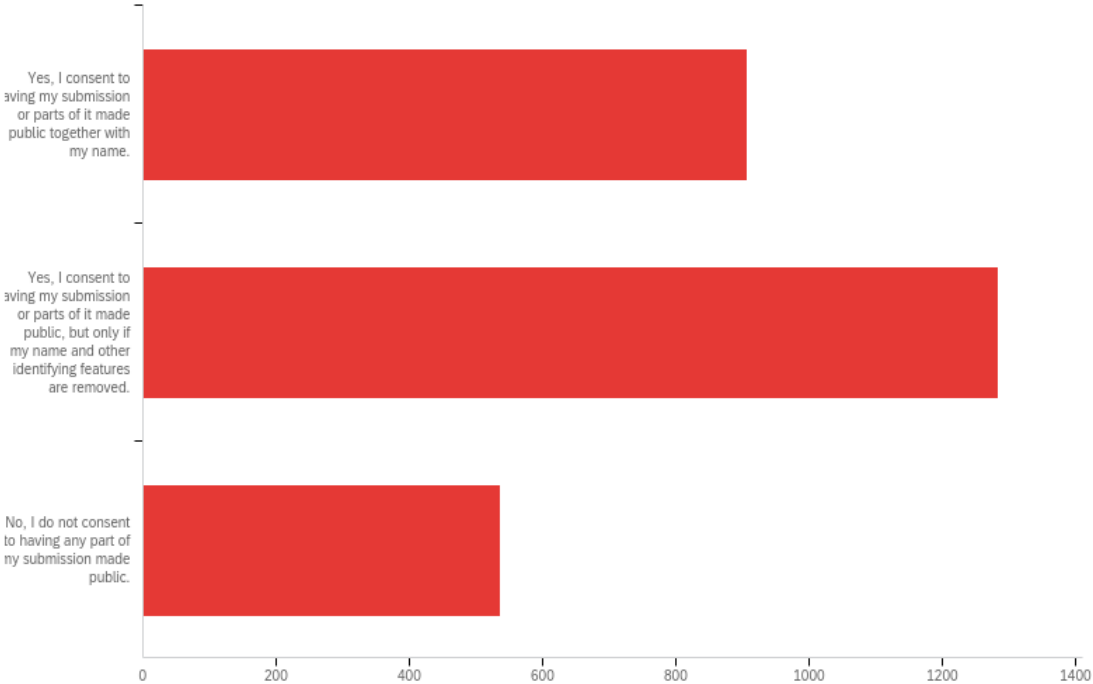
| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 50 | 113 | 6 | 169 |
| 30% | 67% | 4% | 100% |

| | | Should we keep name? | | | |
|--------------------------|------|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| | | YES | NO | No Opinion | Blank |
| # of Respondents - Other | 363 | 152 | 157 | 14 | 40 |
| Percentages | 100% | 42% | 43% | 4% | 11% |

No Blanks

| Should we keep name? | | | |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| YES | NO | No Opinion | Total |
| 152 | 157 | 14 | 323 |
| 47% | 49% | 4% | 100% |

With your permission, we may wish to make all or part of your submission public.



| # | Answer | % | Count |
|-------|--|--------|-------|
| 1 | Yes, I consent to having my submission or parts of it made public together with my name. | 33.25% | 907 |
| 2 | Yes, I consent to having my submission or parts of it made public, but only if my name and other identifying features are removed. | 47.07% | 1284 |
| 3 | No, I do not consent to having any part of my submission made public. | 19.68% | 537 |
| Total | | 100% | 2728 |

Appendix C: Qualitative Analysis of Consultation Responses

Researchers:

Karina Rider, PhD Candidate Sociology
Kim Buitenhuis, PhD Candidate Geography
Melissa A. Forcione, PhD Candidate Geography

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| b. Queen’s, including the name of the law building, harms and disrespects BIPOC students, faculty, and staff (it is shameful, embarrassing) [36%]..... | 56 |
| c. De-naming is a step towards doing better (cultural safety, respect, decolonization, antiracism) [34%] | 57 |
| d. Name is not consistent with Queen’s values today (e.g. its commitment to inclusion, cultural safety, justice, equity, critical thinking) [32%]..... | 58 |
| e. Others are more worthy of commemoration; there are better options [24%]..... | 59 |
| f. Name perpetuates violence, racism, colonialism, and whiteness (influences the culture at Queen’s) [23%]..... | 60 |
| g. De-naming is consistent with Queen’s commitment to Truth and Reconciliation [20%] ... | 60 |
| h. De-naming is right especially because it is a law school [15%] | 61 |
| i. We do not need to commemorate or celebrate in order to learn history (i.e. de-naming would not erase history) [10%]..... | 62 |
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Introduction

This appendix summarizes the findings of the qualitative analysis of survey responses and emails collected as part of the consultation.

1. Methodology

- The qualitative analysis covers survey responses (n= 2137) in which respondents answered the question, “What would you like to tell us about this issue and its importance to you (e.g. personally, in your role/position, etc.)?” and emails provided by the Faculty of Law (n=158) for a total of 2,295 cases.
- Between September 11th and 23rd, 2020, three researchers coded the data using NVivo qualitative analysis software.
- The researchers held approximately 10 hours of virtual meetings to develop strategies for the work, to create and revise nodes, and to ensure consistency in coding. Nodes were developed iteratively via multiple rounds of initial coding.
- The codes discussed below cover the reasons why respondents want to keep the name or de-name.

2. Summary of Findings

- Of 2,295 cases analyzed, respondents were evenly split on whether to keep the name (n=1128; 49%) or de-name (n=1110; 48%). A small group of respondents had no opinion (n=57; 2%).
- The number of cases tends to understate the number of respondents who participated in the consultation. Several individuals submitted both surveys and emails. Four emails were submitted jointly by groups (PSAC Local 901; the Political Studies Graduate Student Association; the Queen’s Law Student Society [Core]; and the Senate Educational Equity Committee). All were in favour of changing the name.
- There was little common ground between respondents who want to keep the name and those who want to de-name.
- While many of those who would like to keep the name suggest that a plaque could be placed on or in the building to recognize the controversy around some of Macdonald’s actions, there is no indication from the responses that this would be an acceptable compromise to those who want the name changed.

Below are the top three reasons respondents provided for keeping the name and de-naming. The percentages reflect how many cases mentioned each reason.

Table I. Top Reasons to Keep the Name vs. De-name

| Keep the Name | | De-name | |
|--|------|---|------|
| Macdonald is an important historical figure and had many contributions which deserve commemoration | 52%* | Macdonald was racist, genocidal, white supremacist, and it is wrong to commemorate that | 47%* |
| Macdonald's positive contributions outweigh the negatives | 46% | Queen's, including the name of law building, harms and disrespects BIPOC | 36% |
| Presentism is being applied here, and that is wrong | 43% | Renaming the law building is a step towards doing better | 34% |

*Percent of respondents who want to keep the name (n=1128) who mentioned this as a reason

**Percent of respondents who want to change the name (n=1110) who mentioned this as a reason

3. List of Main Reasons to Keep the Name vs. De-name

Table II and Table III summarize the main reasons respondents provided for why the law school should keep the name of Macdonald Hall or de-name. The number of references is the number of respondents who mentioned each reason. The percentage is devised by dividing that number by the total number of “keep” cases (Table II) or “de-name” cases (Table III).

Table II. Main Reasons to Keep the Name

| Reason | References | |
|--|------------|-------------|
| | Number | Percentage* |
| Macdonald is an important historical figure and had many contributions which deserve commemoration | 588 | 52% |
| Macdonald's positive contributions outweigh the negatives (no one is perfect; he was not solely responsible) | 520 | 46% |
| Presentism is being applied here, and that is wrong (he was a product of his time) | 486 | 43% |
| De-naming is trying to erase or rewrite history | 375 | 33% |
| Keeping the name facilitates learning about and from the past (helps us to create more inclusive future) | 335 | 30% |
| De-naming would be capitulating to cancel culture, closed-mindedness, left-wing/fascist ideology; only virtue signalling and performativity (bad for Queen's reputation) | 312 | 28% |
| De-naming threatens Canadian (“our”) identity (where will this end?) | 138 | 12% |
| De-naming is wrong especially because it is a law school | 96 | 9% |
| De-naming would be a trivial and not meaningful gesture | 79 | 7% |
| Indigenous people benefited from Macdonald and Canada more generally | 66 | 6% |
| The past is the past; we need to move on and forwards | 38 | 3% |
| Other | 30 | 3% |
| Proposed ways forward for those who want to keep the name | | |
| Increase education (adding courses at Queen's; placing a plaque in the law building outlining Macdonald's positives and negatives) | 195 | 17% |
| There are better ways forward besides changing the name (e.g. increasing financial help) | 50 | 4% |

*Percent of respondents who want to keep the name (n=1128) who mentioned this as a reason

1. Table III. Main Reasons to De-Name

| Reason | References | |
|--|------------|-------------|
| | Number | Percentage* |
| Macdonald was racist, genocidal, and a white supremacist and it's wrong to commemorate that, regardless of perceived historical norms | 519 | 47% |
| Queen's, including the name of the law building, harms and disrespects BIPOC students, faculty, and staff (it is shameful, embarrassing) | 401 | 36% |
| De-naming is a step towards doing better (cultural safety, respect, decolonization, antiracism) | 375 | 34% |
| Name is not consistent with Queen's values today (e.g. its commitment to inclusion, cultural safety, justice, equity, critical thinking) | 351 | 32% |
| Others are more worthy of commemoration; there are better options | 265 | 24% |
| Name perpetuates violence, racism, colonialism, and whiteness (influences the culture at Queen's) | 251 | 23% |
| De-naming is consistent with Queen's commitment to Truth and Reconciliation | 217 | 20% |
| De-naming is right especially because it is a law school | 166 | 15% |
| We do not need to commemorate or celebrate in order to learn history (i.e. de-naming would not erase history) | 110 | 10% |
| Queen's should be a leader of change and de-name | 48 | 4% |
| Other | 14 | 1% |
| Proposed ways forward for those who want to de-name | | |
| We need deeper change beyond de-naming | 50 | 5% |
| We need to prioritize Indigenous voices | 49 | 4% |

*Percent of respondents who want to keep the name (n=1128) who mention this as a reason

4. Detailed Explanation for Each Reason with Illustrative Quotations

Note: The quotations included below are verbatim, including misspellings and errors.

Keep the Law School Building Name

- a. Macdonald is an important historical figure and had many contributions which deserve commemoration [52%]

Description: Respondents emphasized that Macdonald is an important Canadian historical figure. He was the first Prime Minister; lived and worked in Kingston; united the English and French; and without him, Canada as a country would not exist. These facts alone are enough for Queen's to commemorate him by keeping his name on the law building.

Quotations:

I believe it is important to continue celebrating Canada's founding fathers and their contribution to developing the nation we love today. Without men like John

MacDonald, Canada may not be the secure, developed, and prosperous nation it is today. (ArtsSci student, 2023)

I believe the building name should remain named after Sir John A. Macdonald full stop. Without him, there would be no Canada full-stop, and for the same reasons it “seemed appropriate” back in 1960 to name the building after him it remains appropriate today. (ArtsSci alum, 1993)

- b. Macdonald’s positive contributions outweigh the negatives (no one is perfect; he was not solely responsible) [46%]

Description: Respondents acknowledged that although Macdonald made some mistakes, his positive contributions outweigh the harm he inflicted on Indigenous peoples. A common refrain here is that “nobody is perfect.” If you look at any historical figure, you will find “blemishes,” “mistakes,” and “foibles.” But this is not enough to erase all the positive things that Macdonald did. Other respondents argued that Macdonald was not solely responsible for residential schools and famine, often suggesting that he was moderate and progressive when compared to his contemporaries.

Quotations:

The original reasons for choosing to name after Sir John A. are still applicable—local lawyer who went on to great achievements. Those achievements outweigh the role he had in residential schools. (Science alum, 1983)

Although what Sir John A did was terrible, the views he had were generally expressed around the world. I believe the good he did, in creating Canada, much outweigh the racist actions he took. If anyone else had been prime minister at the time, the same racist policies would definitely have taken place. There is nobody more famous in Canadian history and I believe he should be celebrated in his hometown. (Eng student, 2022)

- c. Presentism is being applied here, and that is wrong (he was a product of his time) [43%]

Description: Respondents criticized efforts to de-name Macdonald Hall as engaging in “presentism,” which is applying today’s values to previous historical eras. Although today we might think that residential schools are wrong, during Macdonald’s time they were not seen that way. Macdonald, in this way, was a product of his time. We cannot blame him for doing what he did because it was normal at the time.

Quotations:

It is always tempting to judge historical figures by today's standards. However, in my view this is unfair and the context of the times a person lived in needs to be considered. Further the positive contributions of the person need to be taken into account. As a founding father of Confederation and Canada's first prime minister and a prominent lawyer in his own right Sir John A Macdonald continues to deserve recognition and his name should not be removed from the Law School Building. (ArtsSci & Law alum, 1974 & 1978)

Sir John A. MacDonald played an incredibly important role in constitution and the formation of our country, and he is from Kingston so is also a very important figure in local history. The policies around residential schools and his treatment of minorities were consistent with attitudes held at the time and while we should look back now and recognize that this was wrong, it is not fair to hold figures of the past to today's societal standards. We cannot erase our country's history because of actions that we are just now realizing were wrong, we can only move forward and make things better from here on in. The name should not be changed. (ArtsSci student, 2020)

- d. De-naming is trying to erase or rewrite history [33%]

Description: Respondents suggested that de-naming Macdonald Hall is an attempt to erase or rewrite history by completely removing Macdonald from Canadian history. Without keeping his name on the building, people will forget his role in founding Canada. Other respondents claimed that this was a futile attempt to erase history, but that you actually “can't change the past,” and removing the name would do nothing to address Macdonald's mistakes. In some cases, this attempt to “erase history” was likened to George Orwell's *1984*.

Quotations:

Stop trying to rewrite history. (Engineering alum, 2015)

Do not attempt to erase history. This is a tactic employed throughout history by despots and dictatorships [...] (Science alum, 1988)

We cannot downplay the necessity for reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, but neither can we ignore the contribution that Sir John A. made to Canada (eg role in confederation, sponsoring the CPR, etc). I do not favour renaming the building because facts should not be expunged or edited [...] (Law alum, 1972)

The elimination of history to suit changing political moods is a dangerous precedent. One may say it is not a question of forgetting but of 'honouring,' but

changing the name of something ALREADY NAMED is no less than an attempt to ‘undo’ history. If it causes offence, do not name NEW buildings or locations after Macdonald. (Classics alum, 2020)

- e. Keeping the name facilitates learning about and from the past (helps us to create a more inclusive future) [30%]

Description: Respondents suggested that keeping the name is an opportunity for Canadians to learn about history and thus grow from it. Keeping “Macdonald Hall” will help educate Canadians about Macdonald’s mistakes so that we can learn from them to create a better, more inclusive Canada.

Quotations:

Sir John was one of the founding fathers of Canada. We should celebrate his excellence in that regard and learn from his mistakes. This is an opportunity to provide ongoing education about the wrongs of the past and this can be used to make Queen’s Law School a leader in this regard. (Arts alum, 1996)

Sir John A Macdonald is one of the most prominent figures in founding Canada and an incredibly important figure in Canada’s history. It is important for the future of Canada to celebrate the great things he did, and learn from his mistakes. Sweeping a father of Canada’s name under the rug will only hurt Canadians by removing these opportunities to learn and grow as a country. (Nursing student, 2023)

Sir John A. Macdonald is a pivotal figures in our history. Erasing the name of a historical figure in Canada’s past makes no progress in the effort to generate awareness around events that have taken place. It simply removes them from the public eye. We must both recognize his contributions while also pointing out and understanding the wrongdoings that were committed. (Commerce student, 2023)

- f. De-naming would be capitulating to cancel culture, closed-mindedness, left-wing/fascist ideology; only virtue signaling and performativity (bad for Queen’s reputation) [28%]

Description: Respondents argued that those pushing for de-naming are a “vocal minority” who use social media to push a radical, far-left, fascist agenda. They suggested that if the University decides to de-name, they will only be trying to signal their status as a “woke university” and would be giving in to “cancel culture.” Several threatened to stop donations to Queen’s if they “capitulate” to the “mob.”

Quotations:

If honouring the first PM of Cda using societal wokeness norms from 2020 is now deemed wrong, I will stop supporting Queen's. This is embarrassing. Cancel culture at its finest. (Business alum, 1993)

I oppose cleansing of history to satisfied an leftist leaning radical minority agenda [...] (ArtsSci alum, 1990)

Stop all this virtue signalling. It disgusts me [...] (Community member)

Queen's has drifted dangerously toward a culture of intolerance of alternative views that are not progressive. Many people of achievement, let alone MacDonal's stature, have had foibles, opinions and beliefs that might not conform to today's standards. Discrediting their contributions by cancelling their names from history does a disservice to a place of learning and where opinions of all sides should be heard. There is a lack of appreciation on the left and in the radical progressive movement for what has been achieved in building our civil, wealthy, tolerant society on what was a rugged inhospitable corner of the globe. I am tired of lazy, guilt spreading revisionists and the intolerance of more traditional opinions. I'm less proud of my alma mater than ever before and the continued cultivation of extreme progressive causes disappoints me. I wish someone in the administration and faculty would stand up for returning the university to a place of open debate, not left wing indoctrination. There is an important linkage between Queens and its supportive alumnae that will be fractured by the tolerance of cancel culture and its time to rein it in. (Comm alum, 1982)

[...] I appreciate that Queen's is allowing the community to voice their opinions. Nonetheless, this campaign smacks of censorship and 'cancel culture.' The practices of building name changes, statue removal, deplatforming and (thankfully less commonly) grave-defilement, all have their origins in a particular school of thought—Critical Race Theory. Influenced by postmodern philosophers, this theory is a deeply cynical, logically incoherent ideological associated with the political far-left. Whether or not the university realizes it, their decision to rename the law building could be read as an endorsement of this ideology. Censorship is antithetical to the principles of liberal education, and Queen's must not allow those principles to be violated by reductionist and revisionist history disguised as compassion and 'wokeness.' [...] (Queen's student, 2023)

- g. De-naming threatens Canadian (“our”) identity (where will this end?) [28%]

Description: Respondents suggested that if Queen’s decides to de-name the building, this will set a dangerous precedent that could lead to many more buildings being de-named and more history being erased. This threatens Canadian identity because history will be destroyed.

Quotations:

[...] If Queens agrees to rename the law building, why would we not remove Sir John’s oil portrait from the Centre Block or Parliament Hill where it is displayed with all of Canada’s Prime Ministers? And all of the statues and oil portraits of Sir John across Canada? Sir John was imperfect and his errors need to be recognized but he was no despot. Sir John was practicing law and walking the streets of Kingston when Queens received its Royal Charter. I suspect, as a lawyer and a young politician, he had a hand in getting Queens established. As I see it the renaming proposal is an effort to shame Canada by shaming its principal founder. Apologies and reparations are apparently not enough. How far should we be expected to go? How much humiliation must we endure to expiate the errors of past generations? I say there is a line which we can rightly and justly refuse respectfully to cross. This renaming effort is such a line. (Law alum, 1972)

Don’t go jumping on the latest bandwagon to come by. What will be next? Some left winger will find it politically expedient to find problems with ALL the building names at Queens. When will it ever stop?? You will end up giving all the buildings numbers instead of names—and then the left wing will say that the numbers cause problems. Just stop the nonsense! (ArtsSci alum, 1982)

He did more good than harm. Are we going to investigate the history of every person that has a building with their name on it? (Science alum, 1975)

[...] It might seem like a small issue but this is just like removing a statue. What is next? Closing the museums? Burning the books? Soon there is no history and we lose all the lessons of the past and only live in the present. A present that is defined by ever evolving social justice thoughts of the day. (Engineering alum, 1989)

- h. De-naming is wrong especially because it is a law school [9%]

Description: Respondents said the law building is particularly suited to carry Macdonald’s name as it upholds legal principles Macdonald stood for and maintains the tradition of the Law School.

Quotations:

It is admirable that the Queen's Law community has taken on this issue to address the building name, especially since the building name is a prominent and daily aspect of each student's routine. The law school building is not only a place of learning, but also the central feature of the Queen's Law experience, which touches on formal learning, informal learning through discussions with peers and professors, and the hub of a social and professional network that fortunately lasts long after each student graduates. That unique experience requires that every student have a connection to the history of Queen's Law, and I believe the name of the law school building is part of that history and should not be altered. The Macdonald Hall name is one constant that runs through every Queen's Law student of past and present, and I would like to see that continue in the future.
[...] (Law alum, 1995)

[...] Sir John A. McDonald Hall has proudly borne its name over the past 60 decades, and one has to consider all the lawyers who have passed through its doors, having attained their law degrees under the name of our first prime minister. Why change now? Do we get a new history along with a new name? Did anyone ever claim that Sir John A. Macdonald was perfect? And why did they name the building after him in the first place? Were they all drunk? [...] (Queen's alum, 1971)

[...] Sir John A. MacDonald left a strong country that we can strive to improve today because of the foundations he built it on. He convinced several less than eager colonies to form a single union built on the ideals of the rule of law, Parliamentary Democracy and respect for the dignity of the individual. MacDonald did not live up to those aforementioned ideals. However, those ideals have carried on throughout our history when that same country he founded fought the great evils of our time including Fascism, Nazism and Communism. Those ideals are present in our institutions such as an independent judiciary and the Charter, two tools lawyers use to fight for the individuals who unfortunately MacDonald did not always respect. MacDonald left us the legacy of Canada, and therefore I believe naming the building housing Queen's Law after him is appropriate. [...] (Queen's student, 1921)

[...] Keeping the name of Sir John on the Law building can be a constant reminder to your law students that no one is perfect; that the flawed actions of important people in the past should make them aware that they must to the best of their ability consider the long-term consequences of every legal decision they make. Even when it means they must stand alone. (ArtSci alum, 1961)

- i. De-naming would be a trivial and not meaningful gesture [7%]

Description: Respondents suggested there are better ways to address racism and other issues affecting Indigenous people than changing the name of the building. Some characterized the community consultation and de-naming process as a waste of time and money.

Quotations:

[...] There are far more positive things that can be done and are being done to meet the needs of Indigenous students at Queen's. The most recent example of that is the Faculty of Health Sciences setting aside a number of places in the medical school specifically for Indigenous students. That is beneficial. Renaming Macdonald Hall is not. (Queen's alum, 1967)

Doesn't Queen's have more important things to do? (Science alum, 1964)

[...] Changing the name of a building will have zero effect on the battle of racism and incusivity. In my opinion this is clearly a branding stunt performed by a university that has moved in the wrong direction. (Engineering alum, 2020)

- j. Indigenous people benefited from Macdonald and Canada more generally [6%]

Description: Respondents indicated that if it were not for Macdonald, Indigenous peoples would be worse off (both historically and now). Some suggested that Macdonald's policies were instituted to benefit Indigenous people.

Quotations:

[...] It is perhaps useful to recall that in one of his major triumphs as Prime Minister - the Franchise Act of 1885 - Macdonald was instrumental in extending the vote to aboriginal members of the community. This was the country's first national franchise act (later abolished by Laurier who handed the issue over to the provinces, mainly in Liberal hands) and provides a reminder that Macdonald's relationship with native peoples was a textured one. Not many were prepared to trust aboriginal people with the vote—Macdonald was. It is only fair to add that not all aboriginal males were enfranchised—it was still, after all, a pre-democratic (in our sense) era. [...] (Queen's alum, 1971)

[...] As far as Sir John and the Indians is concerned, by keeping British North America out of the hands of the American States, he may have saved the lives of at least half of them. [...] (M.SC alum, 1966)

[...] AT the time, in 1867, and for a considerable amount of time thereafter, and I believe it is still true, the people of Canada believed that the only chance that Indigenous children had to live a successful Canadian life was to move them from the reserves they were on to residential schools where they could learn to read, write and become contributing Canadians like all others (including starving desperate Irish immigrants, of which I am a descendant) were expected to do. Sir John A MacDonald's intent was admirable. His intent was not to create injustices. Where would the Indigenous people be today, without any knowledge, skills, written language, and ability to earn a modern 21st century living. Perhaps, As Australia has done, you may consider reduced funding for the academic programs, whose sole mission is create these cancel culture initiatives. You can name that program after me. (Engineering & Business alum, 1971 & 1973)

- k. The past is the past; we need to move on and forwards [3%]

Description: Respondents said that rather than dwell on the past actions of Macdonald, which cannot be changed, it is time to move on. No additional attention should be given to this historical matter.

Quotations:

For heavens sake: Keep the name and move on... (Law alum, 1976)

Queens should take a stand. We cannot be in a constant state of churn on these types of issues. Acknowledge that JA MacDonald was not perfect but that he was perhaps the most significant historical figure in Kingston ... then move on. (ArtSci alum, 1998)

I think it's a mistake to judge historical figures by the standards of our day. It's entirely possible that Canada as a country would not exist if it were not for Macdonald, given the expansionist policies of the Americans. Taking his name off buildings or removing statues does not change history. Better to acknowledge his mistakes and move on. (Arts alum, 1962)

- l. Proposed ways forward: Increase education (adding courses at Queen's; placing a plaque in the law building outlining Macdonald's positives and negatives) [17%]

Description: Respondents argued that while keeping the law school building name, there are ways to inform and educate people on topics related to Macdonald and Indigenous histories and realities. By adding plaques, commemorating Indigenous peoples, or creating learning opportunities, we can encourage better understanding of this complex issue. Through these options, we can avoid erasing history, better acknowledge the good and bad parts of Macdonald, or encourage reconciliation.

Quotations:

I dont believe in changing building names. Add a plaque that gives a brief history of the good and bad of these figures. (Queen’s alum, 2020)

I think it is wrong to change the names of things or we will do it forever. I think we leave the name BUT take the opportunity to provide education for why the individual was not perfect. History is always critical to interpret in the context of the time. In MacDonald’s time his views, while now held to be wrong, were perfectly acceptable to most. So install a plaque by the building explaining the positive things he accomplished but also pointing out that by today’s standards, his views on issues re indigenous peoples etc. are viewed to be highly inappropriate. The University is after all a place for education—plastering over history is not educating. (ArtsSci alum, 1983)

- m. Proposed ways forward: There are better ways forward besides changing the name (e.g. increasing financial help) [4%]

Description: Respondents believed that there exist better, less problematic, and more meaningful ways forward than de-naming the law school building. Some offered suggestions that are specifically pertinent to Queen’s.

Quotations:

This is ridiculous. He was the first Prime Minister and founded the country. Removing the name won’t benefit anyone. Why don’t you redirect all the time, money, and energy you’re spending on this toward something that actually will help Indigenous people? (Science student, 2020)

[...] Renaming the law school is an expense that would only pay lip service and be of no actual measurable value to marginalized groups. I believe instead that actual policies should be put in place to help marginalized people, not name changes that aim to destroy history and reduce historical figures to the black and white of their worst actions—Actions that within the time, anyone would have committed. If we do not remember history, we are doomed to repeat it [...] (Law alum, 2020)

De-name the Law School Building

- a. Macdonald was racist, genocidal, and white supremacist—and it’s wrong to commemorate that, regardless of perceived historical norms [47%]

Description: Respondents pointed out the harm that Macdonald's policies caused Indigenous peoples and argued that this harm is intergenerational and still exists today. He contributed to the deaths of Indigenous people, exterminated their culture, and forced them to be removed from their homes. By keeping the name, the law school would be celebrating these acts, which is wrong.

Quotations:

Given that the name glorifies a figure who is now known to have been a white supremacist, who is the grandfather of residential schools, and who was a major player in the (cultural) genocide of Indigenous people, it is atrocious that we would continue to commemorate him by branding buildings in his legacy. How are Indigenous students, staff and faculty supposed to take the university seriously when it says it's working toward reconciliation if we don't hear them when they say that this is the very least that we can do? (BEd & MEd alum, 2018 & 2009)

I think the building should be renamed because Macdonald was extremely racist and violent towards people of colour, even for his time. Keeping his name as part of the Queens campus only continues his legacy while putting down staff and students who are not white and would not have been welcomed by him at all. I understand that while some believe this is like trying to erase a part of history, we should not have the name of a bigot up proudly on a campus that is trying to be inclusive to everybody. (ArtsSci student, 2024)

- b. Queen's, including the name of the law building, harms and disrespects BIPOC students, faculty, and staff (it is shameful, embarrassing) [36%]

Description: Respondents, drawing from personal experience and recent news stories, pointed out that Queen's still has a problem with racism and discrimination. Recent racist acts on campus, including the vandalism of the Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre building, show that racism is not a thing of the past. Macdonald Hall is part of this broader problem at Queen's, as it indicates that the university does not truly want to make students, faculty, and staff who are Indigenous, Black, or people of colour, feel welcome.

Quotations:

John A. Macdonald was instrumental in the building of systems of oppression that continue to seriously harm my Indigenous brothers and sisters today. He was a founder of genocide against Indigenous people. It is shameful that Queens still has ties to him through building names in 2020. I already do not feel safe on campus due to many racist incidents against Indigenous people and this is another way in which my safety and comfort at my own school is being affected. Having to know that my school supports and celebrates the violent colonial actions by naming buildings after him is a true show that my fear is justified. John A.

Macdonald is the reason many of my ancestors, including my grandmother attended residential school. It is absolutely and wildly inappropriate to continue to celebrate this vile man on campus and then tell students you support reconciliation. Actions speak far louder than words. (ArtsSci student, 2021)

Racists should not be commemorated in a place that educates the young lawyers of tomorrow. My peers, who come from communities that were decimated by people like John A. Macdonald, do not deserve to feel uncomfortable every time they walk in those doors to learn. In our law school classes, we learn about values like equality, justice, and respecting human dignity. Those who hold onto this vestige of a shameful colonial history should be ashamed. It is just a building, just cement and wood and metal. It is not a living, breathing human being that pays an inordinate amount of money and devotes all their mental resources to learning about the law. I too am from a radicalized minority, and I know the pain I feel when I see Islamophobic things happen against those in my community. I will steadfastly stand arm in arm with my peers, empathize with their pain, and help to make this name change a reality. Stop weighing the name of an inanimate object with the daily struggle of your students. As we say, *Soit Droit Fait*—let right be done. (Law student, 2021)

Sir John A. Macdonald was instrumental in building a system of racism and oppression that continues to have lasting impacts on Canadians/Indigenous groups today. It goes against the very values that we wish to teach the students that come out of Queen's Faculty of Law. The name of our building should not be an ode to someone directly complicit in cultural genocide. Full stop. Additionally, Macdonald was also directly responsible for the Chinese head-tax, a policy that served to penalize my ancestors. I recognize that being a Chinese-Canadian comes with immense privilege, but it does not mean that I do not experience racism. Racism continues to be a prevalent issue that I have and will endure for my lifetime. Having to walk into a building named after a man who very much embodies the racism and anti-Chinese rhetoric that continues to plague my life is unjustifiably problematic and is a mark on my time at Queen's University. I sincerely hope that in changing the name of our law building we can prevent other students from having to endure this. (Law alum, 2019)

- c. De-naming is a step towards doing better (cultural safety, respect, decolonization, antiracism) [34%]

Description: Respondents argued that changing the name of Macdonald Hall is the least Queen's can do to promote inclusivity and respect on campus. Although it won't solve all the university's problems, it is a step in the right direction. It can demonstrate that Queen's, and the law school, is committed to the values of diversity, inclusivity, respect, and anti-racism.

Quotations:

[...] Instead of thinking of this kind of change as “revisionist history”, I encourage folks to consider that renaming the building might instead be an important step towards addressing settler-colonialism and opening avenues for decolonization. It is abundantly important to listen to the lived reality and concerns of Indigenous peoples within Kingston and the Queen’s community. Particularly in light of the current global discussions about race and the need for everyone to participate actively in their personal education about such matters, I encourage everyone to consider how they might be able to learn from Indigenous peoples as they express their experiences and needs. I believe renaming the law school building would be one positive step forward. (ArtsSci graduate student)

If Queen’s wants to take action around racism and discrimination, the school must acknowledge Canada’s racist legacy which deeply rooted, continuous, and insidious. I believe acknowledging this racism and its racist colonial leaders is a positive step towards solidarity, decolonization, and change towards a just system. This includes to stop idolizing them, including in the form of monuments and naming buildings after them. (ArtsSci student, 2021)

- d. Name is not consistent with Queen’s values today (e.g. its commitment to inclusion, cultural safety, justice, equity, critical thinking) [32%]

Description: Respondents said that the law school building name is not consistent with the values Queen’s purports to uphold today. While naming the law building after Macdonald may have been considered suitable in 1960, we are more aware now of Macdonald’s reprehensible actions and his harmful legacy. The name does not align with Queen’s current commitments to diversity, inclusion, cultural safety, equity, etc. Keeping the name contradicts these commitments and is thus hypocritical.

Quotations:

Whatever convictions a law school stands for, it must stand for the equality of persons and the full inclusion of all of its students, staff, and faculty, in all their diversity. MacDonald’s legacy with respect to Indigenous persons and Canadians of Asian descent is at odds with these commitments. This dark history (and its current ramifications for Canadian society) must be taught, not honoured. (Law faculty)

Universities are dynamic places, with lofty goals of critical thinking, promoting equity, developing better (more empirical, more just) knowledge, and reflecting and improving societies. There is little reasons to hold onto building names that reflect values no longer concordant, and indeed at cross-purposes, with the values Queen’s professes to hold. [...] Building names may change again as the need arises, as new information arises, as universities do the work they are supposed to do and reflect the work that marginalized communities are doing, to increase and

improve our knowledge—assuming a stable, fixed view of the world is exactly opposite to what universities are supposed to be: dynamic, change agents that help us understand the world as it was, as it carries through to the present, as it is, as we hope it to be, and as we will it into existence. (Psychology faculty)

I am writing this to strongly encourage an amendment to the name of the Law School Building. Though it was named in 1960, the name Sir John A. Macdonald does not align with Queen's commitment to diversity. To change the name would exemplify this commitment, demonstrate progression, and support eliminating barriers for Indigenous peoples and students. To keep the name would make the opposite statement and would be condoning attitudes that are oppressive and archaic. Though there are many improvements Queen's University can make towards creating a more accepting environment for students of different backgrounds, cultures, socioeconomic statuses, etc. this would be a great start to proving the commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. (ArtsSci student/alum)

- e. Others are more worthy of commemoration; there are better options [24%]

Description: Respondents argued that there are people better suited for commemoration than Macdonald and that there are better approaches to selecting a law school building name. Those who enhanced justice and equity, and who have not marginalized or harmed people, are more deserving of commemoration and celebration than Macdonald. Selecting a name that is not controversial and is more closely affiliated with Queen's and its values would be more appropriate.

Quotations:

I believe the name is hurtful to people of Indigenous heritage, and that there are people more deserving of recognition. We need to think about how we construct our spaces so that they are truly inclusive of all communities, especially those who have traditionally been excluded from such institutions. (ArtsSci alum, 2002)

It is time to honour a leader that represents all the core values of Queen's University. There are many great leaders. Choose one whose actions reflect the type of decisions, integrity and respect we would like to see in our University. (MBA alum, 2020)

there is no need to commemorate people who have played a traumatic role in a still to this day underserved, underrepresented and undervalued population. There are plenty of BIPOC who we could celebrate for their role in history. It doesn't take a lot of courage to be the person in power making the decisions, it does take a lot of courage to be the repressed and the unheard/unseen and still stand up for what you believe. Let's look for those people in our history and celebrate them so

that the school can create a culture of inclusion and belonging that ties to the values of true courage. (Commerce alum, 2011)

- f. Name perpetuates violence, racism, colonialism, and whiteness (influences the culture at Queen's) [23%]

Description: Respondents argued that keeping the name and commemorating and celebrating Macdonald perpetuates, supports, and upholds violent colonial, racist, and white supremacist values and ways of thinking and being at Queen's and beyond. The law school building name is indicative of harmful structures and institutional cultures at Queen's, and the continued marginalization of BIPOC students, staff, faculty, and community members.

Quotations:

Queen's is already an unsafe space for Indigenous People. As a student my only solace was Four Directions. The name of the building is offensive and hurtful. It only proves that Queen's is an environment based on values that are white and supremacist, and that Indigenous People in particular are not welcome. Prove me wrong! (History alum, 2004)

John A Macdonald supported the destruction of Indigenous people and their diverse cultures. Supporting his legacy is upholding white supremacy and his colonial ideals. (Law student, 2024)

Queen's has long had an issue with violent racism both physically, verbally and symbolically. As a former employee of the university in student affairs and Residence Life I can confidently say that radical changes are long overdue. I still remember the full names and birthdays of the countless racist students I have encountered in residence and my disappointment when nothing comes out of the reports that I write. Students do violent things at this school (racist commerce party of 2016, coronavirus party, chown indigenous student LLC poem, 4D pride flags, 4D tipi) because the school has sent a message that they do not care. They believe they can get away with these acts of hate because they know it is true. Changing names and doing a critical re-examining of the racial structures we enforce as a school and community is important. (ArtsSci student/alum, 2020)

Sir John A. Macdonald has done so much harm that still affects BIPOC students and faculty today, and celebrating him without acknowledging the harm he has done helps to perpetuate white supremacy in campus by allowing ignorance of this harm to continue. (ConEd student)

- g. De-naming is consistent with Queen's commitment to Truth and Reconciliation [20%]

Description: Respondents argued that de-naming the law school building aligns with Queen’s commitments to Truth and Reconciliation. Queen’s has an obligation and responsibility to forward reconciliation. Keeping the name contradicts Queen’s TRC commitments and recommendations.

Quotations:

I believe we have a collective opportunity to rethink history, to reflect on what figures get commemorated and why, and to act on our commitment to Truth and Reconciliation. A decision to change the name of the law school building is a first and vital step toward decolonization, and it will lead to an opportunity to recognize another historical figure that made an impact toward reparation and toward a vision of Canada that acknowledges both its roots and its potential to be a place in which all of its peoples can thrive. (ArtsSci faculty)

I believe in reconciliation and that changing the name of the law school building is an important part of that process. (Law alum, 2020)

[...] Given the university’s commitment to reconciliation in Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi / Extending the Rafters, and its commitment to racial justice in the Principal’s Implementation Committee on Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion (PICRDI), we have a collective obligation to create a welcoming environment on campus for Indigenous, Black, and other racialized students. The prominence of the law school building, its central location on campus, and its association with a faculty that is committed to training students in law and justice, all contribute to the symbolic importance of this building’s name. Yakwanastahentéha Aankenjigemi / Extending the Rafters states, “Universities, including Queen’s, thus have a special responsibility to contribute to the reconciliation process by promoting an understanding of Indigenous rights, histories, and perspectives, and reducing barriers to education by creating more welcoming and culturally validating environments for Indigenous students, staff, and faculty.” Renaming this building would not accomplish this responsibility, but it would be an important step towards reducing barriers to education and employment for Indigenous students, staff, and faculty. (Philosophy & Cultural Studies faculty)

- h. De-naming is right especially because it is a law school [15%]

Description: Respondents suggested that having the name of Macdonald on the building is inconsistent with principles of law and the values of the law school. Some respondents questioned Macdonald’s pertinence and connection to the law school.

Quotations:

The law school has demonstrated a commitment to diversity and inclusion. For inclusion to be possible, a space must be created wherein individuals who have historically been excluded are not only invited in, but also provided with an environment which is supportive of them and of who they are. If the law school is truly committed to not just diversity, but also inclusion of indigenous peoples, they must create a space where indigenous law students can flourish. Honouring a man who (despite being an important figure for certain groups in Canadian society) implemented policies which tore apart and traumatized the families and cultures of students is far from a supportive environment for indigenous students, and honouring such a man hinders rather than advances the goals of diversity and inclusion within Queen's Law, and the legal field. Inclusion requires that those with strong voices be humbled in order to make difficult and uncomfortable decisions for the betterment of legal profession in the future. Changing the Law School building name seems like a small gesture, but it would demonstrate to incoming students that not only are indigenous students welcome at Queen's, but that Queen's values them and is committed to ensuring that Indigenous students are given the space to prosper and succeed within the legal profession, rather than simply exist. (Law student, 2021)

I spent the majority of my time during the 2019/2020 school year in the "Sir John A Macdonald Hall," in class, meetings or spending late nights at the library. Each time I passed by the sign displaying its name I felt somewhat embarrassed. To me, it seems hypocritical to have Indigenous artwork displayed on the ceiling yet to have this sign proudly displayed below. I myself feel like a hypocrite as a white settler, attending law school with the goal of advancing human rights, going to Indigenous Law Students Alliance (ILSA) meetings, working on my Pro Bono Students Canada project with the Akwesasne Community Justice Program, in this building which proudly displays this name. [...] (Law student, 2022)

As a leading University Queen's should be involved in making history at this pivotal time in recognizing human rights and equality for which other institutions have and are already taking initiative. Please do not allow an individual whose focus was to erase First Nations Inuit and Métis peoples and their culture from existence to be honoured especially in relation to law, which has systemically been used as an aid in this process. (Education, 2004)

- i. We do not need to commemorate or celebrate in order to learn history (i.e. de-naming would not erase history) [10%]

Description: Respondents argued there are other ways we can and will learn our history. A building name is not an appropriate way to do this. Some said removing Macdonald's name from the law building would not cause people to forget Macdonald.

Quotations:

[...] I understand that many individuals who oppose the renaming of Sir John A. MacDonald Hall argue that by doing so we are somehow ‘erasing our history’. However, you must remember that buildings and statues are not history—they serve only to honour those who have come before us. It is clear today that a man such as Mr. MacDonald should no longer be honoured, and even without his name and face everywhere we will never forget his history and the atrocities he is responsible for in this country. [...] (Kingston resident)

[...] Naming a building after Sir John A. Macdonald is a poor way to represent this history. Unlike a statue in a museum, or a display in a gallery, or a chapter in a history book, there is no way to signal the complexities of that history, the horrific legacy that comes attached to his name despite what others may consider 'positives' of his time as PM. The name stands without context, without comment; it is incapable of addressing Macdonald's crimes in addition to his successes (and the overlap between those two categories is, itself, incredibly troubling). What I want to suggest is that any responsible interaction or engagement with Macdonald's legacy is impossible when his presence exists only as a name on a building, a signal of veneration and respect with no method of tempering that respect with knowledge of his legacy. It cannot maintain or represent our history accurately if it cannot incorporate the negative elements as well. [...] (Queen's faculty)

[...] Having a building named after John A. MacDonald doesn't teach about him; our history classes do. For people who do not know his significance, they are not impacted by the name of this building. However, to the students that are aware of MacDonald's racism and oppression, this has and will continue to negatively impact students. John A. MacDonald is a trigger for numerous families and continues to perpetuate intergenerational trauma. [...] (MA, 2020; Métis)

- j. Queen's should be a leader of change and de-name [4%]

Description: As a leading educational institution in Canada, particularly one with a reputation for a culture of whiteness, Queen's has a responsibility to take a leadership position in social justice matters.

Quotations:

[...] I played on a varsity team all 4 years of my undergrad. Every year we received T-shirts that said “Lead the way” and “we are all gael”. It's time for the university to start putting it's money where it's mouth is. Queen's needs to lead by example. Show your students why we need to look at history through a different lens. Show your students why it's important to care about these issues. Show your students that just because something doesn't seem like a big deal to one person,

doesn't mean that it isn't a big deal for someone else. It's time for the University to lead by example. (Queen's student, 2020)

Queen's University can only (continue to) claim to be a leader to the degree that we not just respond to, but actually lead, social justice initiatives. As a member of the Queen's community, I view the re-naming of the Law building as a small but important part of being a social justice leader. We are, after all, communicating to younger generations - whom we expressly want to influence - our commitment to social justice. [...] (Queen's student, 2020)

As a Queen's student between 2007–2011, I felt that the general culture at the school was incredibly white. As a person of Chinese descent, I used my access to white privilege to mitigate racialized interactions because of the majority white and affluent student body. As a young person, I wanted to fit in. This is something I deeply regret. I found that the tendency and desire to uphold "traditions" and ties to the British monarchy and colonial roots of Kingston as a colonial fort city, entrenched Queen's as an institution of continued colonization. (Not to mention the ties the student body has to typically white, affluent feeder-preparatory schools from the GTA). Queen's did not and does not do enough to ensure that its students receive critical information on the state sponsored and driven genocide of indigenous peoples. Queen's as an institution must take itself out of the history books and become a leader in reconciliation (whatever that can mean from an institution that is inherently grounded in colonial ontologies).
Change the name! (Arts alum, 2011)

- k. Proposed ways forward: We need deeper change beyond de-naming [5%]

Description: Respondents suggested that although the law school should de-name Macdonald Hall, their efforts should not stop there. De-naming is the first step towards the deeper changes Queen's needs to make to be antiracist.

Quotations:

I hope the action by Queen's law school to reevaluate the name is only a small piece of what should be a larger anti-racism strategy. It is easy to pursue these surface level anti-racist actions but they often times fail to get at the root of the problem: at addressing the rampant systemic racism and a culture of white privilege at Queen's. You need only to look at the latest incident of vandalism at the Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre to know Queen's has a long way to go to become a welcoming, safe space for BIPOC students. (ArtsSci alum, 2015)

I am a 2nd year law student at Queen's. I'm white, blonde, and when I look around the classrooms most of the time everyone looks just like me [...] The

conversation about the name change of the school has made me ashamed to go here. There has been so much discourse for so long over the name of the building and other issues that demonstrate systemic racism here in Canada and this is such a small, small part of doing our very best to demonstrate to the community at large that we are committed not just to reconciliation but to being actively anti-racist in our policies and behaviours. Of course, it should not be stopping there. We should be doing a lot more, but this is an extremely small first step of critical importance to shift the conversation. Historical meaning is no excuse [...] (Law student, 2021)

1. Proposed ways forward: We need to prioritize Indigenous voices [4%]

Description: Respondents suggested that if the University de-names the building, it should prioritize Indigenous voices in choosing a new name. This provides an opportunity for the University to centre Indigenous voices.

Quotations:

Naming the building was symbolic, so re-naming will have a similar symbolic meaning. This re-naming cannot have a positive impact without the guidance of the Elders and Indigenous people in the community who have expressed harm at living surrounded by monuments of, and dedications to people like Macdonald, who clearly enacted policies to result in the genocide of their people and culture. Whether that community is within Queen's, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, or all of Turtle Island should be up to them [...] (ArtsSci staff member)

[...] I think that members of the Four Directions Centre Indigenous Student Centre should choose the name of the Law building, which would be a way of operationalizing Queen's Indigenous land acknowledgment statement. (ArtsSci student)

The building's renaming would provide an opportunity to honour an Indigenous community (or multiple) through choosing a name that those groups selected or helped to select (such as a name that describes the faculty, the land, the university, etc) (ArtsSci alum, 2018)
