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<b>Full Title of Thesis</b>	MAKING HISTORY: The Role of Historic Reconstructions Within Canada's Heritage Conservation Movement

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**Summary of Thesis:**

Canada's heritage conservation movement developed late, relative to similar movements in Europe and the United States, yet from 1939 to the present, historic reconstructions have formed a significant aspect of the Canadian response to the 'presentation' of the past. This thesis examines the roles played by historic reconstructions in Canada: the intent of the project proponents, and the reception of such projects. To establish a framework for this analysis, the roles of historic reconstructions in France, Britain and the United States, three countries where heritage conservation activity began much earlier, are first examined. Sites included in this part of the thesis include: in France, Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction work at Vézelay, Saint-Sernin, and Carcassonne; in Britain, Burges' Castell Coch, and the twentieth-century reconstructions of Castell Henllys and the Globe Theatre; and, in the United States, the Revere House, Fort Ticonderoga, Colonial Williamsburg, and New Echota. With the French, British and American use of historic reconstructions as a reference, four detailed case studies, examining Canadian sites, is presented. The first case study is the reconstruction of the Habitation at Port Royal, originally constructed in 1605, by French colonists. The second study considers two reconstructions, Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake and Place Royale, Québec, which represent British and French heritage, respectively. The third reconstruction discussed is the town of Louisbourg. The fourth study is the proposed reconstruction of the Africville Church, a building destroyed in 1967 in the name of urban renewal, but a continuing symbol of the African-Canadian community within which it was located. Analysis of these sites has been undertaken with considerable reference to the current discussion of the relationship between history and collective memory, especially the work of Pierre Nora (in France), Raphael Samuel (in Britain), and John Bodnar (in the United States).



**MAKING HISTORY:**

**The Role of Historic Reconstructions Within Canada's Heritage Conservation Movement**

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## **Dedication**

**I wish to dedicate this thesis to Harriet Taber Richardson and Kenneth D. Harris; their vision and perseverance gave us the Port Royal Habitation, the point of departure for my own journey.**

## **Acknowledgements**

Over a period of five years, and in four countries, many people have assisted with my research, and the preparation of this thesis; I thank everyone for their advice, generosity and encouragement.

Several archives and libraries, and the staff of these institutions, have been crucial to my work, including: Libraries and Archives Canada, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, the Nova Scotia Museum, the New Brunswick Museum, Halifax Municipal Archives, Killiam Library (Special Collections), Dalhousie University, Louisbourg Institute, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, the (US) Library of Congress, and the US National Archives (College Park). I also wish to thank: Chris Fox, Curator, Thomas Pell Research Center (Fort Ticonderoga); Ryan Scranton, Executive Director, Annapolis Heritage Society; and Patricia Townsend, Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University. The Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, provided both research support and financial assistance for me to visit that archive. Several employees of the Parks Canada Agency have kindly provided information and advice, including: Gordon Fulton, Director of Historical Services (Ottawa), John Johnston, Historian (Halifax), and Hedy Armour, Librarian (Halifax). At Public Works Canada, Don MacDonald provided information regarding the Federal Heritage Building Review Office, and Bill Hockey, now retired, provided information on several architectural reconstruction projects. In Halifax, Andrea Arbic (A.L.Arbic Consulting) and Jeffery Reed (formerly with the Historic Places Initiative), both kindly gave me time for extensive interviews; and Mary Louise Hartigan, my former colleague in the Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage, provide information and advice on innumerable occasions. In Wales, I want to thank: Matthew Williams, Curator, Cardiff Castle, for his hospitality; and David MacLees, former Inspector of Historic Buildings for Cadw, who kindly spent an afternoon with me at Castell Coch, just prior to his retirement.

My colleagues and students in the College of Environment and Design, University of Georgia, have provided me with invaluable, and consistent, support during the past five years; Donna Gabriel, graduate academic advisor in our college, has been especially helpful to me in finding a way to combine the dual roles of teacher and student. In addition, I want to thank university administration for supporting some of my research travel, and the interlibrary loan staff at the Ilah Dunlap Little Library, who have always been able to 'locate the book', no matter how obscure.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge several individuals who have offered support in various ways. In Georgia, I want to thank Rene Shoemaker and Stephen White, and the Aromas Regulars. In England, I want to thank Richenda Codling and Jill Rudd, for hospitality and occasionally explaining the ways of the British, and Ron Lewcock, for his time and useful advice. In Wales, I want to thank Katrina Lewis, for helping me feel a little closer to Cardiff, and especially my supervisor, Judi Loach. My decision to undertake this programme of studies at the Welsh School of Architecture was made after spending an afternoon with Judi, drinking coffee at Le Corbusier's Carpenter Center; it was a very wise decision, and with Judi's support and guidance, the past five years have been a wonderful period of exploration and discovery. In Nova Scotia, I want to thank Hal, Paul, and Greg; sometimes you can 'go home again'.

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## **Note on Illustrations**

Illustrations have been obtained from the following institutions, with use for research (non-commercial) purpose allowed; where not indicated, illustrations are provided by the author, or other individuals who have consented to their use.

AHS - Annapolis Heritage Society

BNF - Bibliothèque nationale de France

LAC - Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Archives of Canada/NAC)

LOC - Library of Congress (US)

MAP - La Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine (French Ministry of Culture)

NFPL- Niagara Falls Public Library

NSARM - Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management

NSM - Nova Scotia Museum

NYPL - New York Public Library

OA - Ontario Archives

PC – Parks Canada (Atlantic Region Library)

UGA – University of Georgia

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The Thesis Question

In 1609, Marc Lescarbot – a Paris lawyer and dramatist who four years earlier had been part of the first French attempt to colonise North America – rhetorically asked, ‘Faut-il abandonner les beautez de ce lieu et dire au Port Royal un eternal Adieu?’ Although evidence of the settlement at Port Royal disappeared within a few decades of Lescarbot’s lament, in the twentieth century one can again visit the ‘beauties’ of Port Royal, or at least a romantic ‘reconstruction’. Completed in 1939, the reconstruction project involved an American socialite, the president of Harvard University, the Governor of Virginia, the *New York Times* dance critic, and ultimately the Government of Canada. The Port Royal Habitation is now recognised as an historic site in its own right, illustrating a significant stage in the development of Canada’s heritage conservation movement – re-created heritage has become heritage.



1-1. Opening of the Habitation, 1941 /NSARM



1-2. Habitation entrance, 2007

Canada has demonstrated an enthusiasm for historic reconstruction ever since that 1939 project, a relationship that continues unabated in the twenty-first century. Such projects have been instigated by a range of proponents, especially the federal government, but also regional and municipal governments, community groups, church congregations, and, more recently, groups within the larger society that share a unique cultural tradition, often associated with ethnicity. Although concentrated in the eastern and central parts of the country, there are examples in British Columbia, in the Yukon

Territory, on the shore of Hudson's Bay, and in a remote part of Newfoundland and Labrador. In scale, they range from the eighteenth-century French town of Louisbourg, a multi-acre urban area, to simple structures, such as the Grand Theatre in Dawson City, Yukon, a building associated with the Klondike 'Gold Rush' of the nineteenth century.

Reconstructed sites are associated with many different stories in Canada's past: colonisation and exploration, illustrated by the Port Royal Habitation and Fort Langley; the military, at Fort Prince of Wales and Fort George; and religion, demonstrated by Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons, a 1960s reconstruction of a seventeenth-century Jesuit mission, and by the recent reconstruction of Saint John's Church, in Lunenburg, a World Heritage City. The Africville Church, a current reconstruction project, is associated with a more recent story, the systematic destruction of a nineteenth-century African-Canadian community, in the mid-twentieth century, for the cause of 'urban renewal'. This structure is being reconstructed as part of 'reparations' made to descendants of that community. This Canadian enthusiasm for historic reconstruction begs the question 'why'. What has been the role of historic reconstructions in the development of a Canadian heritage conservation movement? What were the proponents' intentions? How have these sites been received by the public? These are the questions addressed in this thesis.

Consideration of these questions must acknowledge two central aspects of the heritage conservation movement in Canada: the youth of the movement relative to similar activities in Europe and the United States, and the unique, sometimes inter-related role that France, Britain and the United States have each played in the development of a Canadian identity, through historical, economical, political and cultural engagement. France was the first European country to establish sustained settlements in what is now Canada, and while this legacy is largely associated with Québec, the French empire extended over much of the continent, and distinct francophone communities exist in many provinces today. French is today an official language of Canada, and the 'first language' of twenty-one per cent of the population.<sup>1</sup> British acquisition of most of the French territory, in the eighteenth century (Acadie in 1713, Isle Royale in 1758, and Québec in 1759), resulted in

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<sup>1</sup> The Canadian Parliament first passed legislation in 1969 making English and French the official languages of the country. For 2006 census information on language use in Canada, see the Statistics Canada website, <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-555/T402-eng.cfm?Lang=E&T=402&GH=4&SC=1&S=99&O=A> ; [accessed: 28 July 2010].

significant British immigration, and the introduction of British institutions which provided the foundation for the contemporary governmental and economic structure of Canada, and the arrival of the other official language, English. Although Canada was established as a distinct political entity by the British Parliament in 1867, the constitutional connection was only completely severed in 1982, when the Canadian constitution was formally 'patriated', through legislation passed by both the British and Canadian parliaments. Sharing both geography and a heritage of European colonisation, Canada and the United States have a unique, and in some ways inevitable, relationship amongst world nations. This relationship has also been defined by population migrations, starting in the 1760s with the occupation of former Acadian farms by Connecticut 'Planters', and by economic integration, dating to the colonial era. In several cases, the interaction of these three countries has been subsequently used to define the evolution of a contemporary Canadian identity, such as the 'Fall of Québec' or the Niagara-area battles of the War of 1812.



1-3. New France (west), 1657, Bressani /LAC



1-4. New France (east), 1657, Bressani /LAC

As a country which encourages, and depends upon, immigration, Canada's historical relationships with each of these three countries may become less relevant as Canadian society becomes increasingly pluralistic; however, at the beginning of the twenty-first century these relationships continue to define Canada, illustrated for

example by Canadian participation in the *Francophonie*, the British Commonwealth, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). A framework within which to consider these thesis questions must include an analysis of the literature addressing the current issues and principles of heritage conservation developed within each of these three countries, as well as in Canada, and an analysis of how the literature situates historic reconstruction specifically within the much broader field of heritage conservation. Beyond the literature that explicitly addresses heritage conservation, it is useful to examine the considerable body of research that has emerged on the ‘use’ of history, a discussion that draws on several disciplines, including history, sociology and geography, and a discussion in which the idea of ‘collective memory’ is a key element. This discussion, especially the work being undertaken in France, Britain and the United States, as well as Canada itself, forms an important element of the framework for consideration of the thesis questions. As the following analysis demonstrates, the proposed thesis questions have not been previously addressed; the analysis also suggests a methodology by which to answer these questions.

## 1.2 Heritage Conservation

### 1.2.1 A Heritage Conservation Context for Discussing Historic Reconstructions

The term ‘historic reconstruction’ has been variously defined, although United States conservation policy may be the only ‘official’ or semi-legal definition; since 1995, the ‘Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties’ have defined historic reconstruction, ‘as the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location’.<sup>2</sup> A previous definition, published in 1978, referred to reproducing in exact form and detail, vanished buildings and parts of buildings.<sup>3</sup> Within this thesis, historic reconstruction is defined broadly, to include any conscious attempt to remake, with some level of authenticity of design and detail,

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<sup>2</sup> US National Park Service website, [http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch\\_stnds\\_10.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_10.htm) ; [accessed: 28 July 2010]. The *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance ) also incorporates a definition for ‘reconstruction’, but one which primarily references restoration work and explicitly excludes the type of project referenced by the American definition. See: [http://www.icomos.org/burra\\_charter.html](http://www.icomos.org/burra_charter.html) ; [accessed: 28 July 2010].

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

a building or structure that has completely or mostly disappeared, either on or nearby its original site, and possibly incorporating some amount of remnant fabric; it is assumed that some form of documentation – visual or textual – of the original exists. Thus defined, historic reconstruction – at various scales, based on a range of information sources, and as a vehicle to meet diverse goals – has played a key role in both the theory and practice of heritage conservation.

Since emerging as a ‘Modern’ cultural phenomenon, heritage conservation has been defined in terms of relative values, essentially the value of original fabric versus the value of original intent; and both theory and practice have often demonstrated a conflict between preservation of the former and remembrance or demonstration of the latter. Expression of ‘intent value’ has ranged from extensive rebuilding of structures, sometimes damaged within living memory, to the building of total replicas *in situ*, often centuries after the disappearance of the structure, and with limited information sources. Various countries have responded quite differently, with regards to official conservation policy and programmes, to the relative values of intent and fabric. In nineteenth-century France, the state actively supported major reconstruction projects, such as the walls of Carcassonne, which, while incorporating an extensive amount of new material or fabric, possibly added new details, thus demonstrating the value of an assumed design intent over original fabric. In the twentieth century, the initial failure of French efforts to place this site on the World Heritage List as an example of a ‘medieval, walled city’, provides another example of the value of intent over the value of fabric; only when the site was subsequently proposed as an illustration of nineteenth-century conservation philosophy, as well as a medieval city, did it receive world heritage status.

In Britain, the church rather than the state provided the principal forum within which the nineteenth-century debate took place, with the value of building fabric ultimately emerging as the principal concern of heritage conservation. Historic reconstructions, exploring design intent relatively removed from the preservation of original material or fabric, include, for example, Castell Coch (Wales), undertaken in the nineteenth century, and the Globe Theatre, reconstructed in the late-twentieth century; rare in Britain, such historic reconstructions have been undertaken outside the official or government conservation realm. In the United States, perhaps the largest single historic reconstruction project – Colonial Williamsburg – was undertaken privately, but coincided with the establishment of a profession federal-

government conservation structure. From the mid-twentieth century, there has been considerable government participation in historic reconstruction projects and, as noted, a major government agency has formally defined the activity.

In Canada, heritage conservation as an official, codified, national activity commenced with the establishment of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) in 1923, notwithstanding sporadic efforts in the nineteenth century, usually as reactions to local political issues or the whims of elected officials. Since 1923, a strong government presence has been evident in heritage conservation activity, throughout the country, and including the support of many historic reconstructions, such as most of those already noted. Recently-adopted national conservation standards, similar to the American standards developed by the Department of the Interior for use in National Park Service and other federal programmes, nonetheless exclude reconstruction as a recognised level of conservation intervention.<sup>4</sup> Provincial governments have also, in many cases, been important players in the field of heritage conservation, sometimes even engaged in historic reconstruction. In the last decade, Canada's heritage conservation movement has also witnessed the engagement of several community or ethnic-based groups in historic reconstruction endeavours, such as the congregation of St. John's Church, Lunenburg, and the Africville Genealogical Society.

### 1.2.2 Heritage Conservation Literature

The amount of research undertaken on the history and theory of the heritage conservation movement, as opposed to the *praxis*, is surprisingly limited, and the level of scholarship uneven, especially given the field's relatively longstanding role in official state programmes. Fields such as archaeology and landscape architecture have developed as professions in parallel with heritage conservation, but they now seem to claim more space on university library shelves, and are represented by dozens of scholarly journals. If the history and theory of heritage conservation is ill-represented in academic literature, then material on Canada specifically is even more limited, and overt reference to historic reconstruction an occasional, even peripheral, topic.

A foundation for contemporary heritage conservation literature – and heritage conservation theory – was laid by several key, nineteenth-century texts. In France,

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<sup>4</sup> See: [http://www.historicplaces.ca/nor-sta/norm-stan\\_e.aspx](http://www.historicplaces.ca/nor-sta/norm-stan_e.aspx) ; [accessed: 28 July 2010].



Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, restoration architect, designer and educator, wrote forcefully in support of the value of design intent, and thus provided a justification for historic reconstruction. A prolific author, Viollet-le-Duc's most influential work was possibly *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, published in ten volumes between 1854 and 1868; his theory of 'unity of style', discussed in volume eight, is the most important argument supporting historic reconstruction.<sup>5</sup> In Britain, John Ruskin's writings poetically stated the opposing argument, supporting the value of historic fabric over an original or intended design. With *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, the art critic Ruskin, helped to influence the British conservation community, and perhaps most importantly William Morris, towards a well-entrenched position that did not recognise historic reconstruction as a legitimate conservation activity.<sup>6</sup> Together, these two authors posited the essential conservation question, does heritage value lie in intent or fabric; and through these nineteenth-century texts, Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin continue to influence heritage conservation. In the United States and Canada, no substantial literature in the field emerged in the nineteenth century, reflecting the relative lack of heritage conservation activity.

In more current literature, Jukka Jokilehto's *A History of Architectural Conservation*, published in 1999, remains the most exhaustive survey of heritage conservation history in Western Europe, and especially Britain and France.<sup>7</sup> Within a traditional historiography, Jokilehto provides a chronological presentation of events and projects; historic reconstruction projects are referenced within this discussion, but not as an overt or distinct endeavour. Jokilehto, a Finnish architect who worked for twenty six years as assistant to the Director General of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage (ICCROM), is presently a professor at the University of Nova Gorica, Slovenia. The only other broad survey of heritage conservation in Europe is by Wim Denslagen, a Dutch architectural historian at Utrecht University; his 1994 *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity*, is a more limited covering of the

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<sup>5</sup> Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 10 vols (Paris : B. Bance, A. Morel, 1854-68).

<sup>6</sup> John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder, 1849).

<sup>7</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999).

ground covered by Jokilehto.<sup>8</sup> In 1997, John Delafons, a retired British planner and civil servant, provided a more focussed survey of the movement within Britain in *Politics and Preservation*; the chapter entitled, ‘Origins’, ranging from the eighteenth-century work of James Wyatt to the work of William Morris a century later, provides a useful if oblique basis for discussion of the British attitude towards historic reconstructions.<sup>9</sup>

Two authors have explicitly addressed the nineteenth-century conservation debate between intent value and fabric value, as argued by Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, *albeit* framed as ‘restoration/anti-restoration’. Nikolaus Pevsner, an iconic figure in British architectural history, often returned to this theme. In 1969, these two nineteenth-century figures were the subject of the first Walter Neurath Memorial lecture at the University of London, given by Pevsner; and in 1976, Pevsner contributed an article to the influential anthology *The Future of the Past*, entitled, ‘Scrape and Anti-Scrape’, examining the intent/fabric argument as it was played out in late nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>10</sup> In the same year, Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, a Norwegian art historian who had studied in Britain under Pevsner, published *Restoration and Anti-Restoration: A Study in English Restoration Philosophy*, including an introduction by the author’s former tutor.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps under-recognised by the conservation community, Tschudi-Madsen’s examination of the position of various British architects in the nineteenth century towards conservation has been influential in framing the contemporary discussion of ‘authenticity’ in the field, and thus informs the discussion of historic reconstructions. Another scholarly approach to the emergence of heritage conservation, in the context of Europe, is presented in *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, a 2001 translation of Françoise Choay’s 1992 publication *Allégorie du patrimoine*.<sup>12</sup> Choay discusses the emergence of heritage conservation as a Western, post-Medieval phenomenon, identifying Rome in 1420 as the point of origin, and eventually addressing the intent/fabric issue, noting that, ‘two

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<sup>8</sup> Wim Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc: Englishness and Frenchness in the Appreciation of Gothic Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969); and, Nikolaus Pevsner, ‘Scrape and Anti-Scrape’, in *The Future of the Past*, ed. Jane Fawcett (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 35-53.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration: A Study in English Restoration Philosophy* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1976; second edition).

<sup>12</sup> Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, translated by Lauren M. O’Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); first published as *Allégorie du patrimoine* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992).

doctrines confronted one another: the one, interventionist, predominated in the European countries as a whole, the other, anti-interventionist, was essentially limited to England'.<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that none of these works specifically address the topic of historic reconstruction, and the distinct role played by such projects within the larger heritage conservation movement.

Discussions relevant to historic reconstruction in Europe are found in several publications addressing different, but related, topics; often these are analyses of individual sites and projects, or monographs on specific architects. For example, *A Church as It Should Be, the Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, a collection edited by Christopher Webster and John Elliot, includes several chapters which provide background to the nineteenth-century intent/fabric debate within the English church; especially useful are essays written by Gavin Stamp on George Gilbert Scott, and by Dale Dishon on John Ruskin, Philip Webb and George Edmund Street.<sup>14</sup> None of these works, however, directly addresses the idea of historic reconstruction *per se*. Other sources of information regarding historic reconstructions are site-specific publications, and monographs and biographies of specific architects responsible for such projects. Publications such as David McLees' *Castell Coch* rise above the category of 'guide book', and engage in a scholarly, if brief, way with the specific site, including its status as a historic reconstruction.<sup>15</sup> McLees was an Inspector of Historic Buildings with Cadw, the Welsh authority responsible for the 'historic environment'. Perhaps the most thorough - and thus rare - scholarly discussion of a nineteenth-century European reconstruction is Kevin Murphy's *Memory and Modernity*, a study of Viollet-le-Duc's extensive work at the Church of the Madeleine, Vézelay. Published in 2000, this work grows from Murphy's doctoral research at Northwestern University, from which he graduated in 1992.<sup>16</sup> The work of archaeologist Harold Mytum, currently the Director of the Centre for Manx Studies at the University of Liverpool, on the excavations and recent historic reconstruction at Castell Henllys, Wales, presents the perspective of a proponent for reconstruction, albeit using it as a tool to interpret the site, rather than that of a critical historian; both

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Webster and John Elliott, eds, '*A Church as it Should Be, The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> David McLees, *Castell Coch* (Cardiff: Cadw, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

Murphy and Mytum, however, focus on single sites, and do not stray into a larger discussion of historic reconstruction as type.<sup>17</sup>

Biographers such as J. Mordaunt Crook, who has written extensively on William Burges, the architect of Castell Coch, adds to the knowledge of nineteenth-century historic reconstructions, although not necessarily to an understanding of such sites within the context of heritage conservation. In *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, Crook discusses the unique situation of the reconstruction of Castell Coch even within Burges' fanciful portfolio, suggesting, 'Even more than Cardiff Castle, Castell Coch is not a case of restoration, but of re-creation'.<sup>18</sup> Possibly the only European publication to overtly discuss the theme of historic reconstruction as a distinct type of heritage conservation, *albeit* under the term 'experimental archaeology', is a 1999 collection entitled *The Constructed Past: Experimental archaeology, education and the public*, edited by Peter Stone and Philippe G. Planel.<sup>19</sup> Several historic reconstructions from various countries are considered here, within the context of interpreting archaeological sites, although a context broadly defined; for example, a chapter by Tim Schadla-Hall, an academic at University College London, discusses the reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre.

In the United States, the earliest and most comprehensive survey of the history of heritage conservation, termed 'historic preservation' in that country, was written by Charles B. Hosmer, who taught history at Principia College until his death in 1993. Hosmer's legacy is largely represented by two sequential works: *Presence of the Past, A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg*, published in 1965; and *Preservation Comes of Age, From Williamsburg to the National Trust*, in two volumes, published in 1981.<sup>20</sup> In both works, Hosmer demonstrates a traditional historiography, presenting information about people and events chronologically, and with little critique. While he addresses historic reconstruction sites in both works, in the earlier volume he is less clear, a reference to the 'restoration' of Fort Ticonderoga rather than the reconstruction, illustrating a

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<sup>17</sup> Harold Mytum, 'Archaeology and History for Welsh Primary Classes', *Antiquity*, 74/283 (2000), pp.165 -71.

<sup>18</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London: J. Murray,1981), p.281.

<sup>19</sup> Peter G. Stone and Philippe G. Planel, editors, *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education and the Public* (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> Charles B. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965); and Charles B. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust* 2 vols (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981).

general lack of distinction amongst various types of intervention when analysing conservation projects. Hosmer's second work places emphasis on Colonial Williamsburg, and seemingly benefits from access to papers at the Rockefeller Family Archives, only recently opened to the public. Although devoting sixty-two pages to this major reconstruction site, Hosmer does little to critique historic reconstruction as a conservation typology, nor does he situate it within a larger heritage *milieu*: sites such as Carcassonne, or activities such as historic re-enactments.

Subsequent to Hosmer, several books have more generally addressed 'historic preservation' in the United States, usually with a focus on policy or practice issues, and occasionally referencing historic reconstruction. For example, William Murtagh's 1988 *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* discusses the language used to describe such sites, suggesting terms such as 'reconstitution' and 'replication' might be useful; however, as to the meaning or reception of sites such as Fort Ticonderoga or Colonial Williamsburg, Murtagh remains silent.<sup>21</sup> The 2004 collection *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, edited by Max Page and Randall Mason, academics teaching in the fields of architecture and historic preservation respectively, is important in questioning the 'assumptions of linear narrative of preservation history', making specific reference to Hosmer; however, the place of historic reconstruction, seemingly an issue in the field worthy of inclusion in an 'after-modern' critique, is not considered.<sup>22</sup> *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, a collection published in 2004 and edited by John H. Jameson, an archaeologist with the U.S. National Park Service, builds in many ways on the earlier collection by Stone, with authors from several counties relating their experience of historic reconstructions at archaeological sites.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps most useful in this collection is Virgil Noble's chapter on, 'The Value of Reconstructions'; Noble, an archaeologist with the U. S. National Park Service, suggests a specific role for historic reconstructions, although a role limited to education at best, entertainment at worst; consideration of the role of historic reconstruction, even within the context of archaeology, is not well developed.

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<sup>21</sup> William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Pittstown, New Jersey: The Main Street Press, 1988).

<sup>22</sup> Max Page and Randall Mason, eds, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> John H. Jameson, ed., *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History* (Walnut Creek: Altimira Press, 2004).

A large number of published discussions of individual historic reconstructions in United States exist; these range from tourist literature to scholarly critique, but collectively they provide a considerable resource for the study of the role of historic reconstructions. Perhaps the earliest record was authored by Alfred Bossom, architect for the 1908 reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga, and later Lord Bossom of Maidstone. This unpublished work, in two volumes and prepared circa 1925, is a straightforward narrative of a proponent's intent, and progress toward that objective; as such, it is a valuable insight into the value of intent value, at least at that time and place.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps one of the most relevant discussions is Carl Lounsbury's 1990 article on Colonial Williamsburg, 'Beaux Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality', published in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, in 1990.<sup>25</sup> In analysing the decision to reconstruct a particular landmark building at Colonial Williamsburg to one specific date rather another, the author explicitly addresses the use of history, and historic reconstruction, to further a contemporary political agenda. Unfortunately, the potential that Lounsbury's article holds to provoke a broader discussion in the United States has not been realised in the subsequent literature. Discussion of historic reconstruction projects are sparse, and when they do appear, are usually informational rather critical, such as John Matzko's 2001 study of the reconstruction of Fort Union, North Dakota.<sup>26</sup>

As for Canada, no broad survey history of the heritage conservation movement has been published. Charles J. Taylor's *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, published in 1990, and developed from Taylor's doctoral research at Carleton University, specifically examines the role of the federal government in developing 'historic sites' in the twentieth century, and especially the involvement of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.<sup>27</sup> An historian for the Parks Canada agency, Taylor focuses on federal government sites, including several historic reconstructions; however, neither the unique role of reconstructions, or the relative value of intent and fabric, are considered in this discussion. In an unpublished 2002 doctoral thesis, also at Carleton University,

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<sup>24</sup> Alfred Bossom, 'The Restoration of Fort Ticonderoga or Fort Carillon in New York State', 2 vols, unpublished manuscript, c. 1925, Amherst College Library, Archives and Special Collections.

<sup>25</sup> Carl R. Lounsbury, 'Beaux -Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49/4 (1990), pp.373-89.

<sup>26</sup> John Matzko, *Reconstructing Fort Union* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> C. J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

Barbara Mylinski compares the historic reconstruction of Fortress Louisburg with case studies in Poland, but the ‘discussion focuses on the formulation of the reconstruction guidelines and the execution of the design’.<sup>28</sup>

A limited number of site-specific publications also address Canadian historic reconstructions, although most deal with Fortress Louisbourg, the largest such project in the country. An example is the article, ‘Preserving History: The Commemoration of Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940’, by Parks Canada historian A.J.B. Johnston.<sup>29</sup> Another example is Terry McLean’s 1995 *Louisbourg Heritage: From Ruin to Reconstruction*, in which the former Parks Canada historian discusses the reconstruction as a vehicle for site interpretation.<sup>30</sup> The historic reconstruction of Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons is discussed in Paula R. Drew’s 2006 MA thesis at Trent University, entitled ‘The Reconstruction of Sainte Marie: Social, Political and Religious Influences of an Archaeological Interpretation’; as the title suggests, the focus here is on archaeological interpretation.<sup>31</sup> The most explicit, and relevant, discussion of the use of historic reconstructions in Canada was undertaken by another Parks Canada historian, Shannon Ricketts. In her 1992 article, ‘Raising the Dead: Reconstruction Within the Canadian Park Service’, Ricketts notes the gradual acceptance of Ruskin’s principles in Canada, and the subsequent effort through official policy to reconcile this position with earlier reconstruction projects, essentially by defining them, retroactively, as ‘interpretation’ rather than ‘conservation’. Ironically, her article appeared in a journal published by the American government, and seems not to have provoked a broader or sustained public discussion of the topic in Canada.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Barbara Eva Mylinski, ‘Architectural Reconstruction in Heritage Conservation: Divergences and Similarities as Illustrated by Case Studies in Canada and Poland’, (Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, Ottawa, 2002).

<sup>29</sup> A.J.B. Johnston, ‘Persevering History: Commemoration of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940’, *Acadiensis*, 12/2 (1983), pp.53-80.

<sup>30</sup> Terry MacLean, *Louisbourg Heritage: From Ruin to Reconstruction* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: UCCB Press, 1995).

<sup>31</sup> Paula R. Drew, ‘The Reconstruction of Sainte Marie: Social, Political, And Religious Influences On An Archaeological Interpretation’, (MA thesis, Trent University, Canada, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> Shannon Ricketts, ‘Raising the Dead: Reconstruction within the Canadian Park Service’, *CRM*, 15/5 (1992), pp.14-23.

### 1.3 Collective Memory and the Use of History

#### 1.3.1 A tool to Analyse Historic Reconstructions

In 1925, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs first suggested the idea of 'collective memory', in his seminal work 'Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire'.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the official chronicle produced by traditional historiographies, and an individual's memory of a personal experience, Halbwachs believed that members of groups accept certain 'memories' of the past as a vehicle for defining that group, and especially for forming the individual's bond with the group. He suggested that:

society tends to erase from its memory all that might separate individuals, or that might distance groups from each other. It is also why society, in each period, rearranges its recollections in such a way as to adjust then to the variable conditions of its equilibrium ... when reflection begins to operate, when instead of letting the past recur, we reconstruct it through an effort of reasoning, what happens is that we distort that past, because we wish to introduce greater coherence. It is then reason or intelligence that chooses among the store of recollections, eliminates some of them, and arranges the others according to an order conforming with our idea of the moment.<sup>34</sup>

By the end of the twentieth century, the concept of collective memory, and reference to Halbwachs' work, had become common in several fields, but especially in the many branches of history. In some cases, the validity of this concept is questioned. Kerwin Lee Klein, a historian at the University of California, Berkeley, refers to the 'memory industry', and suggests, 'memory can come to the fore in an age of historiographic crisis precisely because it figures as a therapeutic alternative to historical discourse'.<sup>35</sup> Halbwachs' notion of collective memory is more pointedly questioned in a 1996 article by historians Noa Gedi, Tel Aviv University, and Yigal Elam, Sapir College; they conclude that, 'collective memory is but a misleading new name for the old familiar myth which can be identified, in its turn, with collective or social stereotypes. Indeed, collective memory is but a myth'.<sup>36</sup>

Notwithstanding such critiques, collective memory has become a key concept in the analysis of the 'use of the past' by contemporary societies, an analysis often

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<sup>33</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, 'Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire', in: *Les Travaux de L'Année Sociologique* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925).

<sup>34</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.182.

<sup>35</sup> Kerwin Lee Klein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations*, 69 (2000), pp.127-50 (p.145).

<sup>36</sup> Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, 'Collective Memory – What Is It?', *History and Memory*, 8 (1996), pp.30-50 (p.47).



framed as a conflict between an official history, sanctioned by the state, and a more mercurial, vernacular history emerging from the community. From this discourse, the notion of ‘heritage’ has arisen, effectively an attempt to connect the past to the present, usually in a subservient role: the use of the past to address some need or desire of the present. In this way, ‘heritage’ often becomes an illustration of Halbwachs’ suggestion of a collective memory. To understand the role of physical reconstructions of the past, it is useful to consider these analyses of theorised reconstructions of the past. Relevant discussions exist within diverse fields, although primarily within history, public history, anthropology and geography. Occasionally such studies directly address historic or commemorative sites, although virtually no consideration has been given in the literature to literal historic reconstructions.

### 1.3.2 Literature on Collective Memory Relevant to Historic Reconstructions

Although Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory was first included in a 1925 publication, his ideas were not widely published let alone translated, prior to his death in 1945, at Buchenwald Camp; indeed, the two standard English-language collections appeared only in the late twentieth-century.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, his ideas influenced a significant number of subsequent theorists, including Paul Ricoeur, one of the most influential philosophers in twentieth-century France and also in the United States, being a professor at the University of Chicago for fifteen years. Shortly before his death in 2005, Ricoeur wrote:

The problem posed by the entanglement of memory and imagination is as old as Western philosophy. Socratic philosophy bequeathed to us two rival and complementary topoi on this subject ... The first ... speaks of the present representation of an absent thing; it argues implicitly for enclosing the problematic of memory within that of imagination. The second, centered on the theme of the representation of a thing formerly perceived, acquired or learned, argues for including the problematic of the image within that of remembering.<sup>38</sup>

Ricoeur has thus added to the framework, built on Halbwach’s work, within which attempts to ‘reconstruct the past’, literally or figuratively, can be understood.

In a more accessible and example-heavy format, David Lowenthal, since 1972 a professor of geography at University College, London, has similarly extended

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<sup>37</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective memory* (New York: Harper & Row Colophon Books, 1980); and Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, op cit.

<sup>38</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.7.

Halbwachs' idea of collective memory to a discussion of contemporary society's engagement with the past. In two popular books, *The Past is a Foreign Country* and *The Heritage Crusade*, Lowenthal explores the modern response to, and use of, the past and the subsequent commodification of the past as 'heritage', something distinct from, but dependent upon, history.<sup>39</sup> Although Lowenthal references an extensive, sometimes obscure, list of historic sites, he does not address the role of historic reconstructions as a type, *per se*, even while discussing other aspects of many well-known historic reconstructions, such as Colonial Williamsburg. Citing the playwright Harold Pinter, Lowenthal summarises his argument: 'The past is what you remember, imagine you remember, convince yourself you remember, or pretend you remember'.<sup>40</sup>

Another way in which the past, or what a group may collectively 'remember' as the past, is employed to define and explain the present is explored in *The Invention of Tradition*; published in 1983, this collection is edited by well-known historians Eric Hobsbawm, president of Birkbeck College, University of London, and Terence Ranger, Emeritus Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford.<sup>41</sup> This collection makes the case that many commonly accepted traditions or 'collective memories' are contemporary fabrications, for example, the 'Highland Tradition of Scotland', incorporating kilts and clans, and which Hugh Trevor-Roper suggests emerged, 'after, sometimes long after, the Union with England against which it is, in a sense, a protest'.<sup>42</sup> Such invented traditions are often associated with the need to define emerging nation-states, or national groups existing within larger political entities. Such a use of the past, invented or judiciously selected, to define modern nations, is considered by several authors in the collection *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, edited by John R. Gillis, an historian at Rutgers University.<sup>43</sup> The vehicles explored by various authors in that work range from the design of Civil War memorials in the United States to the use of names in memorialising the dead after World War One; however, the role of specific historic sites, let alone reconstructed

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<sup>39</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade* (London: Viking, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past*, p.193.

<sup>41</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', pp.15-42 (p.15).

<sup>43</sup> John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations, The politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

places, is seldom considered. Rudy Koshar, a historian at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in his 1998 book *Germany's Transient Pasts, Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*, addresses not only the role of heritage conservation efforts in the re-establishment of German states after World War Two, but also explicitly the role of historic reconstruction.<sup>44</sup> He notes, for example, the concern of many Germans that the reconstruction of the destroyed Goethe's house, 'symbolised the restoration of a German national identity that made fundamental democratic reform impossible'.<sup>45</sup> Koshar suggests that historic reconstructions were often considered superior to the pre-war original, and that, 'here the war enabled preservationists to improve on the past, making memory more vivid, evocative, and harmonious. The sheer enormity of destruction could be forgotten in the face of such sanitised history.'<sup>46</sup>

In both France and Britain, particular historians have initiated, and largely framed, the respective discussions of the relationship between history - usually associated with an official chronicle - and the collective memory of the past, and the use of the past in defining the contemporary society. French historian Pierre Nora sees history and collective memory as opposites, and the latter as dormant in France, with the collective memory cached in iconic *lieux de mémoire*. In the multi-volume work prepared under his direction, and including significant amounts of his own writing, sites and figures associated with heritage conservation France, such as medieval cathedrals and Viollet-le-Duc, are discussed as potential *lieux de mémoire*; and while historic reconstructions are not addressed specifically, Nora's work does suggest the possible role of such sites in France, and the potential for reconstructions to become *lieux de mémoire*.<sup>47</sup> In Britain, historian Raphael Samuel considered a similar question, but concluded that history and collective memory are both active forces defining British society, and that rather than oppositional, the relationship between the two is symbiotic. Furthermore, he believed that this dynamic enables the collective sense of national identity to evolve, adapting to changes such as an increasingly pluralistic society resulting from immigration; this is in contrast to

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<sup>44</sup> Rudy Koshar, *Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century: Germany's Transient Pasts* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.232.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.216.

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92); several of the chapters have been translated into English by Arthur Goldhammer and published as: *Realms of Memory* 3 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Nora's more pessimistic view of his country at the end of the twentieth century. Although Samuel was only midway through a planned three-volume work on the topic at the time of his death in 1996, he provides a theoretical framework for the more general consideration of historic sites and heritage, and the role of historic reconstructions, in Britain.<sup>48</sup>

In the United States, several authors from different disciplines have considered the use of the past to define contemporary American society. A sweeping survey of this topic has been undertaken by Michael Kammen, a history professor at Cornell University and Pulitzer prize winner, in *Mystic Chords of Memory*.<sup>49</sup> Kammen gives substantial consideration to the role of heritage conservation in defining an American identity, and in reference to historic sites includes several historic reconstructions such as Colonial Williamsburg; he does not, however, address the unique nature of historic reconstructions in this process. John Bodnar, a professor of history at Indiana University, has also published on this topic; in *Remaking America*, he suggests a paradigm in which 'official and vernacular cultural expressions' both compete and intersect.<sup>50</sup> While Bodnar does not explicitly discuss historic reconstructions either, he does discuss the National Park Service, and its role, through the use of the past, in facilitating an official expression of the past. Sociologist Barry Schwartz, professor *emeritus* at the University of Georgia, has published extensively on collective memory and the use of the past to define the present, specifically, 'memories' of iconic figures George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Especially relevant is Schwartz's consideration of the reconstruction of various sites and structures associated with Lincoln, to define the 'historical Lincoln' in ways useful to the present: definitions which have changed over time.<sup>51</sup>

Relatively little work has been undertaken on the 'use of history' in Canada, with the research to date presenting a regional rather than national perspective. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova*

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<sup>48</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume I: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994); and Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain; Theatres of Memory, Volume II* (London: Verso, 1998).

<sup>49</sup> Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory, The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1991).

<sup>50</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

<sup>51</sup> Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

*Scotia*, published in 1994, remains one of the most provocative discussions.<sup>52</sup> Author Ian McKay, a professor of history at Queen's University, Kingston, suggests that an official history of Nova Scotia was consciously developed in the twentieth century through public policy, to accommodate an emerging, and financially important, tourism industry. In the official history, progressive movements of the nineteenth century are omitted, and a simple, rural milieu, 'undamaged' by the Modern world, is 'remembered'. Heritage conservation projects are not specifically discussed, but McKay does address related endeavours, such as the 'elevation of folklore' and the 'invention of handicrafts'. More recent work by Alan Gordon, Associate Chair of the History Department at the University of Guelph, directly examines the role of historic reconstructions in the use of the past. In a 2004 article in *The Canadian Historical Review*, he addresses the question of 'authenticity' at Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons, in Ontario.<sup>53</sup> Gordon has also examined the use of the past, and contested versions of the past, in the context of public pageants and civic festivals in Montreal, phenomena analogous to historic reconstructions; noting the Québec motto '*Je me souviens*', he concludes that within this context, memory is more important than history.<sup>54</sup>

## 1.4 Methodology

### 1.4.1 A Basis for Thesis Questions

Review of the relevant literature demonstrates that a significant theoretical foundation has been established for the study of heritage conservation in Europe, especially France and Britain. In the United States, there also exists a relatively extensive literature on the subject, while in Canada the literature is more limited. In all cases, the literature largely omits discussion of 'historic reconstructions', both as a distinct conservation option and as a response to broader cultural issues; exceptions to this are publications addressing individual sites, although these are often descriptive rather than critical, and occasional discussions of the presentation and interpretation of archaeological sites. The literature review also suggests that much of the significant discourse on heritage conservation addresses the relatively recent idea of 'heritage',

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<sup>52</sup> Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

<sup>53</sup> Alan Gordon, 'Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 85/3 (2004), pp.507-31.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

often incorporating notions of ‘using the past’ and ‘collective memory’. While this part of the literature likewise does not generally address historic reconstructions, it does offer insight into the motivation for undertaking such projects and perhaps an explanation of how the sites are subsequently received: the ‘why’ of historic reconstructions rather than the ‘how’. The literature review thus supports an enquiry into the ‘role of historic reconstructions in the development of Canada’s heritage conservation movement’, demonstrating that this question has not been previously addressed, but would usefully extend the existing discourse.

#### 1.4.2 Methodology and Chapter Contents

To determine the ‘role of historic reconstructions in the development of a Canadian heritage conservation movement’, the role of such sites in the older and more analysed heritage conservation movements of France, Britain and the United States is first considered. In each case, key examples of historic reconstruction are examined, with a focus on the intentions of the project proponents and the subsequent reception of the site by various groups; roles played by these sites within a larger heritage framework in the respective country are then suggested, with reference made to the work of key historians who have helped define the idea of heritage within each of the three nations. With this understanding of historic reconstructions within the three countries that have most influenced the history and culture of Canada, specific Canadian sites are then studied in greater detail. The historic reconstructions chosen as case studies represent a range in time period, scale and proponent type. Proponents of each project are identified, and their motivations discussed together with the reception of each site subsequent to reconstruction. Roles are then suggested for these case study sites, with reference made to the larger context suggested by the French, British and American experiences. Research methodology included on site examinations of historic reconstructions in France, Great Britain, the United States and Canada, library and archival research at several institutions, and interviews with individuals involved with the management or development of historic reconstruction sites.

Chapters two, three and four of this thesis consider the role of historic reconstructions in France, Britain and the United States, respectively. In chapter two, the post-revolution efforts by the state to selectively reconstruct monuments is considered, including Viollet-le-Duc’s work at Carcassonne and the twentieth-century

effort to have that reconstruction recognised as a world heritage site; the role played by such sites in France is discussed in the context of Nora's theory of *lieux de mémoire*. Chapter three looks at historic reconstructions in Britain, including the nineteenth-century reconstruction of Castell Coch and the more recent Globe Theatre reconstruction, neither undertaken by government agencies; they are discussed in the context of Samuels' theory of a history / heritage co-dependence. Historic reconstructions in the United States are addressed in chapter four, including Fort Ticonderoga, the iconic Colonial Williamsburg, and New Echota. In analysing the role of these sites, the work of several authors is referenced, including Bodnar, Kammen and Schwartz.

A broad context for the subsequent discussion of historic reconstructions in Canada is provided in chapter five. This includes a brief discussion of the different settlement groups and identity-defining events and themes in Canadian history, and a summary history of the heritage conservation movement in Canada. Chapter six then presents a detailed study of four historic reconstructions in Canada: the Port Royal Habitation (1920s-30s), Fort George (1930s), Louisbourg (1960s-70s) and Africville Church (current).

In chapter seven the role of historic reconstructions in the Canadian heritage conservation movement is suggested; in this discussion, reference is made to the precedents offered by the French, British and American studies, and the contribution of these models to the conclusions reached regarding the Canadian experience. This chapter also suggests further research possibilities, building on the conclusions reached.

## France

### 2.1 Introduction

The term restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair it, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it to a condition of completeness that could never have existed at any given time.<sup>1</sup>

In one of the most quoted phrases of the heritage conservation movement, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc summarises one side of the movement's essential debate, a case for the value of design intent over the value of the fabric or material of a site. The quote is also a metaphor for the attempt to define, by various regimes, a post-Revolution France during the nineteenth century: a process that selectively borrowed from the past to create and explain a France that was both homogenous and Modern, a 'condition of completeness that could never have existed'. The tangible representation of Viollet-le-Duc's conservation philosophy – the medieval city of Carcassonne, for example – demonstrates this officially sanctioned selectivity, and indeed, the heritage conservation movement was a crucial element in this search for identity. The product of these efforts, including historic reconstructions, and the response of the populace to this official use of the past, are examined in detail in Pierre Nora's multi-volume *Lieux de mémoire*, published in the late-twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> The following chapter discusses the emergence of the French heritage conservation movement, especially the significant reconstruction projects undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc in the mid-nineteenth century, and the French response to these sites in the twentieth century, with reference to Nora's theory of a crafted history, lost collective memory and *lieux de mémoire*.

### 2.2 Post-Revolution

Jokilehto notes, 'The French revolution became the moment of synthesis for various developments in the appreciation and conservation of cultural heritage.'<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the post-Revolution response to various types of material culture, for example royal and ecclesiastical archives, parallels in several aspects the response to historic buildings,

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<sup>1</sup> Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné*, intro. Barry Bergdoll, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, 1990), p.195; originally published in *Dictionnaire raisonné de architecture française*, 10 vols (Paris: B.Bance, 1854-68).

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92).

<sup>3</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999), p.74.



including the acceptance of ‘historic reconstruction’ as a type of conservation intervention in France. Archives historian Carl Lokke suggests, ‘The deputies of the Estates General who met at Versailles in May 1789 had no more intention of unifying the vast number of archival repositories throughout the kingdom than they had of declaring a republic.’<sup>4</sup> As Lokke further notes, however, the National Assembly that convened the following year did indeed establish an archive, to keep safe the records of the Assembly and to ‘look into the selection and security of national documents and papers’.<sup>5</sup> While this motion did not prevent the widespread destruction of documents, especially those referencing feudal title to land, and other records of the royal administration - in several cases, the destruction was a direct result of Assembly decrees – much of the ecclesiastical archive was preserved, under the ‘pretext of historical or domainal interest’.<sup>6</sup> A nineteenth-century historian observed that the Revolution had burned ‘feudalism’ rather than ‘superstition’.<sup>7</sup>

Judith Panitch, director at the University of North Carolina library, has suggested that ‘the extent of cultural losses resulting from this state-sanctioned vandalism are to this day unknown and unknowable’, while also admitting that during this period, ‘conservation proceeded hand-in-hand with destruction.’<sup>8</sup> Panitch also notes the ‘tendency toward both physical and administrative centralisation’ of these efforts to create an archive, and quotes Armand Camus, the first archivist, who observed the desire to, ‘to make all revolve around a centre, and bring everything towards unity’.<sup>9</sup> The organisational structure that emerged incorporated archival repositories not only in the capital, but also at the regional and municipal levels, and employed a single, modern classification system for archival material. Panitch suggests that ‘the creation of new repositories helped the revolution to affirm its own identity, while the triage and reclassification of old records guaranteed that a particular interpretation of the past would be imposed upon succeeding

<sup>4</sup> Carl Lokke, ‘Archives and the French Revolution’, *The American Archivist*, 31/1 (1968), pp. 23-31(p.24).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> For a general discussion, see Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp.212-20.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 20; Kennedy is referencing: M. Edgar Boutaric, ‘La Vandalism révolutionnaire: Les Archives pendant la Révolution française’, *Revue des questions historiques* 12 (1872), pp.325-96.

<sup>8</sup> Judith Panitch, ‘Liberty, Equality, Posterity?: Some Archival Lessons from the Case of the French Revolution’, *The American Archivist*, 59/ 1 (1996), pp 30-47(p.36).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.34, note 12; Panitch cites Armand Camus, ‘Mémoire sur les dépôt de chartes, titres, registres et autres papiers qui existaient dans le d les département d la Seine’, in Félix Ravaisson, *Rapport adressé à S. Exc. le ministre d’Etat au nom de la commission instituée le 22 avril 1861* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1862), p.335.

generations'.<sup>10</sup> While archives served as one way in which the past was used to define post-Revolution France, conservation of monuments, and historic reconstructions, served as a second method.

The Revolution demonstrated a similar approach to art and monuments, with enthusiastic efforts to alternately vandalise and conserve. Jokilehto notes, 'The same laws that authorised the destruction of feudal and royal symbols also decreed the conservation of objects of special value.'<sup>11</sup> While ecclesiastical archives may have been largely saved, ecclesiastical architecture, especially sites closely associated with the monarchy, did not fare so well, as was the situation, for example, at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, where French kings had been entombed for over a millennium. In 1792, a Paris publication suggested that, 'the piled stones of the building consecrated atop their burial should not remain.'<sup>12</sup> In addition to considerable damage to the church building, including the removal of the roof, the royal bodies were removed from tombs, desecrated, and re-interred in common graves; yet, sculpture and other elements of artistic value, were carefully removed and sent to storehouses. Kennedy notes: 'Nowhere so much as at Saint-Denis does the desacralizing, analytical character of conservation appear.'<sup>13</sup> Christopher M. Greene, formerly a professor of history at Trent University, suggests an extreme example of the selective use of the past to serve a present regime, when he asks: 'was it not laudable for the citizens of Franciade, formerly Saint-Denis, to demolish some of the royal tombs in the abbey church and use the rubble to create a grotto in a mountain erected for a festival in honour of the memories of Marat and Le Peletier?'<sup>14</sup>

Despite this officially sanctioned destruction, relatively progressive ideas regarding the conservation of monuments also emerged from the National Assembly. In 1790, the National Assembly established the Commission des monuments, charged with identifying and protecting these objects deemed of significance and 'useful for public education, belonging to the nation'.<sup>15</sup> Several concepts, today seen as fundamental aspects of heritage conservation practice, were incorporated into the Commission's work; this included an acceptance of the state's role as steward of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>11</sup> Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.70.

<sup>12</sup> *Les révolutions de Paris*; cited: Kennedy, *A Cultural History*, p.206.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.209.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher M. Greene, 'Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des monuments français during the French Revolution', *French Historical Studies*, 1/2 (1981), pp.200-222 (p.202).

<sup>15</sup> Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.70.

public monuments, and the large-scale inventory and systematic classification of such monuments. These tools also facilitated the removal of considerable cultural heritage, for example, sculpture and large-scale architectural elements, to depots both in regional centres, such as the former Augustine convent at Toulouse, and in Paris.<sup>16</sup> Of the latter, the collection at the former monastery of the Petits-Augustins was the most significant, with deposits ranging from Cardinal Richelieu's tomb, taken from the Sorbonne in 1792, to sculpture from the royal tombs at Saint-Denis and 'the remains of Eloise and Abelard'.<sup>17</sup> From this collection a museum emerged, influential although temporary.

Born in 1762, Alexandre Lenoir studied under Pierre-Gabriel Doyen, an artist and member of the Commission des arts, successor to the Commission des monuments. Probably aided by this connection, Lenoir was appointed curator when the depot was first established at the monastery of the Petits-Augustins in 1790.<sup>18</sup> From 1793, the collection was open to the public, although irregularly. In 1795, Lenoir successfully transformed the collection into a museum, the 'Musée des Monuments français', with artefacts arranged to illustrate a chronological history of France. Under Lenoir, the collection grew to several thousand artefacts, drawn from many parts of the country, and ranging from paintings to architectural sculpture, building components and even the actual remains of historical figures. Lenoir presented each century of French history in a separate 'period room'.<sup>19</sup> While commonplace in contemporary museology, use of a chronological framework was innovative at the time, and provocative. His inclusion of artefacts from medieval centuries challenged the prevailing Classical sympathy of revolutionary France. Dominique Poulot, a professor of art history at the Sorbonne, suggests that *la nouveauté radicale* resides in Lenoir's juxtaposition of diverse symbols, for example the royal tombs of Saint-Denis alongside memorials to artists or other (and less noble) figures in French history.<sup>20</sup> Ultimately, Lenoir's period rooms are significant as a forum within which the change, and pending modernity, represented by the

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<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of regional depots, see: André Chastel, 'La notion de patrimoine', in Nora, *Les lieux*, vol. 2 pt. 2, pp.403-50 (p.421).

<sup>17</sup> Greene, 'Alexandre Lenoir'.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.209.

<sup>19</sup> While Jokilehto suggests that rooms illustrated only the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, other authors, including Greene, suggest that six centuries were represented, citing Lenoir's own descriptions.

<sup>20</sup> Dominique Poulot, 'Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des Monuments français', in Pierre, *Les Lieux*, vol. 2 pt. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp.496-531 (p.512).

Revolution, could be anticipated. Jennifer Carter, who teaches in the museum studies programme at the University of Toronto, suggests that Lenoir's museum demonstrated an

understanding that history is best understood not as a chronological sequence towards progress, but as a continuum. This insight normalizes the atrocities of the Revolution as but one instance of many throughout time. ... Lenoir placed the visitor within this continuum, corporeally affirming the premise of hermeneutics itself: that we are all part of history, that we have a tangible and visceral connection to the past, and that our memory of the past constitutes an important aspect of who we are today.<sup>21</sup>

Beyond the period rooms was a garden in which monuments commemorating notable Frenchmen had been placed; these artefacts had been gathered from across the country, sometimes restored, more often reconstituted with pieces from other architectural works, and, in some cases, actually incorporating the physical remains of the personage memorialized. In Lenoir's words,

an *élysée* seemed to me to suit the character I have given to my establishment, and the garden offered me every opportunity for executing my project. In that calm and peaceful garden one sees more than forty statues; tombs set here and there on a green lawn rise with dignity in the midst of silence and tranquillity. .... death masks and cinerary urns placed on the walls combine to give this pleasant place the sweet melancholy which speaks to the sensitive soul.<sup>22</sup>

Carter suggests that, 'The *fabriques* ... were often odd sculptural constructions in their complex and creative combination of emblematic and symbolic iconographies and it is doubtful that any single reading was intended.'<sup>23</sup> In his use of architectural elements to present, through selection and juxtaposition, a story complex in both imagery and meaning, Lenoir was in many ways extending an eighteenth-century technique, illustrated by artists such as Giovanni Panini and, most famously, Giovanni

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<sup>21</sup> Jennifer Carter, 'New Nation, New History: Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des Monuments français (1795-1816)', paper presented at a conference entitled *Making National Museums*, held at Linköping University, Laxholmen, Sweden, 26-28 February 2007; *Conference Proceedings*, pp.165-181 (p.178); at: <http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/022/015/index.html> ; [accessed: 18 June 2008].

<sup>22</sup> Alexandre Lenoir, *Description historique et chronologique des monuments de sculpture réunis au musée des monuments français* (Paris: 1800), p.17; cited: Greene, *Historical Papers*, p.214.

<sup>23</sup> Jennifer Carter, 'The Ethics of Conservation, the Poetics of Reconstruction: Historiography and the *fabrique* at the Musée des Monuments français (1795-1816)', paper presented at a conference entitled *Reconciling poetics and Ethics in Architecture*, (p.10), held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 13-15 September 2007; at: <http://www.arch.mcgill.ca/theory/conference/papers> [accessed 18 June 2008].

Piranesi.<sup>24</sup> Using drawn, often engraved, images rather than physical artefacts, *capricci* or fantasies were created by placing known architectural motifs in unusual combinations and contexts; the effect, while visually provocative, also incorporated a less obvious narrative, using reference to the history or symbolism of the various elements. Similarly, Lenoir depended on the inherent ‘intent’ value of the architectural artefact, rather than its materiality, to endow his *fabriques* with meaning. At his museum, Lenoir established, if not an overt theory of historic reconstruction, then an argument for the value of intent and symbolism over the value of fabric; he seems not to have been troubled by reconciling this position with notions of authenticity, or to have in any way viewed it as an ethical dilemma; and ultimately he demonstrated the utility of material culture, however manipulated, in representing the past, and through selection of these artefacts, the ability to define, and use, the past.

In 1814, France reverted to a monarchy, and Louis XVIII was crowned king. In 1816, Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, the Intendent general des arts and monuments publics, ordered the immediate closure of Lenoir’s museum. Quatremère de Quincy, associated with the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, had been a vocal critic of museums, and especially of Lenoir’s *fabriques*; as concerned Lenoir’s organisation and presentation of artefacts, he suggested that the process, ‘is to kill the art to make history out of it; it is really not to make history, but an epitaph.’<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the question is whether Quatremère de Quincy understood the meaning within the *fabriques*, or did not agree with the story: was his concern based in museology or politics? Artefacts from Lenoir’s collection were either returned to their original sites or placed in other institutions, such as the Louvre; human remains were re-interred at the new cemetery of Père Lachaise, the fate of Eloise and Abelard.

### 2.3 Office of Inspecteur général

During the Napoleonic era, the state showed little interest in the conservation of monuments in France, or at least in the great medieval monuments, such as the cathedrals, although conservation work was authorised for Classical monuments such as the triumphal arch at Orange and the amphitheatre at Nîmes. After Napoleon

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<sup>24</sup> Both Panini and Piranesi had significant influence throughout France and Britain; Panini taught at the French Academy in Rome, and Piranesi was a Honourary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

<sup>25</sup> A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres au Général Miranda* (Fayard, 1989), p.48; cited: Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural*, p.73.

assumed control of the Papal States, work was also authorised on Classical remains in Rome, although the Conseil des Bâtiments directed that this work should ‘respect the character of the Roman buildings, not change the state of the ruins as they are at present’.<sup>26</sup> Other conservation activity in France seems to have been undertaken largely on a regional basis. In 1821, Francis Palgrave, in reference to concern being raised in England about the French neglect of historic monuments, claimed that ‘it is the English alone who labour to preserve the memory of the structures of Normandy, which are doomed to destruction by the disgraceful sloth and ignorance of the French’.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of the Société des antiquaires de Normandie, in 1824, by Count Arcisse de Caumont, illustrates however an interest by local communities and individuals in their own monuments.<sup>28</sup> In 1825, the author Victor Hugo wrote an article entitled ‘Guerre aux Démolisseurs’, ostensibly attacking the *bande noire*, or groups of vandals that demolished monuments for the sake of salvaging building stone, but also sending a broader message to his countrymen about their neglect of their built heritage.<sup>29</sup> Hugo remained an influential voice within the heritage conservation movement. Common to these disparate conservation efforts was an acceptance of the primary value of the physical fabric, with little critique of the meanings represented by the site, thus in stark contrast to Lenoir’s work.

‘The past changes with the present; everything changes in and around man ... [as does] the point of view from which he considers the facts and the expectations that he brings to this examination.’<sup>30</sup> In a lecture delivered in 1812, Francois Guizot, Chair of Modern History at the Sorbonne, presented an essential element of the theory upon which he subsequently established the first truly modern heritage conservation bureaucracy in France, indeed perhaps anywhere. In 1830, at the beginning of the ‘July Monarchy’, Guizot was appointed Minister of the Interior by Louis-Phillippe. By October of that year, Guizot had established the post of Inspecteur-Général des Monuments français; the incumbent was charged with developing ‘a full inventory, a

<sup>26</sup> Cited: Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p 88.

<sup>27</sup> Cited: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.393.

<sup>28</sup> See Françoise Bercé, ‘Arcisse de Caumont at les Société savantes’, in Nora, *Les lieux*, vol. 2 pt. 2, pp.533-67.

<sup>29</sup> Victor Hugo, *Guerre aux démolisseurs!* (Montpellier: L’Archange minotaure, 2002); originally published, 1834.

<sup>30</sup> From Francois Guizot’s lecture notes at the Sorbonne, prepared circa 1812, published 1855; cited: Dominique Poulot, ‘The Birth of Heritage: le moment Guizot’, *The Oxford Art Journal*, 11/ 2 (1988), pp.40-56 (p.43).

descriptive and systematic catalogue of all types of buildings from all periods which have appeared and still survive on French soil. ... a lasting institution in honour of France's origins, her memories and her glory.'<sup>31</sup> The Inspecteur-Général was also responsible for overseeing restoration of buildings of national significance, for providing advice to local administrations and, significantly, for travelling throughout the country to identify and evaluate firsthand the national heritage.

Guizot's heritage conservation programme was part of this regime's broader vision of France, a vision dependent upon a strong centralised authority; for Guizot, an important aspect of this vision was the pre-eminence of government over church and individual or regional groups. Laurent Theis, professor of history at the Sorbonne and Guizot's biographer, has suggested that Louis-Phillippe symbolised an alliance, after forty years, of monarchy and Revolution; and that without benefit of hereditary, sacred or even elected authority, personified a new social reality: the 'nation'.<sup>32</sup> Guizot's legacy for the heritage conservation movement has been less celebrated than the contributions of many other nineteenth-century figures. Poulot attributes this to Guizot's 'inadequate Frenchness'; he was protestant, educated in Geneva, and an anglophile who wrote a multi-volume history of the English Civil War; Guizot's framework, however, enabled the process of defining France as a nation, greater than the monarchy and the Revolution, with collective memories commonly held within a geography far broader than any previously defined boundary.

The first appointment to the post of Inspecteur-Général, in 1830, was Ludovic Vitet, age twenty-eight. Vitet made extensive annual trips throughout France, and submitted equally extensive reports detailing his observations and conclusions. In these reports, Vitet demonstrated a position sympathetic to the broader aims of the regime and interests in a wide range of building and monument types. He saw twelfth-century France as a period of revolution and modernisation, a time of, 'reason against authority, of the bourgeoisie at its birth against the feudality in its decline, of popular and living language'.<sup>33</sup> Vitet also saw a parallel between the twelfth century and his own, and identified in structures of that period the beginning of a 'true' French

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<sup>31</sup> Cited: Poulot, *The Oxford Art*, p.42.

<sup>32</sup> 'Ce roi, national par excellence, enveloppé dans les trois couleurs, symbolise l'alliance enfin nouée de la royauté et de la Révolution'. Laurent Theis, '*Guizot et les institutions de mémoire*', in Nora, *Les lieux*, vol. 2 pt. 2, pp.569-92(p.579).

<sup>33</sup> Included in a report of his official travels published in 1831; cited: C. M. Greene, 'The Preservation of Historical Monuments under the July Monarchy', *Historical Papers* (the journal of the Canadian Historical Association), 8/1 (1973), pp.229-50.

architecture, and a reflection of the birth of France as a nation. While consistent with the organisation of Lenoir's museum, this position was outside the Napoleonic-era concern with Roman remains at Orange and Nîmes, and the contemporary Classical focus of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Also, given the 'convenience' of Vitet's historical reference, one might question whether it was in his role as historian or as bureaucrat, that he devised this theory.

Vitet clearly held an appreciation for the intent value of monuments, writing that 'history, like a clever sculptor, gives life and youth back to monuments by reviving the memories decorating them; it reveals their lost meaning'.<sup>34</sup> He even imagined, if timidly, the reconstruction of lost heritage; Vitet's response to the ruined castle at Coucy was a proposal to 'reconstitute' the site, in his words, 'to reproduce its interior decoration and even its furnishings, briefly to give it back its form, its colour and, if I may say so, its original life'.<sup>35</sup> Vitet resigned the post of Inspecteur-Général in 1834, to pursue a career in politics, although he maintained an ongoing connection with the state's heritage conservation programme. In 1834, the Service des monuments historiques was established, as a government office to carry out restoration work under the auspices of the Inspecteur-Général and to train artisans in medieval construction techniques.<sup>36</sup> Three years later, the Commission des monuments historiques was also established, to provide the Inspecteur-Général with theoretical and policy-related guidance.

Guizot and Vitet are generally eclipsed in French conservation history by Prosper Mérimée and, especially, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc; yet, the latter men both worked upon a foundation firmly established at the beginning of the Louis-Philippe régime, and essentially towards the same broad goal of defining a French past, essentially a medieval past, for a modern France, through use of historic monuments. Mérimée was born in 1803, and achieved fame as an author of fiction, writing the novella *Carmen* upon which the well known opera is based. In 1834, he was appointed Inspecteur-Général, commenting, 'it's just the thing for my tastes, my indolence, and my desire to travel'.<sup>37</sup> Mérimée remained in the post for two decades, during which time the government's conservation programme was regularised and

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<sup>34</sup> Ludovic Vitet, *Histoire des anciennes villes de France*, 2 vols (Paris: Mesnier, 1833); I, p. viii; cited: Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural*, p.130.

<sup>35</sup> P. Léon, *La vie des monuments français destruction, restauration* (Paris: Picard, 1951), p.114.

<sup>36</sup> Greene, *Historical Papers*, p.239.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in: A.W.Rait, *Prosper Mérimée* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p.137.



expanded, both in terms of budget and the number of structures recognised as having national significance.<sup>38</sup> His tenure was characterised by frequent and extensive travel in France, beginning with a trip to the south just months after he took up his post, and eventually including visits to all regions including Corsica, the site of one of his novels.<sup>39</sup> While Mérimée was less overt than his predecessor in proclaiming which elements of the French past best defined the present, his influence in creating a professional heritage bureaucracy was significant and lasting. First, he recognised the value of monuments from within the full extant of the country's nineteenth-century boundaries, not merely the geography of medieval France. Second, in 1848, his office identified four types of monuments which could be considered for listing by the Commission des monuments historiques: Celtic (or Gallic) remains, such as dolmens, standing stones (menhirs), and tumuli, or grave mounds; Roman buildings or ruins; medieval structures from the sixth to fifteenth centuries, including religious, civil and military works; and art works with an integral association with France.<sup>40</sup>

Mérimée often seemed more administrator than theorist, although in 1834 he wrote, 'Les réparateurs sont peut-être aussi dangereux que les destructeurs.'<sup>41</sup> As Jokilehto suggests, however, 'While Mérimée insisted on the faithful preservation of original architecture and its presentation to posterity 'intact', this often remained a mere intention.'<sup>42</sup> In other correspondence, Mérimée allowed that, 'When there is some certainty about what remains there is not the least objection to repairing it, or even rebuilding it, but when it comes to supposing, to adding, to recreating ... [one runs] the risk of making serious mistakes'; in the same letter he notes, since, 'science archaeology is still in its infancy ... at the present moment I believe it is unwise to try to reconstitute something which has totally disappeared.'<sup>43</sup> In qualifying his stance, Mérimée anticipates the basis upon which Viollet-le-Duc justified his more extreme conservation work; indeed, one of Mérimée's most influential contributions to

<sup>38</sup> Rait notes that the annual budget increased from 100,000 francs in 1834 to 800,000 francs in 1848, p.142; Jokilehto notes that the number of listed monuments increased from 934 in 1840 to almost 3000 in 1849, p.132.

<sup>39</sup> The novel *Columba*, written in 1840.

<sup>40</sup> 'le groupe des pierres celtiques, dolmens, menhirs, tumulus, retranchements Gaulois ou d'origine barbare ... les edifices, ou ruines d'édifices romains ... les constructions religieuses, civiles ou militaires du Moyen Age depuis le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> ... les objets d'art provenant du territoire français', cited in: André Fermigier, 'Mérimée et l'inspection des monuments historiques', in Nora, *Les lieux*, vol. 2 pt. 2, pp.593-611 (p.604).

<sup>41</sup> Cited: Gavin Stamp, 'In Search of the Byzantine: George Gilbert Scott's Diary of an Architectural Tour in France in 1862', *Architectural History*, 46 (2003), pp.189-28 (p.193).

<sup>42</sup> Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.138.

<sup>43</sup> Rait, *Prosper Mérimée*, p.147.

heritage conservation in France was the patronage, even indulgence, given to the more widely-remembered Viollet-le-Duc.

## 2.4 Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc

There have been two supremely eminent theorists in the history of European architecture – Leon Battista Alberti and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc . . . . They constructed towers of thought . . . at points in history where such towers were very particularly needed . . . Viollet-le-Duc at the point where the romantic Movement of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was passing into the age of criticism and materialism.<sup>44</sup>

Sir John Summerson's evaluation is demonstrated justified by Viollet-le-Duc's accomplishments in three interrelated spheres: as an architect, working outside the orthodoxy of the Beaux-Arts movement, but anticipating, and even influencing, the Modern Movement; as a prolific author, widely translated into English during his lifetime; and as a restoration architect and theorist, leaving both built and written documents that continue to influence and define the heritage conservation movement, worldwide.<sup>45</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc was born in 1814, in Paris; his father was a civil servant with an interest in the arts and his uncle and neighbour, Eugène Delécluze, was a friend of both Vitet and Mérimée, and provided a non-traditional, even radical, role model.<sup>46</sup>

Sir John Summerson describes Delécluze as,

A bachelor, [who] was at home on Sundays . . . his guests were exclusively male. Here one would meet the Romantics . . . here conversation would run free . . . He was a Romantic, a liberal, and in all ways opposed to his loyalist brother-in-law [Viollet-le-Duc's father].<sup>47</sup>

Rather than studying architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Viollet-le-Duc travelled and drew buildings, especially buildings from the medieval period. In 1832-33, he travelled to Normandy, Bordeaux, the Pyrenees and Provence; in 1834-35, he extended these travels to Italy, including Venice, Siena and Sicily; and much later, in 1850, he made his only visit to England, including visits to several cathedral towns, such as Canterbury, Ely, Peterborough and Lincoln. In 1838, he received a minor

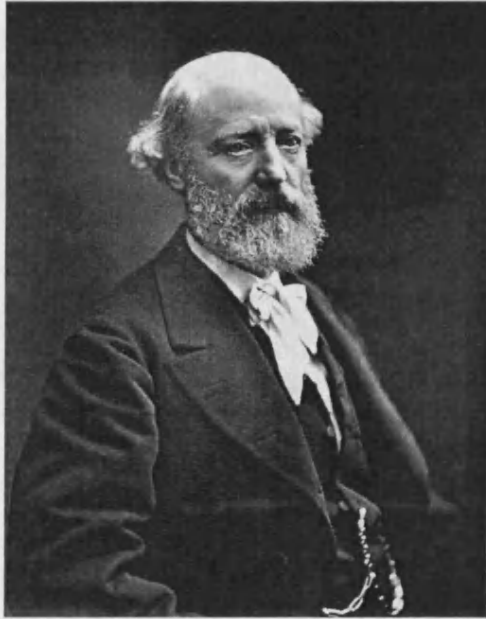
<sup>44</sup> Sir John Summerson, 'Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View', *Architectural Design Profile: Viollet-le-Duc* (London: Academy Editions, 1980), pp.7-3 (p.7).

<sup>45</sup> For example, see: Donald Hoffman, 'Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 28 (1969), pp.173-83.

<sup>46</sup> See Robin Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc', *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, (New York: Free Press, 1982), vol.4, p.329.

<sup>47</sup> Sir John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions* (London: Crescent Press, 1949), p.136.

position with the public works department, and in 1840, was appointed as architect for the restoration of the Church of the Madeleine at Vézelay. Subsequently, restoration



2-1. E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, 1878 /MAP

projects played a primary role in Viollet-le-Duc's career, including the Basilica of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse (1860-77), and the walls and fortifications of Carcassonne (1852-79). In 1846, Viollet-le-Duc began working directly for Mérimée, in 1853, was placed in charge of 'diocesan buildings'. With exposure to his built projects and publications, the international community bestowed honours on Viollet-le-Duc, including honorary membership in architectural associations in the United States and the Netherlands, other national honours from Prussia, Portugal, Belgium and Brazil, and in 1864, the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal. Throughout his life Viollet-le-Duc maintained a rigorous work schedule, in both political and professional projects, until his death in September 1879.

The author of eleven publications, including children's books, Viollet-le-Duc's most significant works remain the ten-volume *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, published between 1854-68, and *Entretiens sur l'architecture*, published as two volumes in 1863-72.<sup>48</sup> Barry Bergdoll, previously a professor of art history at Columbia University and now curator of architecture at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, notes that the format of the former was an obvious departure from the treatise and essay formats typical of architectural writing of the period, but also a pointed rebuttal of the less successful *Dictionnaire de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts* project.<sup>49</sup> In the *Dictionnaire*, Viollet-le-Duc posits the main elements of his theory of architectural design and restoration, thus providing a context for his historic reconstruction projects. The first element of his hypothesis is that the architecture of medieval France, 'developed in accordance

<sup>48</sup> Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 10 vols (Paris: B. Bance, A. Morel, 1854-68); and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris: A. Morel, 1863-72).

<sup>49</sup> Barry Bergdoll, 'Introduction', in: Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture, Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné*, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, 1990), pp.1-30 (p.11).

with a wholly new method... in which all the related parts could be rigorously deduced, one from the other';<sup>50</sup> and that this architecture, specifically the thirteenth-century development of the 'Gothic style', initiated in the twelfth-century choir at Saint-Denis, just outside Paris, demonstrated the first truly French architecture. Viollet-le-Duc suggests that, 'this architecture is so intimately tied to our national history, to the achievements of the French mind, as well as to our national character, whose major traits, tendencies, and directions are vividly reflected in this same architecture'.<sup>51</sup> Viollet-le-Duc's theory ran counter to the position, promoted by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, that France's most significant architectural legacy consisted of the buildings and ruins from the Roman period. Indeed, the dialectic between Gothic and Classical traditions, both claiming to define the architectural heritage of France, was central to Viollet-le-Duc's career; in 1864, he had a brief appointment as professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, but left when his pro-Gothic position was ill-received. Nonetheless, through restoration and reconstruction projects, the position of Gothic architecture in Viollet-le-Duc's theory exerted significant influence on the French memory of its architectural past.

The second and third elements of Viollet-le-Duc's theory are inter-related, and speak directly to restoration and reconstruction. He argued that there was an inherent rationality in Gothic architecture, so that form elements, such as the dimension and spacing of a nave pier, demonstrated an engineering efficiency; and that this principle of rationality was maintained throughout the building programme, for example the gargoyles serving as elements of the drainage system rather than as mere applied decoration.<sup>52</sup> Viollet-le-Duc referred to this inherent rationality as 'style', and viewed it as the product of a primary concern with the building problem rather than the mere application of an architectural vocabulary learnt by rote – what he saw as the basis of Classical architecture. In his words, 'style is the manifestation of an ideal based on a principle'.<sup>53</sup> Viollet-le-Duc was obviously influenced by his early travels, and subsequently, by the ideas of Vitet and Mérimée. Robin Middleton, Professor Emeritus of art history at Columbia University, suggests that Viollet-le-Duc was also influenced by early-eighteenth century French theorists, noting references made by

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<sup>50</sup> Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture, Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné*, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, 1990), p.73.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p.74.

<sup>52</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture*, pp.252-53.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.233.

Viollet-le-Duc in articles he published in the 1840s (in *Annales Archéologiques*), and titles included in his library.<sup>54</sup> Viollet-le-Duc believed that this theory of Gothic architecture, an architecture that was inherently rational and the product of the application of design principles rather than the arrangement of visual motifs, was especially relevant to nineteenth-century France, although the rational is likely to be more relevant than the irrational in any time or place. Indeed, the relevance of Viollet-le-Duc's theory continued through the twentieth century, and found unlikely reception by icons of the Modern Movement; Frank Lloyd Wright, for example, advised his son that in Viollet-le-Duc's writings, 'you will find all the architectural schooling you will ever need. What you cannot learn from them, you can learn from me.'<sup>55</sup>

Accepting the inherent rationality of Gothic architecture, Viollet-le-Duc further argued that there was a clear and ordered relationship amongst the various elements of a Gothic building, a 'unity of style'. As he discussed in the *Dictionnaire*, this idea developed within the context of expanding scientific enquiry and exploration (in the mid-nineteenth century), and a search for 'synthesis after analysis'.<sup>56</sup> Bergdoll draws a parallel with anatomist Georges Cuvier's claim that one could reconstruct, 'an animal skeleton, even of a lost species, from a single part of a fragment of a fossil'.<sup>57</sup> Viollet-le-Duc's architectural theory easily provides both justification and method for historic reconstruction; if detail is the direct result of applied principles, and if those principles are inherent in all parts of the building, then the principle can be extracted, and then used to make missing parts, thus returning a building to a state of completeness that may never have existed.

In the *Dictionnaire*, Viollet-le-Duc notes the evolution of a restoration ethos in France, starting with Lenoir, although he admits that 'the imagination of this celebrated conservator played a more active role in his efforts than did any real knowledge'.<sup>58</sup> It was under the guidance of Vitet and Mérimée, however, that 'extensive' restoration, effectively historic reconstruction as defined in the previous chapter, became part of the national conservation programme. Viollet-le-Duc wrote: 'At first they were carried out with certain reservations; later they were carried out in

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<sup>54</sup> R. D. Middleton, 'The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26/2 (1963), pp.90-123 (p.118).

<sup>55</sup> Cited in: Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc, Readings and Commentary*, M. F. Hearn, ed. (Boston: M.I.T. Press, 1990), p14.

<sup>56</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture*, pp.197-98.

<sup>57</sup> Bergdoll, 'Introduction', p.19.

<sup>58</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture*, pp.207-08.

a more venturesome spirit, and they also became more extensive.’<sup>59</sup> A crucial point made by Viollet-le-Duc is the need to completely understand the structure before developing a restoration programme, to understand the ideal which the design represents, to understand the design intent. He advised the reader to, ‘Put oneself in the place of the original architect and try to imagine what he would do if returned to earth.’<sup>60</sup> Viollet-le-Duc stressed that the key to understanding was not only gathering information, but also analysing this information with the ‘new analytic method of studying history (whether in the material order or in the moral order)’;<sup>61</sup> not only was restoration a ‘modern’ activity, it was part of a modern world defined by the rational and the scientific. Viollet-le-Duc’s theory also acknowledged the complexity of restoring structures built over a long period of time, or subjected to significant alterations which might also be significant, advising that in some cases ‘the action taken should depend instead upon the particular circumstances’.<sup>62</sup> Ultimately, he accepted that ‘there are also situations where it is necessary to rebuild from scratch portions of structures of which no trace whatever remains any longer’.<sup>63</sup> Regarding Gothic architecture specifically, with its inherent rationality or style, he even suggests that ‘there is no programme of restoration which cannot be carried out’.<sup>64</sup>

In his first major conservation project, at Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc did not ‘remake’ a majority of the building, and it was not a historic reconstruction. Substantial and important elements of both the building exterior and interior were remade, however, in an attempt to depict periods other than that demonstrated by the extant structure; and while Middleton has suggested that Viollet-le-Duc’s correspondence during the Vézelay project ‘was indicative of uncertainties and tentative exploration’, this project still anticipates the far bolder approach of later projects, where extensive restoration becomes reconstruction.<sup>65</sup> The former abbatial church at Vézelay was commonly referred to as the Church of the Madeleine in the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.207.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp.222-23.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.198.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p.210.

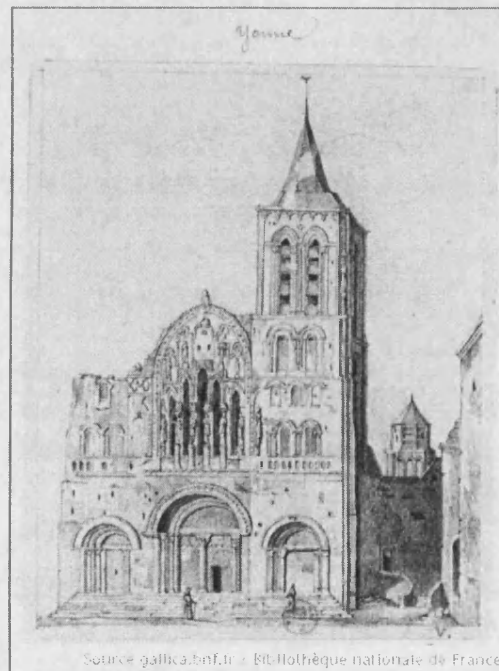
<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.213.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p.223.

<sup>65</sup> Robin Middleton, review of: Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay*; in *The Burlington Magazine*, 143/1185 (2001), p.768.

nineteenth century;<sup>66</sup> the charge to restore this structure was given to Viollet-le-Duc in 1840 by Mérimée, who referred to, ‘this great work that is so much in the interest of our national glory’.<sup>67</sup> A monastery was first established at Vézelay in the mid-ninth century, and by the mid-eleventh century, was ‘promoted’ as the burial location of the body of Mary Magdalene; it remained an important pilgrimage site for two centuries, until the ‘real’ body was located in Provence, in 1279. Vézelay also hosted large numbers of pilgrims enroute to Santiago de Compostela, and in 1146 Saint Bernard came to issue the papal bull calling for the Second Crusade.

Kevin Murphy, the John Rewald Professor of Art History at City University of New York and author of a detailed study of the building, suggests that Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc did not totally agree on the dates and sequence of construction; for example, Viollet-le-Duc believed that the three nave vaults nearest the choir had been rebuilt in the thirteenth century, the Romanesque arches replaced by Gothic.<sup>68</sup> In fact, current scholarship remains divided, in part because, ‘the archives were burned by the Calvinists in 1560’.<sup>69</sup> There is



2-2. Vézelay, before restoration /BNF

general agreement, however, that the choir is circa 1180, but the nave is variously dated from 1110 to 1140.<sup>70</sup> By the nineteenth century, the structure had badly deteriorated, and was in need of stabilisation. In addition to the archives, the sixteenth-century Protestants had also destroyed the north tower (of the west front), while the tympanum of the main entrance in the ‘west front’ had been destroyed during the Revolution, and inherent structural flaws, noted as early as the seventeenth century,

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the names by which the site has been known, see: Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006), p.16.

<sup>67</sup> Cited in: Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.142.

<sup>68</sup> Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp.84-86.

<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth Boyle O'Reilly, *How France Built Her Cathedrals* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1921), p.437.

<sup>70</sup> Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture* pp.8-9.

went unchecked after the suppression of the associated monastery in the late-eighteenth century.

For Viollet-le-Duc, Vézelay was an important demonstration of the transition from Romanesque to Gothic in France; and although the restoration predated the first volumes of the *Dictionnaire*, he later wrote that ‘it was in the nave of the church at Vézelay that the abandoning of the Roman system can be seen’.<sup>71</sup> Murphy suggests that, ‘Viollet-le-Duc reconstructed the nave of Vézelay in both the literal and figurative sense (through his writing on the subject)’, which is especially significant



2-3. Vézelay, 1891 (Normand)/MAP

given the role that Gothic architecture played in his theory.<sup>72</sup> The first conservation work undertaken at Vézelay consisted of stabilisation and basic repair, and included the rebuilding of flying buttresses, replacement of deteriorated stone, and repointing. Although practical, this work was obvious, and altered the external appearance, a later visitor describing the work’s, ‘modern appearance from which all poetry is absent’.<sup>73</sup> The first phase of work also included the rebuilding of three nave vaults, ‘Gothicised’ at some point in the distant past, to match the other Romanesque vaults, an example of Viollet-le-Duc’s adherence to principle

over obsession with Gothic, and his ease with the idea of ‘reconstruction’; the Gothic vault of the crossing bay, however, was retained, and indeed restored.

A second phase of work addressed less structural, more stylistic elements, including the sculptural programme; for example, the tympanum sculpture of the west front, originally ‘Christ in Glory’ but destroyed in 1793, was replaced, but with a depiction of the ‘Last Judgement’. Niches on either side of the gable of the west front, dating from the thirteenth century, were removed and replaced with simple pilaster elements, and, as Wim Denslagen, an architectural historian at Utrecht University, notes, ‘it is no longer possible for anyone to study further this curious interruption of construction. We can only deduce how the Gothic masons reshaped the Romanesque

<sup>71</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*, p.134.

<sup>72</sup> Murphy, *Memory*, p.123.

<sup>73</sup> Francis Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay* (Melun: d’Argences, 1948); cited: Murphy, *Memory*, p. 99.



work [from Viollet-le-Duc's pre-project record drawings].<sup>74</sup> The work on Vézelay was completed in 1859, and the church 'reclaimed' as a national monument; its 'stylistic unity' enabled an appearance which may never have existed, but which



2-4. Nave of Vézelay, c. 1950 /MAP

alterations undertaken at Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc had, in Murphy's words, 'produced a dialectical relationship between the representation of history and modernity in the building.'<sup>76</sup>

Even as work on Vézelay continued, Viollet-le-Duc was given responsibility for the restoration of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, where work began in 1855, although initial planning had started in 1846.<sup>77</sup> Construction of Saint-Sernin has traditionally been ascribed to two major building campaigns, dating to the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries; however, Thomas Lyman, an expert on twelfth-century French

provided a strong visual demonstration of the transition from Romanesque to Gothic style, and a shift in power and influence from central Church authority in Rome to French bishops and an emerging urban, middle class. Middleton has suggested that Viollet-le-Duc felt, 'unrestrained by any false reverence for Gothic', but appreciated the early Gothic cathedrals as, 'products of burgeoning civic aspiration and effort', and a representation of the alliance between Bishops and towns.<sup>75</sup> In the physical

<sup>74</sup> Wim Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: controversy and continuity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994), p.126.

<sup>75</sup> Middleton, *Macmillan Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, pp.324-32.

<sup>76</sup> Murphy, *Memory*, p.130.

<sup>77</sup> Yves Boiret, 'Toulouse: la basilique Saint-Sernin', *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, 1 (1973), pp.35-41 (p.39); other sources cite different dates, for example Jokilehto suggests the initial planning began in 1847 and the actual restoration in 1860; *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.153.

architecture who taught at Emory University, suggested, ‘a far more complex sequence of events’ based on the sculpture and internal masonry uncovered during mid-twentieth century restoration work.<sup>78</sup> Architectural elements that define the structure include double aisles, barrel vaults, and an extensive use of brick, both in the interior finish, where the nave piers are largely constructed of brick, and in the exterior. The most iconic element, however, is the five-level, octagonal crossing tower; the lower three stages incorporate round-headed arches, while the upper two stages have pointed-arch openings. Sources disagree on the construction date of the tower, ranging from the suggestion that the lower three stages were part of the original building campaign, to the suggestion that the entire tower structure was constructed after 1270, when Toulouse was acquired by the French crown.<sup>79</sup>



1-5. Saint-Sernin c. 1851 (Gray) /MAP

<sup>78</sup> Thomas W. Lyman, ‘Raymond Gairard and the Romanesque Building Campaigns at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse’, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 37/2 (1978), pp. 71-91 (p.71).

<sup>79</sup> O’Reilly, *How France*, 363; T. Francis Bumpus, *The Cathedrals of France* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1928), p.268.

Viollet-le-Duc's work at Saint-Sernin included extensive consolidation and repair, removal of obviously added elements, such as seventeenth-century woodwork and post-Revolution interior wall rendering, and, most significantly, exterior alterations that significantly changed the building's appearance.<sup>80</sup> Some modifications were relatively minor, such as repairs to the parapet of the crossing tower, completed by 1862.<sup>81</sup> More extensive was the rebuilding of the roof and upper-walls of the transept and apse, where totally new elements and silhouettes were introduced. This work was completed in 1867. As Yves Boiret, formerly Inspecteur-Général des Monuments français, noted, 'il n'hésite pas à substituer une forme authentiquement anciennes, une invention personnelle conçue dans le style "romano-byzantin".'<sup>82</sup> Saint-Sernin demonstrates Viollet-le-Duc's application of an evolving theory of 'unity of style', and a corresponding willingness to undertake 'historic reconstruction' as opposed to fabric restoration in his work. Viollet-le-Duc also used photography to document the structure, and wrote in volume eight of the *Dictionnaire raisonné*, published in 1866, that it had, 'come along just in time to be of enormous help in the great work of restoration of our ancient edifices', providing architects with, 'a permanent justification for the restoration work they carry out'.<sup>83</sup>

Perhaps Viollet-le-Duc's most ambitious restoration project was the work undertaken at the hilltop town of Carcassonne, a site which differed from earlier works in being secular and of a larger scale. Carcassonne provided Viollet-le-Duc with a broader canvas on which to explore theories of restoration introduced in *Dictionnaire raisonné*, as well as ideas regarding a favourite area of research: medieval fortifications.<sup>84</sup> Carcassonne was the Roman settlement of Carcaso Volcarum Testosagum, under Arab rule from 724-759, and a Cathar stronghold during the Albigensian Crusade. In 1247, the city became part of the French royal domaine, under Louis IX. Fortification of the city, a project begun in 1226, was completed by the end of century, and incorporated two masonry walls, running parallel, and surrounding the city. The interior wall stretches approximately 1250 metres, the exterior 1650 metres; the interior wall roughly follows the line of the

<sup>80</sup> 'The World of Conservation: Yves Boiret', *Monumentum* 25/1 (1982), pp.9-27 (p.22).

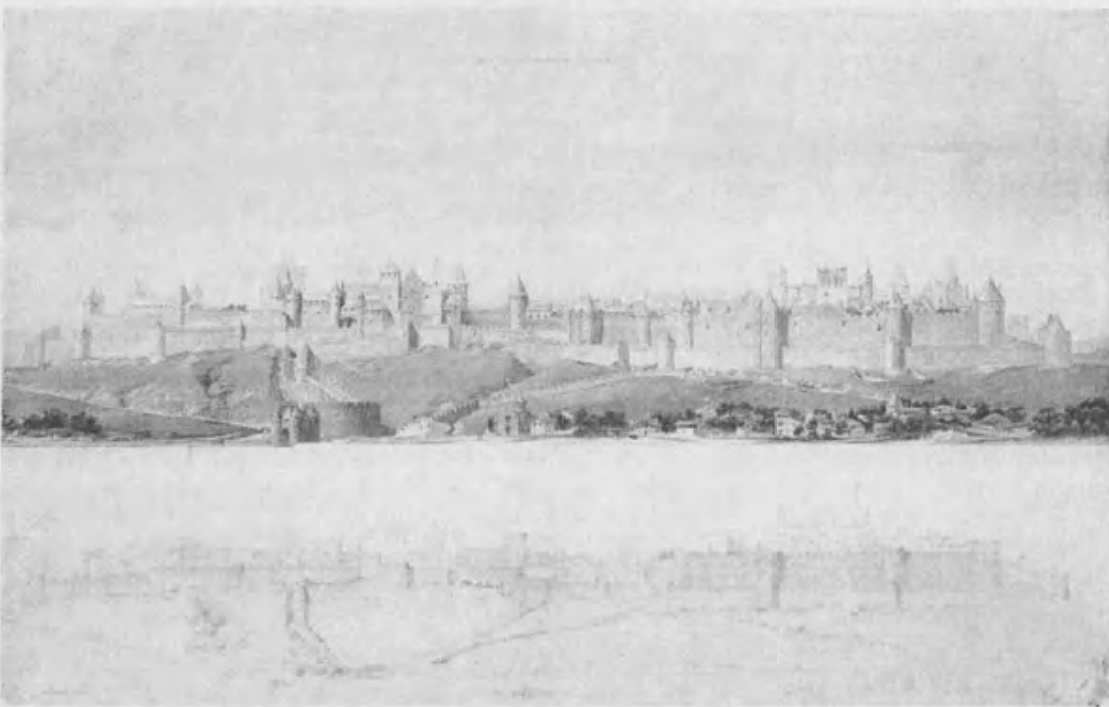
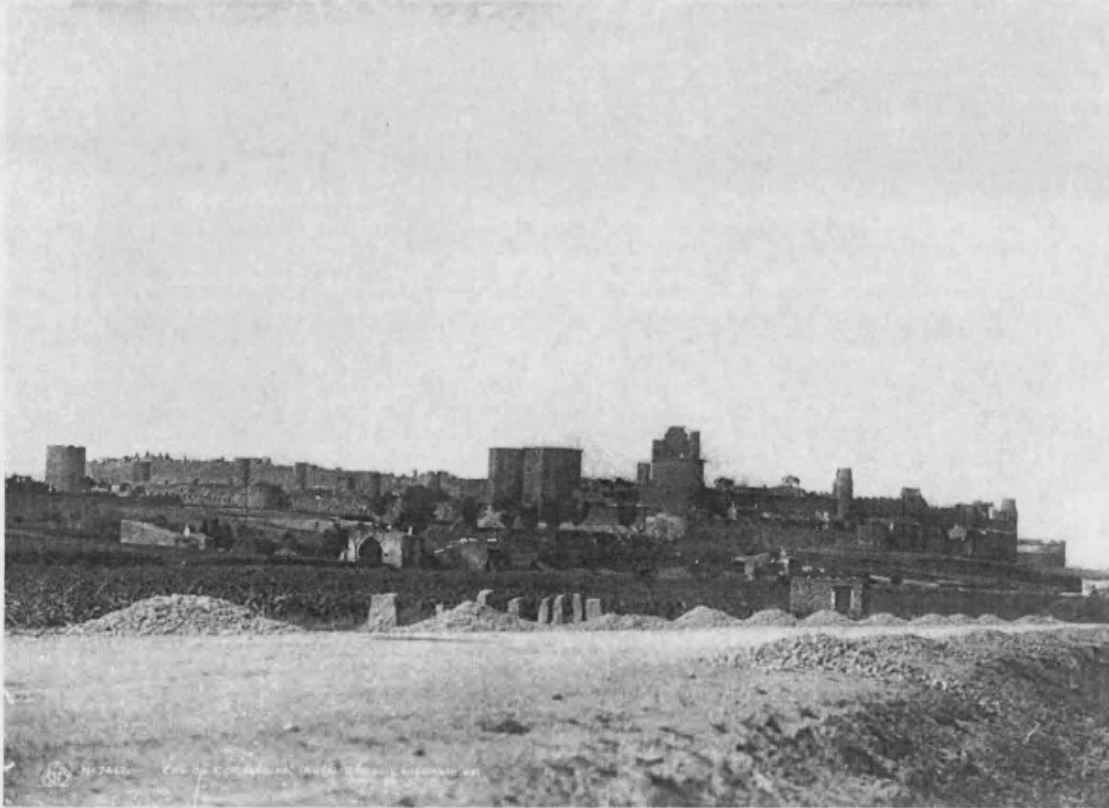
<sup>81</sup> See: Boiret, 'Toulouse', p.39.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.40.

<sup>83</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *The Foundations of Architecture*, p. 225. Susan Sontag suggests that he had used photography even earlier; see: Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1977), p.76.

<sup>84</sup> An interest discussed at length in: Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Annals of a Fortress*, trans. Benjamin Bucknall (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1876).

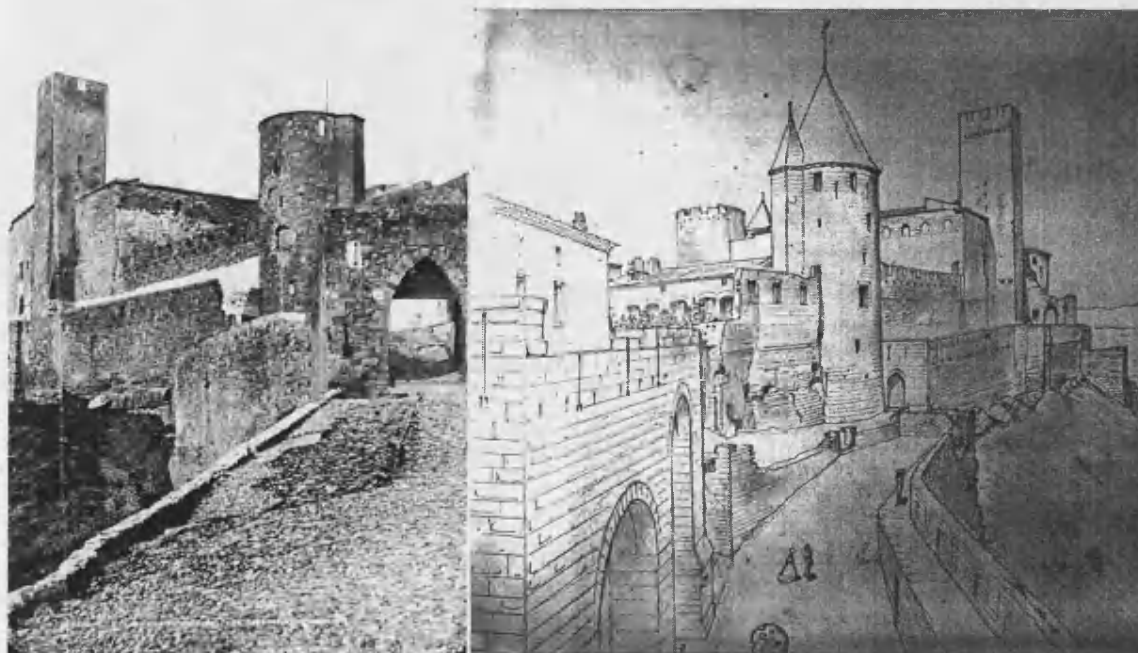
Roman defences, and incorporates twenty-six towers, while the exterior wall includes nineteen towers, three with barbicans. One of the interior towers accommodates the major entrance to the town, the Porte Narbonnaise. Two significant buildings are



2-6 . Carcassonne, in 1851 (Gray), and Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction proposal, below / MAP

incorporated into the fortifications. The castle, although of earlier construction, was also fortified with a wall and towers in the twelfth century, with these works integrated into the larger defence system. The church (former cathedral) of Saint-Nazaire is primarily twelfth-century Romanesque, with a barrel-vaulted nave, although the choir, a late-thirteenth century replacement of the original, is Gothic. The south transept runs towards the city's southern interior wall. Used as an arsenal during the Revolution, the city lost its military status in 1820, and the walls quickly became a *de facto* stone quarry, and picturesque ruin, its condition when Viollet-le-Duc first visited in the 1830s.<sup>85</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc's work involved two distinct restoration projects, plus design of an addition to the church of Saint-Gimer, just outside the walls. In 1843, he began a restoration of the Church of Saint-Nazaire, work completed in 1860, and which involved almost complete rebuilding of the exterior. A crenellated parapet was added to the west front, as Viollet-le-Duc believed that the church had originally played a role in the city's defence system. The larger restoration project, the reconstruction of



2-7. Carcassonne 1851 (Gray) /MAP      2-8. Viollet-le-Duc's proposed restoration /MAP

the fortifications, began in 1852 with the Porte Narbonnaise, followed by the extensive rebuilding of walls and the towers. A significant amount of the walls had disappeared, as had most of the tower fabric. The reconstruction of the fortifications at Carcassonne was completed in 1910, long after Viollet-le-Duc's death, under the

<sup>85</sup> See: World Heritage List, Carcassonne, Report No. 345 (revised); 1996; (History and Description, pp. 26-28); <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/345/documents/>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

supervision of Paul Boeswillwald. The city of Carcassonne is perhaps Viollet-le-Duc's most iconic restoration project, certainly one of the most provocative. Critics claim that the project contravened Viollet-le-Duc's own principles;<sup>86</sup> however, the architect himself believed that the restoration of the Carcassonne fortifications was based on the most critical principles of his theory of architecture, the inherent rationality of medieval architecture, and more importantly, on the unity of style, which in turn enabled the reconstruction of lost or never-built parts of the whole. Regarding the walls and towers of Carcassonne, he wrote: 'that part of the fortifications ... is certainly the most interesting; unfortunately, it now presents the aspect of a mere ruin. It is by examining scrupulously the least traces of still surviving constructions that we can reconstitute those fine works.'<sup>87</sup>



2-9. Walls after restoration /MAP

While it is estimated that eighty-five per cent of the existing fortifications are pre-restoration, including significant fabric dating from the Roman occupation, the fifteen per cent for which Viollet-le-Duc is responsible is highly visible, and primarily

<sup>86</sup> Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration*, p. 103.

<sup>87</sup> Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The City of Carcassonne* (Paris; Librairie centrale d'art et architecture, undated, [1800s], p.73; originally published, in French, as *Cité de Carcassonne* (Paris: Gide, 1858).

determines the public perception of the site.<sup>88</sup> A key architectural element introduced through the restoration was the steeply pitched, conical tower roofs, covered in slate; these were often the first aspect of the project criticised, with the accusation either that the form owed more to the north of France than to Languedoc, or that tiles rather than slates would have been used on the tower roofs.<sup>89</sup> Of the Porte Norbonaise, Viollet-le-Duc's 1849 inspection report illustrates the level of his observation and study, analysing marks on the portal in minute detail, and building on this an argument for an exacting restoration.

## 2.5 Reception

Response to Viollet-le-Duc's restorations has been, and remains, controversial, often with architects being most negative, while casual visitors and the general public are more positive.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, many early critics saw a range even within Viollet-le-Duc's *oeuvre*; in 1895, the art critic Gustave Larroumet described Viollet-le-Duc's work as 'restaurations toujours savantes, souvent heureuses, parfois déplorables'.<sup>91</sup> However, following the centenary of his death in 1979, and a major exhibition commemorating that event, more considered evaluations of his work have appeared. As Ada Louise Huxtable noted in a review of this exhibition:

In any survey of out-of-favour architects least likely to be revived, the easy winner until very recently, would have been Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. ... [he] represents everything the 20<sup>th</sup> century has disdained: the over-restoration of monuments, the popularization of quasi-historical styles and, perhaps, most unforgivable of all, the preeminence of the traditionalist in official art and culture.<sup>92</sup>

A broad range of public response to Viollet-le-Duc is illustrated by the three restoration projects previously discussed, all of which have been added to UNESCO's world heritage list. This response helps explain the role played by historic

<sup>88</sup> World Heritage List, 'Carcassonne', p.29.

<sup>89</sup> Comment made by F. de Neufchateau in 1912; cited: Jean Astruc, *La restauration de la Cité de Carcassonne* (Carcassonne: Gabelle, 1913), pp.3-4; ('les tours ne devraient pas être couvertes d'ardoise mais de tiles').

<sup>90</sup> Negative criticism is discussed by Hubert Damisch, a French philosopher and art historian, who was a professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales; see Murphy, *Memory*, p.156, note 8.

<sup>91</sup> Cited in: Daniel D. Reiff, 'Viollet-le-Duc and Historic Restoration: The West Portals of Notre-Dame', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 30/1 (1971), pp.17-30 (p.17); (literally 'restorations that are always learned, often happy, sometimes deplorable').

<sup>92</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, 'Resurrecting a Prophetic 19th-Century Practitioner' *The New York Times*, 6 April 1980, p.D31.

reconstruction within the French heritage conservation movement, and within the process of defining the contemporary French nation through use of the past.

Visiting Vézelay in 1861, G. F. Bodley, an English architect and proponent of the Gothic style, assessed the work as, ‘complete destruction’ of the monument.<sup>93</sup> However, as Gavin Stamp, a British architectural historian, suggests, ‘the English’ were not always aware that in French restorations, ‘material authenticity was never the aim’.<sup>94</sup> In France, the project also received negative reviews; in 1895, André Hallays, a travel writer, after noting the destruction caused at Vézelay by the Huguenots and Revolutionaries, concluded that they were less guilty than Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>95</sup> In the twentieth century, Vézelay has found a more sympathetic professional reception; Middleton, for example, writes that ‘when it came to the vaults, far from remaking them wilfully, Viollet-le-Duc thought piously to replace them in their original form’.<sup>96</sup> In 1979, the ‘basilique de Vézelay’ was designated a world heritage site, part of the first list of sites in France to be recognised.<sup>97</sup> The designation of Vézelay was primarily based on criterion one of the World Heritage Convention: a site ‘representing a masterpiece of human creative genius’. The advisory body report cites Vézelay as, ‘one of the masterpieces of Burgundian Romanesque art’, specifically noting the nave vaults, but omitting reference to the nineteenth-century reconstruction of nave (and other) fabric.<sup>98</sup>

Reception to Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration of Saint-Sernin has been quite different. Nineteenth-century citizens of Toulouse were initially wary of his proposal,<sup>99</sup> but by 1927 it was described as, ‘finished very much as it now stands in 1097’.<sup>100</sup> Unlike Vézelay, where the ‘authenticity’ of Viollet-le-Duc’s nineteenth-century intervention seems to be questioned less with the passage of time, his work at Saint-Sernin provoked, in the mid-twentieth century, a reappraisal of the theory of ‘unity of style’. In 1965, the architect Sylvain Stym Popper, with the support of the Commission Supérieure des Monuments Historiques, responded to necessary repairs

<sup>93</sup> Cited in: Stamp, ‘In Search of the Byzantine’, p.193.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Cited in: Bruno Foucart, ‘Viollet-le-Duc at la restauration’, in: Nora *Les Lieux*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp.613-49 (p.615); (‘tous ces dévastateurs sont moins coupables que Viollet-le-Duc’).

<sup>96</sup> Middleton, ‘Review of Murphy’, p.768.

<sup>97</sup> Designated under the World Heritage Convention, which was adopted in 1972 and ratified by France in 1975.

<sup>98</sup> The advisory body report was prepared under the auspices of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

<sup>99</sup> O’Reilly, *How France Built*, p.363.

<sup>100</sup> Bumpus, *The Cathedrals of France*, p.267.



to the structure with a proposal to remove aspects of Viollet-le-Duc's restoration, especially interior work in the nave.<sup>101</sup> Eventually, the proposal grew into a far more substantial programme to return Saint-Sernin to a pre-Viollet-le-Duc state, ironically using his own pre-restoration record photographs. Work on the crossing tower was completed in 1970, of which architect Boiret observed, 'Saint-Sernin offre enfin au regard un clocher consoledé et restitué selon la vérité historique'.<sup>102</sup> Boiret went on to supervise the 're-restoration' of the remainder of the building, most dramatically the return of the transept roof height and profile, beginning in 1982.

From the project's start, Boiret defended charges that destruction of the Viollet-le-Duc contribution to the building's architectural history could not be reconciled with the Venice Charter requirement that 'valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of restoration'.<sup>103</sup> In response, Boiret suggested that deviation from the charter could be justified by the need for extensive repair, and the, 'expense of reproducing Viollet-le-Duc's hypothetical restoration in a more durable material than he himself had chosen',<sup>104</sup> The value of Viollet-le-Duc's work as an expression of nineteenth-century French culture was not considered important; rather, it was suggested that, 'the architectural and historical value of this building is of far greater significance than the documentary value of the work of one man'.<sup>105</sup> Opponents of the project included Viollet-le-Duc scholar Bruno Foucart and Marcel Durliat, a professor of art history at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail. Denslagen also suggests widespread public support for retention of Viollet-le-Duc's contribution.<sup>106</sup> Boiret's approach, however, was supported by the bureaucracy, including Jack Lang during his various terms as Minister of Culture, and the project was completed in 1992.<sup>107</sup> In 1998, Saint-Sernin was one of sixty-nine properties included in the 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France' world heritage designation. Although several of these sites were already included in the list, it was the contribution of each site to the broad theme rather than individual elements that warranted the site's inclusion.<sup>108</sup> Three

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<sup>101</sup> Boiret, *Toulouse*, pp.37-38.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>103</sup> Venice Charter [article 11]

<sup>104</sup> *Monumentum* 25, p.24.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25.

<sup>106</sup> Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration*, p.15.

<sup>107</sup> Jack Lang was French Minister of Culture in 1981-86 and 1988-93.

<sup>108</sup> For example, the listing was partly based on criterion [ii], as a route which played a key role in cultural exchange.

sites within this broad designation, including Saint-Sernin, were identified as having special significance; no mention, however, was made of either Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction or Boiret's 're-restoration'.<sup>109</sup>

Viollet-le-Duc's contribution at Vézelay has been slowly incorporated into a general perception of authenticity, and at Saint-Sernin his contribution violently obliterated, but at Carcassonne his work and theory continue to be recognised, even celebrated. Before the restorations were even completed, the romantic image of this 'medieval' walled city had become an iconic image of France. In 1863, soon after the restoration began, songwriter Gustave Nadaud wrote the much-quoted line, 'Il ne faut pas mourir sans avoir vu Carcassonne'.<sup>110</sup> Criticisms of the project were often mixed with acknowledgment of the moving visual impact of the result. Sir George Gilbert Scott, without visiting the city, wrote of Viollet-le-Duc's 'no doubt very learned' reconstruction of the 'venerable and dilapidated original (medieval city)'.<sup>111</sup> In 1882, the American author Henry James visited Carcassonne, and recorded a mixed impression:

Viollet-le-Duc has worked his will upon it, put it into perfect order, revived the fortifications in every detail ... The image of a more crumbling Carcassonne rises in the mind, and there is no doubt that forty years ago the place was more affecting. On the other hand, as we see it today, it is a wonderful evocation; and if there is a great deal of new in the old, there is plenty of old in the new.<sup>112</sup>

Within France criticism focused more on details, for example, whether the tower roofs should have been covered in slates typical of northern France, as specified by Viollet-le-Duc, or in tiles, more common in the south. A more prevalent response was illustrated by a paper presented by Jean Astruc, in 1913, to the Society of Arts and Sciences of Carcassonne; responding to critiques of roof material and the reconstruction to the thirteenth-century appearance, Astruc defended Viollet-le-Duc's work, using the architect's own theory of unity of style.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps Astruc anticipated a future role for Viollet-le-Duc's romantic towers, concluding the paper with an

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<sup>109</sup> World Heritage List, Advisory Body Evaluation, No. 868; at: [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory\\_body\\_evaluation/868.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/868.pdf); [accessed: 21 July 2010].

<sup>110</sup> Cited in: Kate Mosse, 'Tales of the Cité', *The Observer*, 7 August 2005.

<sup>111</sup> Cited in: Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration*, p.54.

<sup>112</sup> Henry James, *Little Tour in France* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884), pp.144-45.

<sup>113</sup> Astruc, *La Restauration*, p.30.

observation that a Canadian tourist had recently written that, after Rome, Carcassonne was the ‘old world city’ he most admired.<sup>114</sup>

In 1985, Carcassonne was nominated by the French government as a world heritage site, based solely on its cultural value as a fortified, medieval city. ICOMOS, the principal advisory body had also advocated that the site’s value as a representation of nineteenth-century restoration philosophy, and its association with Viollet-le-Duc, be included in the nomination, but in vain.<sup>115</sup> Subsequently, the nomination was deferred at the August 1985 meeting of the World Heritage Committee, because ‘the ramparts of Carcassonne have undergone important modifications in the nineteenth century which impinge upon the authenticity of the site’; the motion of deferral also indicated that the values inherent in Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration work *per se* could be considered, if included in a resubmission. When Carcassonne was eventually added to the list of world heritage sites in 1997, it was on the basis of both criteria: the site as an ‘excellent example’ of a fortified medieval city, and the ‘exceptional importance’ of the restoration work undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc, and the ‘strong influence’ he had on the evolution of heritage conservation principles.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, the church of Saint-Gimer, one of three church buildings which Viollet-le-Duc designed in his architectural career, which sits adjacent to the city’s exterior wall, was also included in the designation.<sup>117</sup> The importance of Viollet-le-Duc, and the legitimacy of his theory of the unity of style and historic reconstruction as an expression of heritage conservation, had eventually received international acknowledgement.

## 2.6 Analysis

Foucart writes that, ‘avec Viollet-le-Duc l’histoire frôle le mythe et, mieux, l’épouse’.<sup>118</sup> His phrase suggests the role played by Viollet-le-Duc’s historic reconstructions within the French heritage conservation movement, and also in the development of a contemporary national identity. It is useful to consider this latter

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p.32.

<sup>115</sup> World Heritage List, Advisory Body Evaluation, Report No. 345’, p.29; at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/345/documents/>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

<sup>116</sup> See: Minutes, World Heritage Committee, 1-6 December 1997; WHC-97/CONF.208/10Rev.; at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/2877>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

<sup>117</sup> For a detailed critique of Viollet-le-Duc’s design of Saint-Gimer, see: Lucy MacClintock, ‘Monumentality versus Suitability: Viollet-le-Duc’s Saint Gimer at Carcassonne’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 40/3 (1981), pp.218-35.

<sup>118</sup> ‘With Viollet-le-Duc, history verged with mythology, becoming the same thing’; Foucart, ‘Viollet-le-Duc’, p.613.

role within the framework developed by French historian Pierre Nora, and with reference to the notion of *lieux de mémoire*. Nora's work represents an intersection of history and sociology; of the *Annales* school of French history and the pioneering work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, introduced in the previous chapter.

The *Annales* school emerged in the 1920s, and was described as 'small, radical, subversive, fighting a guerrilla action against traditional history, political history, and the history of events'.<sup>119</sup> The movement substituted, 'problem-oriented analytical history for a traditional narration of events', considered, 'the whole range of human activities', and encouraged the collaboration of historians with other disciplines, notably sociology and geography.<sup>120</sup> Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, the founders of the movement, were colleagues between 1920 and 1933 at the University of Strasbourg. In 1929, they founded the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, thus the name of the movement, which aimed to break down the barriers between historians and other fields of study; the editorial board was interdisciplinary, and included Halbwachs, then also at Strasbourg. With reference to later historians including Nora, Robert Forster, professor emeritus at Johns Hopkins University, suggests that the *Annales* school, together with the French 'orientation' towards archival materials, 'has led to a very imaginative use of sources ... the *annaliste* scholar is more likely to begin with a block of sources ... and then search for a problem to which to relate them, than to begin with the historical question.'<sup>121</sup>

Nora's work also owes a large debt to Halbwachs. Appointed to the first chair in sociology in France, at Strasbourg in 1922, Halbwachs had begun his studies in philosophy, and was greatly influenced by Henri Bergson's work on the perception of time; later, he also came under the influence of Emile Durkheim, the 'father of sociology'.<sup>122</sup> While Halbwachs engaged with a wide range of research problems, his work on collective memory has ensured his place as a major figure in the history of sociology.<sup>123</sup> He posited that 'the past is a social construction mainly, if not wholly, shaped by the concerns of the present',<sup>124</sup> and identified two types of memories:

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<sup>119</sup> Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution, The Annales School 1929-89* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.2.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Robert Forster, 'Achievements of the *Annales* School', *The Journal of Economic History*, 38 /1 (1978), pp.58-76 (p.73).

<sup>122</sup> Lewis A. Coser, 'Introduction', in: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp.1-34.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25.

‘historical’, which reflects a collective, public experience, retained through vehicles such as written records, photographs, commemorations and festivals; and ‘autobiographical’, which is a personal experience of events. This basic dichotomy has been crucial to later research in the area of ‘memory studies’, including Nora’s work on *lieux de mémoire*.

Born into a French-Jewish family in 1931, in Paris, Pierre Nora spent the war years near Grenoble, afterwards studying philosophy and then history, in Paris. After graduating in 1958, he went to Algeria, where he taught French history, even as the Algerian war against French colonialism was being fought. It seems reasonable to assume that Nora’s ideas about France, French identity, and the use of the past to make ‘history’ were influenced by this experience; his first major published work, *Les Français d’Algérie*, appeared in 1961.<sup>125</sup> After this experience, he travelled to the US, Cuba and China.<sup>126</sup> Nora’s professional career has been divided between academics and publishing, and in 2001, he was elected to the Académie française. In his major work, *Les lieux de mémoire*, Nora undertook a massive study of

national feeling not in the traditional thematic or chronological manner but instead by analyzing the places in which the collective heritage of France was crystallized, the principal *lieux* ... in which collective memory was rooted, in order to create a vast topology of French symbolism.<sup>127</sup>

In undertaking an analysis of the permanent elements in the French national identity, ‘now in the throes of fundamental change’, Nora proposed to, ‘see what no longer works and on what basis renewal is possible’.<sup>128</sup> His exploration of permanence and change in the identity of France assumes a past in which life was inscribed within uncontested collective memory, and expressed through traditions, unconsciously observed, but now replaced by the conscious description or construction of ‘the past’, in other words history. He suggests that as a response to the transition from memory to history, *lieux de mémoire* have emerged, places where elements of these collective memories are stored, perhaps protecting them from the ravages of history. This earlier environment of collective memory, free from history, Nora refers to as *milieux de mémoire*, noting, ‘*Lieux de mémoire* exist because there are no longer [in

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<sup>125</sup> Pierre Nora, *Les Français d’Algérie* (Paris: Julliard, 1961).

<sup>126</sup> Web site of the Académie française, [www.academie-francaise.fr](http://www.academie-francaise.fr); [accessed 9 May 2008].

<sup>127</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vol., trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-98); I, p. xv.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

France] *milieux de mémoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience'.<sup>129</sup>

The notion of an historical consciousness, an overt awareness of the past as distinct from the present, emerging as an integral element of the Modern era, has been considered within many contexts, including colonial America, and the late twentieth-century notion of heritage.<sup>130</sup> Nora describes the pre-historical consciousness state – where past and present are undifferentiated – in evocative terms:

the kind of inviolate social memory that primitive and archaic societies embodied, and whose secrets died with them ... an integrated memory, all-powerful, sweeping, un-self-conscious, and inherently present-minded – a memory without a past that eternally recycles a heritage, relegating ancestral yesterdays to the undifferentiated time of heroes, inceptions, and myth.<sup>131</sup>

Clearly Nora believes that the passing of this period of innocence is complete (in France), suggesting that: 'The equilibrium between the present and the past is disrupted. What was left of experience, still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, has been swept away by a surge of deeply historical sensibility'.<sup>132</sup>

While memory has now been replaced by history, Nora suggests that a 'symbiotic complementarity' existed amongst history, memory and the 'nation' (France) from the Revolution to the 1930s;<sup>133</sup> however, 'globalisation, democratisation, and the advent of mass culture have turned the world upside down'.<sup>134</sup> The distance between 'real memory' and history 'has steadily increased since modern man accorded himself the right, the capacity, and even the duty to change'.<sup>135</sup> Nora also observes an awareness of this break:

We discover the truth about our memory when we discover how alienated from it we are. It is a mistake, however, to think that our sense of discontinuity is somehow vague or ambiguous ... never have we longed more for the feel of mud on our boots, for the terror that the devil inspired in the year 1000, or for the stench of an eighteenth-century city.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>130</sup> See Anthony Kemp, *The estrangement of the past: a study in the origins of modern historical consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>131</sup> Nora, *Realms I*, p.2.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p:12.

French society is pervaded, Nora believes, by a sense that ‘everything is over and done with, that something long since begun is now complete. Memory is constantly on our lips because it no longer exists.’<sup>137</sup>

The collective response to this fundamental change, Nora believes, is reflected in *lieux de mémoire*, defined as ‘vestiges, the ultimate embodiments of a commemorative consciousness that survives in a history which, having renounced memory, cries out for it.’<sup>138</sup> Such ‘*lieux*’ include historic sites and architectural monuments, archives, anniversaries, music and personages. They develop in two stages: ‘Moments of history are plucked out of the flow of history, then returned to it – no longer quite alive but not yet entirely dead, like shells left on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.’<sup>139</sup> Nora describes *lieux de mémoire* as ‘complex things. At once natural and artificial, simple and ambiguous, concrete and abstract, they are *lieux* – places, sites, causes – in three senses: material, symbolic and functional’.<sup>140</sup> Most importantly, a site becomes a *lieu de mémoire* only if, ‘imagination invests it with a symbolic aura’.<sup>141</sup>

*Les lieux de mémoire* concludes with an essay entitled ‘L’ère de la commémoration’,<sup>142</sup> in which Nora discusses a late-twentieth-century obsession with ‘commemoration’ in France, and the possible return of memory. He writes of:

the subversion and collapse of the classical model of national commemoration invented by the Revolution and consolidated by the Third Republic, and its replacement by a loosely organized system of disparate commemorative languages, which assume a different kind of relationship to the past: one that is more elective than imperative and is plastic, alive, and subject to perpetual elaboration.<sup>143</sup>

Significantly, this ‘collapse’ has occurred as the French population has become, through immigration, more pluralistic, and as the result of global trends in communications and of European politics, less defined by language and geography. For this contemporary, more heterogeneous population, the ‘memories’ cached in the traditional, national *lieux de mémoire* resonate less, and the past described by the official chronicle, by history, is less relevant. Yet, ‘commemorations’, localised and

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.6.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>142</sup> Nora, *Les Lieux*, pp.977-1012.

<sup>143</sup> Nora, *Realms III*, p.614.

as likely to reference Africa as Europe, increasingly serve to define ‘the past’. Nora writes, ‘Memory, being a phenomenon of emotion and magic, accommodates only those facts that suit it. It thrives on vague, telescoping reminiscences, on hazy general impressions or specific symbolic details. ....memory situates remembrance in a sacred context’.<sup>144</sup>

What role, then, is played by historic reconstructions in French history, especially the work of Viollet-le-Duc in the nineteenth century, and the response to these projects in the twentieth century?<sup>145</sup> Does this role reflect the paradigm proposed by Nora? In what way might this role facilitate a better understanding of historic reconstructions in Canada? Two points are crucial to an understanding of this role. First, Viollet-le-Duc’s projects were undertaken in the context of public service; the sites on which he worked were not only in public ownership, but his proposals were accepted by individuals or bodies representing the official regime. Second, Viollet-le-Duc’s work was undertaken within a context of ‘modernity’, enabled by the Revolution of 1789, and in a context where the state was both reconciling with that violent change, and rebuilding – and conveying – an idea of a modern France. Lenoir’s work, immediately following the Revolution, was an earlier example of this ambition, even if his chronologically ordered rooms of artefacts seem, today, a more successful expression of a modern state than his *fabriques*; in fact, both expressed levels of meaning, and the latter a closer analogy to *lieux de mémoire*. The establishment of a national archive similarly demonstrated a modern state, both symbolically as the epitome of a rational, centralised structure, and effectively, as it determined the subsequent nature and organisation of the written documentation of history, as a witness to the past.

For Viollet-le-Duc, this modern France was anti-clerical, even non-religious, and his work helps present a past that legitimised this perspective. Although an important pilgrimage church, Murphy suggests that Viollet-le-Duc transformed Vézelay from a religious site to ‘a destination for pilgrims of a uniquely modern sort: tourists in search of a vessel for transcendental speculations and ruminations on the identity of France’.<sup>146</sup> Viollet-le-Duc’s Vézelay helps define a modern France by

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<sup>144</sup> Nora, *Realms* I, p.3.

<sup>145</sup> It is assumed that the significant change and addition of new fabric in each of the three projects discussed illustrates reconstruction rather than restoration, notwithstanding that a part of each structure was extant.

<sup>146</sup> Murphy, *Memory*, p.7.



providing tangible ‘evidence’ of a past, a medieval world in which the rational Gothic style emerged coincident with a French nation, coincident with a lessening of the power of the church in Rome, and with development of a civil society, *albeit* royalist and centred on the Ile de France.

A second major theme presented by Viollet-le-Duc’s projects is the ‘homogenous France’, a France without regions and distinct cultures, dialects and even distinct languages, and without multiple and diverse pasts. This is demonstrated, for example, by the distinctly northern appearance of the tower roofs, and the use of roof slates rather than tiles, in the reconstructed Carcassonne, notwithstanding the sensitivity to local architectural form and materials demonstrated by the design for Saint-Gimer.<sup>147</sup> This same effort to project an homogenous French (and northern) sensibility is illustrated at Saint-Sernin, with the unfortunate decision to use stone, from Carcassonne, to a greater degree than had the original builders, whose work had represented the local tradition of brick masonry: a tradition which had evolved, in fact, due to the lack of an indigenous building stone. Homogenous, secular, rational: these qualities represented the perfect past to which the modern, post-Revolution France wished to be associated; and the historic reconstructions undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc clearly represent history – a use of the past, through a process of selection and omission, to produce an official chronicle, and to validate a present.

Response in the twentieth century reveals these sites as *lieux de mémoire*, in the context of Nora’s theory. Vézelay, when nominated to the world heritage list, was presented as an important demonstration of the evolution of Gothic architecture, and thus the birth of France; however, the nineteenth-century restoration and reconstruction of vaults, a primary element in an understanding of the site today, was not even mentioned. A very different response was evident at Saint-Sernin, which looks distinctly southern, and which is associated with events outside the ‘tidy’ myth of a homogenous and unified French past, a past where there is little mention that Toulouse was only absorbed by the French kingdom in 1270. Here, Viollet-le-Duc’s work was acknowledged by the state in the twentieth century, but also denigrated and exorcised.

The reconstructed fortifications at Carcassonne have been an architectural icon of France since the time of Henry James, yet when nominating the site for world

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<sup>147</sup> MacClintock, ‘Monumentality’, p.218.

heritage status, the French government pointedly ignored the nineteenth-century values of the site as an historic reconstruction, against the advice of ICOMOS, and cited only the values associated with its history as a fortified medieval city. Indeed, this official stance served to negate the enjoyment, and understanding, of the site by tourists and residents of the city over the past century. When the World Heritage Committee declined to designate the site based on the sole cited value, and even suggested the nineteenth-century reconstruction by Viollet-le-Duc would make the application for designation stronger, the French insisted that the site also be recognised as having value as a medieval, walled city.

The reconstructions of Viollet-le-Duc served firstly as instruments of history, and in the service of the official regime of the day. The late-twentieth century, however, has shown these sites to also be *lieux de mémoire*, holding some aspect of a medieval, and glorious, French past quite apart from nineteenth-century interventions. For historic reconstructions in Canada, the French experience informs in two important ways: as an example of sites remade to effectively reflect a past convenient to a desired, even mythical, heritage; and as an example of the entrenchment of meaning within such sites as they grow into *lieux de mémoire*, even as changing societies seek new collective memories, a new past to reflect a new present. These sites fail, however, to contribute to the discussion, raised by Nora, on the limitations of *lieux de mémoire*; that is, contemporary societies that, because of an increasing pluralism, find less of their past embedded in such places. Reconstructions, however, may play a broader role; in *Annals of a Fortress*, a study of the ideal fortified *cité*, Viollet-le-Duc claimed, 'they do not ask for tears but for imitation'.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *Annals of a Fortress*, p.383.

## Britain

### 3.1 Introduction

Although the roots of heritage conservation in Britain tenuously extend to the seventeenth century, ‘restoration’ as an activity apart from repair, and subject to controversy and a theoretical discourse, emerges in the late-eighteenth century. As in France, during the first decades of the movement the extensive reconstruction of building fabric – often preceded by destruction of extant material with potential historical and architectural value – was a common if sometimes criticised practice. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, heritage conservation in Britain followed a very different path, eventually defined as dogmatically as the French movement, but with the exact opposite perspective regarding the relative value of intent and fabric.

Evolution of the British movement was characterised by several features: public debate, facilitated by a wide range of print media; the engagement of several amenity groups; a relatively minor role for the state; and, eventually, a national commitment to the value of fabric rather than intent. Although large-scale historic reconstructions have been undertaken in Britain, in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such projects have largely remained outside the ‘mainstream’ of heritage conservation, and have often been ignored by conservation professionals. As in France, however, the role played by historic reconstructions in Britain can be better understood when considered within the larger discussion of ‘use of the past’, and especially the work of historian Raphael Samuel; as with Nora, Samuel examines collective memory, history and national identity.

### 3.2 Roots of a Heritage Conservation Ethos

In 1952, Martin Briggs, an architectural historian and former vice-president of RIBA, wrote one of the earliest critiques of the history of architectural conservation in Britain; he began with a lengthy discussion of ‘historical vandalism’, for example, the destruction following the dissolution of the monasteries, but then notes the extensive repair undertaken by Christopher Wren at Temple Church, London, in 1682 – effectively, restoration work.<sup>1</sup> Michael Hunter, a professor of history at the University of London, cites the role played by John Aubrey, who in the seventeenth-century

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<sup>1</sup> Martin S. Briggs, *Goth and Vandals* (London: Constable Publishers, 1952), p. 98.

became the ‘first person in this country to take a sustained interest in archaeological and architectural antiquities’.<sup>2</sup> John Delafons, a senior civil servant who contributed significantly to the development of official heritage policies, saw an even earlier conservation intent in Elizabeth I’s 1560 edict against ‘defacing of monuments of antiquity ... being set up for memory, and not for superstition.’<sup>3</sup> These occasional efforts, however, anticipate a heritage conservation movement in Britain that was eventually enabled by the emergence of a modern historical consciousness. This context is described by Miles Glendinning, Director of the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, as a situation in which people could be, ‘self-consciously backward and forward looking, to look on “history” as an autonomous concept in its own right.’<sup>4</sup> This modern concept of ‘the past’ is prerequisite for a conservation theory more complex than building repair, and especially for a discussion of relative values of building fabric and design intent. A conservation movement in Britain, provoking such a discussion, is first evident in the last decades of the eighteenth century. As in France, the movement in Britain emerged in the wake of revolution, not a violent political upheaval but the equally dramatic economic and social changes arising from industrialisation.

Indeed, several British architects were involved in major conservation projects by the late-eighteenth century, usually cathedrals or major churches, and often demonstrating very conscious and modern attitudes towards the past, and the building fabric. In many cases, substantial building material was replaced in efforts to ‘restore’ to a more original appearance, a level of intervention approximate to much of Viollet-le-Duc’s work in nineteenth-century France, and in some cases, *de facto* historic reconstruction. For example, in 1793 John Nash rebuilt the west front of St. David’s Cathedral, in Wales, and James Essex undertook extensive restoration work at several buildings, including Ely Cathedral during 1757-1771.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps more provocative were the restorations undertaken by James Wyatt. Born in 1746, Wyatt went to Italy as a teenager, with the Earl of Northampton, and remained there for six years.<sup>6</sup> On his

<sup>2</sup> Michael Hunter, ed., *Preserving the Past, The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1996), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage 1882-1996* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), p.9.

<sup>4</sup> Miles Glendinning, ‘The Conservation Movement: A Cult of the Modern Age’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), pp. 359-76, (p.361).

<sup>5</sup> For a general discussion see: Thomas H. Cocke, ‘James Essex, Cathedral Restorer’, *Architectural History*, 18 (1975), pp. 12-22.

<sup>6</sup> Antony Dale, *James Wyatt* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp. 3-5.

return to Britain, Wyatt quickly developed a successful London-based practice, and a prominent place in the architectural profession. It was his 'restoration' work, however, to which A.W. N. Pugin referred, twenty years after Wyatt's death in 1813, writing, 'I rushed to [Hereford] Cathedral; but horror! dismay! the villain Wyatt had been there, the west front was his. ... All that is vile, cunning and rascally is included in the term Wyatt.'<sup>7</sup>

Wyatt began work on Lichfield Cathedral after submission of a building report in 1787, which identified necessary work, primarily of a repair nature. Historian Antony Dale, Wyatt's biographer, suggested that Wyatt's work at Lichfield was, 'less sweeping, more supervised'.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent cathedral commissions more fully demonstrate the two distinct types of intervention which Wyatt viewed as restoration, and discussed as necessary repairs, and 'improvements', respectively; John Frew, retired head of the art history department, University of St. Andrews, suggests the latter, 'by implying interference with an already existing design, invariably necessitated at least a partial destruction of existing work'.<sup>9</sup> In 1788, Wyatt began restoration of Hereford Cathedral, which included extensive replacement and refacing of exterior stonework, reworking and shortening the nave, and lowering the roof line. Briggs wrote in 1952 that Wyatt, 'rebuilt the nave, clerestory and triforium in a style which he believed to be Early English but which, to our more sophisticated eyes, is much more definitely his own version of that style'.<sup>10</sup>

Wyatt's restoration of Salisbury Cathedral commenced in 1789, and was arguably his most extensive cathedral project. Architectural historian Thomas Cocke, in a report prepared for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, deemed Wyatt's work, 'motivated primarily by aesthetic considerations rather than by the needs of repair, practical use or maintenance', and termed the transformation of the building's appearance 'drastic'.<sup>11</sup> The work included: the removal of a bell tower, standing apart from the cathedral, to create a more open approach; lengthening the choir and painting over thirteenth-century vault decorations; and removal of Norman porches on the south and north elevations. Of the latter, Briggs suggests that Wyatt's purpose 'may have been to save money; or, quite

<sup>7</sup> Cited: Briggs, *Goth and Vandals*, p. 156.

<sup>8</sup> Dale, *James Wyatt*, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> John M. Frew, 'Richard Gough, James Wyatt, and Late-18<sup>th</sup> Century Preservation', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 38/4 (1979), pp. 366-74 (p.371).

<sup>10</sup> Briggs, *Goth and Vandals*, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Cocke and Peter Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral* (London: HMSO, 1993), p. 28.

as likely, to create a uniform period style throughout the cathedral'.<sup>12</sup> Briggs' last suggestion obviously begs comparison with Viollet-le-Duc's theory of *unité de style*. Wyatt's fourth cathedral restoration was Durham, which he began in 1791. Work completed here included the demolition of the chapter house, the rebuilding of the east front, and the addition of a north porch. More provocative to some was the



3-1. Salisbury Cathedral. c.1905/LOC

proposed work, which remained unrealised, for example the removal of interior elements including the Bishop's throne, the choir screen and the altarpiece, and the demolition of the 'Galilee chapel', a Norman-era feature which incorporated the west porch. Howard Colvin, the doyen of British architectural history, suggested that Wyatt's restoration was inspired by, 'the mistaken idea that a medieval church ought to be homogenous in style'.<sup>13</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, public criticism of the work of

Wyatt and his contemporaries grew, and the notion that the historic fabric of ancient buildings contained an inherent value emerged as a dominant position within the British conservation debate.

Criticism of Wyatt's work, especially at Durham Cathedral, demonstrated the emerging concern for the value of the historic monument's fabric, but also illustrated several specific elements which differentiate heritage conservation in nineteenth-century Britain from the French experience. A significant difference was the actual organisation of conservation projects, especially the relative absence of state agencies in this activity, at least until near the end of the century, together with an Established church, which owned many of the major historic monuments, and therefore played a prominent role in their conservation. Whereas post-revolution restorers in France consciously employed cathedrals to present a specific, if narrowly-focussed, past which in turn defined the modern state, Wyatt, with the collusion of the church hierarchy, demonstrated a more genuine interest in the original intent of the builders; in both cases restoration often resulted in significant 'reconstruction', but for Wyatt

<sup>12</sup> Briggs, *Goth and Vandals*, p.139.

<sup>13</sup> H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), p.724.

this was the product of a more antiquarian, and less political, interest. Frew argues that Wyatt had a greater understanding of medieval architecture than is generally appreciated, citing books with which Wyatt was obviously familiar.<sup>14</sup> He also notes Wyatt's reuse of discarded fabric in other parts of the building, suggesting that, 'it was this desire for authenticity that almost certainly determined one of the most criticised aspects of Wyatt's restoration procedure, the incorporation of fragments of medieval remains into his own compositions'.<sup>15</sup> Although suggestive of the *fabriques* at the Musée des monuments français, Lenoir's motive, as discussed previously, was to create an entirely new 'statement', albeit using historic reference; Wyatt's purpose, however, was not to use architectural fragments – or monuments – to 'define a new state', but rather to demonstrate the continuity of the existing state.

A second element that defined conservation in Britain, in the nineteenth century, was vigorous public debate, enabled by print media and especially *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Established in 1731 by Edward Cave, this journal continued publication until 1922. In a comprehensive examination of this journal, published in 1938, C. Lennart Carlson, a lecturer at Colby College, suggested that *The Gentleman's Magazine* was, 'an integral and particularly revealing document of the time in which it originated', responding to a, 'growing consciousness of national importance'.<sup>16</sup> In 1790, Richard Gough, Director of the London Society of Antiquaries, in a letter published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, presented an attack on restoration, as practised by architects like Wyatt, then argued for more conservative interventions; he wrote that, 'improvements, like Reformation, is a big sounding word and oftentimes alike mischievous in its consequences'.<sup>17</sup> Gough's criticisms continued for several years and became increasingly aimed at Wyatt; for example, in 1795 he wrote of Wyatt's restoration work, 'he has borrowed a bit from one era and a bit from another, till he has blended them all in an inconvenient, unpleasing arrangement'.<sup>18</sup> Nor was Gough a lone voice; John Carter, an architectural writer who had been employed by the Society of Antiquities to make record drawings of various historic buildings, was even more prolific in his criticism of Wyatt.

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<sup>14</sup> John Frew, 'Some Observation on James Wyatt's Gothic Style 1790-1797', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 41/2 (1982), pp.144-49.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p.146.

<sup>16</sup> C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 1938), p. 239.

<sup>17</sup> Cited: Frew, 'Richard Gough', p.372.

<sup>18</sup> Cited: Frew, 'Some Observation', p.146.

Between 1789 and 1818 (five years after Wyatt's death), Carter published two hundred and twelve articles in *The Gentleman's Magazine* criticising Wyatt's work.

A third element defining the British conservation movement was the role played by learned societies and amenity groups. Much of Gough's criticism was submitted to *The Gentleman's Magazine* in his capacity as Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London.<sup>19</sup> In 1788 he published a plea for the preservation of historic monuments, with a central role for this organisation: a letter later described by Frew as, 'the first coherent preservation manifesto.'<sup>20</sup> The Society was chartered in 1751, but is generally considered to have been founded in 1717, at, 'the Miter Tavern, Fleet Street, in the room up 2 pairs of stairs', although similar antiquarian groups had already existed in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Despite Gough's impassioned plea for a conservative approach to building restoration, the Society proved not to be in any way dogmatic. In 1797, Wyatt, 'a gentleman very conversant in the study of English Antiquities', was nominated for fellowship in the Society, an offer that he rejected.<sup>22</sup> Wyatt was immediately re-nominated, and after several months of debate – much centring on his work at Durham Cathedral – he was elected a Fellow in December 1797. Gough immediately resigned as Director, and indeed as Fellow. Although the Society may have ceased to be the champion for 'fabric-value' in the conservation debate, it witnessed the widespread establishment of local and regional societies, and perhaps more importantly, of national organisations, which then played a central role in the evolution of the British conservation movement. John Harvey, a noted architectural historian and former inspector for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM), in York, noted that by 1870, 'virtually every part of the country' was covered by either an architectural or archaeological society, comprised of non-professionals, and at least in part concerned with the conservation of historic monuments.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, the Institute of British Architects (later Royal), founded in 1834, provided a forum for more 'professional' discussion.

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<sup>19</sup> Gough was appointed Director in 1771.

<sup>20</sup> Frew, 'Richard Gough', p. 367.

<sup>21</sup> Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: University Press, 1956), p. 51; in an introduction to this work, James Mann addresses the relationship between the eighteenth-century organization and earlier societies, p. v.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.208.

<sup>23</sup> John Harvey, *Conservation of Buildings* (London: John Baker, 1972), p.173.



### 3.3 The Ascendancy of Fabric-value in Defining Conservation

The Cambridge Camden Society was founded by several members of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1839. Reconstituted in 1846 as the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society,<sup>24</sup> the organisation became a major vehicle for development of debate on heritage conservation in the mid-nineteenth century, especially through the society's publication, *The Ecclesiologist*. The first 'law' of the Society, published in 1842, stated that 'the object of the Society shall be to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains.'<sup>25</sup> The society effectively promoted medieval church architecture as a model for new design, and as a basis for aggressive restoration of ancient churches, including removal of later additions, whatever the intrinsic architectural value of such additions, and the recreation of missing elements, based on available evidence. In 1842, an article in *The Ecclesiologist* noted, 'We must, whether from existing evidences or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder, or as begun by him and developed by his immediate successor.'<sup>26</sup> Geoffrey Brandwood, former Chairman of the Victorian Society, describes the journal's critique of new and restored church buildings as ranging from, 'fulsome praise to excoriation of benighted architects', and observes that an issue in 1844 even contained a list of 'approved' and 'condemned' architects.<sup>27</sup> Although the impetus may have been rooted in a theological ideal, this philosophy nonetheless supported an argument for the greater value of intent, continuing a position established in the eighteenth century by practitioners such as Wyatt, and reflecting the contemporary work being undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay.

In 1841, the Society undertook a major 'demonstration project' with the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge. Constructed in the first half of the twelfth century, the church's foundation was often ascribed to the Knights Templar, primarily due to the rare round nave, but a possibility questioned as early as the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> A chancel was part of the original design and a chapel was

<sup>24</sup> The renaming is addressed in the Society Report of 1847-49; cited: White, p. 228 (Appendix B).

<sup>25</sup> Cited: James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 225 (Appendix A).

<sup>26</sup> *Ecclesiologist*, vol I (1842), p. 70; cited: Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Scrape and Anti-scrape', in Jane Fawcett, *The Future of the Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 35-53 (p.42).

<sup>27</sup> Geoffrey K. Brandwood, 'The Establishment of the Society', in: Christopher Webster & John Elliott, eds., *A Church as it Should Be* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 45-61 (p.54).

<sup>28</sup> For example, L. N. Badenoch, 'The Round Church, Cambridge', *The Architectural Review*, 6 (1899), pp. 166-172 (pp.168-9).

added, possibly in the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The original round structure was significantly changed in the fifteenth century with the addition of a polygonal bell tower above the clerestory, construction of a chapel, and alteration of the nave



ST SEPULCHRE'S OR HOLY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE

3-2. Holy Sepulchre Church, 1809 (Cribb)



3-3. Church in 2007

windows. By the mid-nineteenth century, the church was in poor repair and, with the collapse of an aisle vault in 1841, the Society reached an arrangement to undertake, and fund, the repair and restoration of the structure. Anthony Salvin was appointed project architect, although his influence, in terms of restoration philosophy, relative to the Society members, is unclear; Chris Miele, an architectural historian specialising in British Victorian architecture, poses the question, ‘who exactly was responsible for what at the Round Church, the architect or his opinionated client?’<sup>30</sup> Both Miele and Jill Allibone, Salvin’s biographer, note the similarity between this restoration and James Essex’s restoration proposal for the same building, published in 1782.<sup>31</sup>

Certainly the restoration changed the appearance of the church substantially, a change as significant as work being undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc; indeed, a decade later, in 1851, Salvin visited several of Viollet-le-Duc’s church restorations while in France.<sup>32</sup> The restoration included the rebuilding of the north chapel, and the addition of a south aisle, off the chancel. In the round portion of the complex, the central tower was reduced in height, the fifteenth-century belfry removed and replaced with a

<sup>29</sup> Architectural description primarily from: Royal Commission of Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge* (London: HMSO, 1959), pp. 255-57.

<sup>30</sup> Chris Miele, ‘Re-Presenting the Church Militant’, in Webster, *A Church as it Should Be*, pp.257-94 (p. 268).

<sup>31</sup> Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin, Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1987), p.116.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.

conical roof, and the fifteenth-century windows of the clerestory replaced by round-headed windows, more typical of the twelfth century. The restoration plan also included a significant change to furnishings, with the introduction of a stone altar – soon removed – being the most controversial aspect of the project at the time.<sup>33</sup>

Although the only demonstration restoration project undertaken by the Society, it suggests a relatively dogmatic position regarding church restoration, a position which valued design intent over historic fabric. This position was reinforced by the role of Salvin, an architect who, as one historian suggests, ‘always conceived his architecture as a recreation of the past’.<sup>34</sup> Sir Kenneth Clarke reflected a popular twentieth-century view, asking whether, ‘the Camden Society destroyed as much medieval architecture as Cromwell?’<sup>35</sup> He then added, ‘but even at their worst they were on the right side, the anti-philistine side’.<sup>36</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner wrote:

the Ecclesiologists’ attitude could result in changing a building towards an ideal never in fact realized by the building in the course of its history ... or it could result in no more than a respectful revealing of original parts hidden by later additions. The former was the rule, the latter the exception.<sup>37</sup>

More recently, however, Miele argues that the Society was,

guided by that presumption in favour of the historic building as it has been passed down through the generations, showing due regard for the stylistic heterogeneity which was ... characteristic of medieval churches. Of course this inclusive definition of what constituted the historic interest of a church did not extend to any feature that was remotely classicising, nor did it lead to a scrupulous regard for authentic fabric.<sup>38</sup>

Regardless of the philosophical determinants – and even Viollet-le-Duc acknowledged the potential value of coexisting design intents, from different periods – the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the influence of the Society, contributed to significant building alterations in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century, work effectively demonstrating historic reconstruction.

In 1849, six years after restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, John Ruskin’s *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* was published, with the much-quoted phrase:

<sup>33</sup> See: White, *The Cambridge Movement*, p.163.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Brooks, (untitled review), *Victorian Studies*, 33/1 (1989), pp. 193-94 (p.194).

<sup>35</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Constable, 1950; second edition, first published 1928), p.237.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Pevsner, ‘Scrape and Anti-scrape’, p.43.

<sup>38</sup> Miele, ‘Re-Presenting the Church’, p.276.

Do not let us deceive ourselves ... it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture ... Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.<sup>39</sup>

The process of de-legitimising the value of design had begun, although admittedly public debate of the issue – and restoration projects demonstrating this ethos – continued throughout the mid-nineteenth century. In discussing a shift by the Society towards a more conservative restoration approach, although, ‘stopping well short of Ruskin’s formulations’, Miele suggests that after 1850 a, ‘younger generation of architect-members were challenging the older orthodoxies, treating churches as monuments rather than engines of doctrine’.<sup>40</sup>

Of architects in general practice, especially those restoring churches, the ambiguous nature of accepted conservation theory in the mid-nineteenth century is illustrated by the prolific career of Sir George Gilbert Scott, especially his projects from the 1847-77 period. His first cathedral restoration was at Ely, where he reversed many of Wyatt’s earlier interventions, for example restoring the original length of the choir.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently, Scott restored three other cathedrals that Wyatt had previously worked on: Hereford, Lichfield and Salisbury. Scott’s work in these projects was far from conservative, and Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, a Norwegian art historian who studied with Pevsner, suggested that, ‘he ruthlessly pursued the principle of preference, with the demand for *l’unité de style*, however much he maintained the contrary’.<sup>42</sup> Gavin Stamp, a former professor at the Mackintosh School of Architecture, suggests that Scott’s relationship with the Cambridge Camden Society was ‘symbiotic’, although Scott was wary that he be seen as its ‘mouth-piece’, and often believed that he was unjustly criticised by the Society; however, Stamp maintains that if the editors of *The Ecclesiologist*, ‘were sometimes critical of details of his [Scott’s] new churches, they were almost always approving of his restorations of ancient ones’.<sup>43</sup> But if Scott’s restoration work might seem sympathetic to a twentieth-century notion of historic reconstruction in churches, he was, curiously,

<sup>39</sup> John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder, 1849), p.180.

<sup>40</sup> Miele, ‘Re-Presenting the Church’, p. 293.

<sup>41</sup> See: Briggs, *Goth and Vandals*, pp.170-202.

<sup>42</sup> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1976), p.58.

<sup>43</sup> Gavin Stamp, ‘George Gilbert Scott and the Cambridge Camden Society’, in: Webster, *A Church as it Should Be*, pp.173-89 (p.173).

against building ‘new’ medieval castles; in 1856 he addressed such a project by Salvin – Peckforton Castle – suggesting that:

For the past half century it has been the fashion to build new castles; and, although Mr. Salvin has built the most complete one – a perfect model of a Mediaeval fortress .... Building castles was one of the greatest fallacies that could now be carried on.<sup>44</sup>

John Harvey has written that ‘a great deal can be said in Scott’s defence, and most of it was said at length by Scott himself’.<sup>45</sup> Notwithstanding his many restoration projects, Scott, especially in the latter part of his career, seems to have been conflicted by the discrepancy between his work and Ruskin’s extreme perspective, even although he had earlier fretted over the reviews in *The Ecclesiologist*. In 1862 Scott presented a paper to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), in which he defined types of ‘ancient architectures’ for which restoration was not appropriate, including ruined buildings, and supported intervention techniques proposed by Ruskin in these situations.<sup>46</sup> In 1874, however, during Scott’s presidency, the RIBA offered its Gold Medal to Ruskin, exactly a decade after the honour had been bestowed on Viollet-le-Duc; Ruskin declined, citing the, ‘destruction under the name of restoration brought about by architects’, and suggesting the institute’s president was the worst offender.<sup>47</sup> Scott directly addressed Ruskin’s refusal, and remarkably seems to have been sympathetic to his action, even speaking of the, ‘ignorant and sacrilegious hands’ that have vandalised English churches and of the, ‘youthful Cambridge Camden Society, all too sanguine and ardent’.<sup>48</sup> In fact, in a letter to the RIBA, for several years suppressed, Ruskin questioned even more fundamental aspects of the members’ professionalism.<sup>49</sup> Scott died in 1878, thirty years after publication of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*; in those decades, Ruskin’s dismissal of ‘restoration’ had moved from merely one position in the conservation debate to a nationally-accepted conservation ethos in Britain.

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<sup>44</sup> Cited: Allibone, *Anthony Salvin*, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> Harvey, *Conservation of Buildings*, p.175.

<sup>46</sup> Discussed in: Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), pp. 181-82.

<sup>47</sup> Cited: Pevsner, ‘Scrape and Anti-scrape’, p.49; see also, Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, p. 57.

<sup>48</sup> George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, Gavin Stamp, ed. (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), p. 404.

<sup>49</sup> Harvey, *Conservation of Buildings*, p. 201.

In 1877, the ultimate affirmation of Ruskin's position, and the ascendancy of the value of historic building fabric over intent, was signalled by the founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). Although the immediate impetus came from founder William Morris, the society's philosophical foundation derived directly from 'The Lamp of Memory', and indeed Ruskin was a founding member, together with the author Thomas Carlyle, artist Edward Burne-Jones, and others representing a range of academic and intellectual fields.<sup>50</sup> The gradual acceptance of this conservation position is reflected in the public rhetoric, for example the increasingly pro-fabric value articles appearing in journals such as *The Builder* and *The Athenaeum*, which Tschudi-Madsen suggests were even more influential after *The Ecclesiologist* ceased publication in 1868.<sup>51</sup> In founding the SPAB, Morris also published a manifesto which echoes Ruskin's theory, and which leaves no doubt as to the pro-fabric value cause of the society. It reads:

It is for all these buildings, therefore, of all times and styles, that we plead, and call upon those who have to deal with them, to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying.<sup>52</sup>

Although Morris' *Manifesto* is credited by Jokilehto as, 'the formal basis for modern conservation policy',<sup>53</sup> the fuller import of Morris and the SPAB is identified by Miele when he suggests that, 'he and the Society are the nearest things we in the [heritage conservation] movement have to a foundation myth. They function as twin totems, furnishing an otherwise diverse coalition with a common ancestry and sense of shared purpose.'<sup>54</sup> One of Morris' most enduring contributions is his coining of the term 'anti-scrape' to define the pro-fabric value position;<sup>55</sup> perhaps SPAB's most

<sup>50</sup> For a detailed discussion of the SPAB, see: Chris Miele, 'The First Conservation Militants', in Michael Hunter, *Preserving the Past* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), pp. 17-37.

<sup>51</sup> Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, pp. 63-78.

<sup>52</sup> William Morris, *Manifesto of the SPAB*, cited: <http://www.spab.org.uk/html/what-is-spab/the-manifesto/>; accessed 22 September 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural*, p. 185.

<sup>54</sup> Miele, 'Re-Presenting the Church', p. 37.

<sup>55</sup> Briggs suggests that Morris coined the term in 1877, two months after the founding of the SPAB; Briggs, *Goth and Vandals*, p. 207.

significant legacy is institutionalising this position as a widely-accepted definition of conservation in Britain, excluding the possibility of design-intent value and thus legitimacy for historic reconstructions as a type of conservation activity. The pro-fabric position is accepted by the several organisations which have emerged in Britain since the founding of the SPAB, and which collectively define, to a large degree, the contemporary heritage conservation movement in Britain.

Perhaps the most influential of these latter organisations has been the National Trust, founded in 1895. Melanie Hall, professor of art history at Boston University, argues that this organisation made, 'conscious attempts to use architecture as historical evidence for a vision of an English life and social order, as both that order at home and England's status abroad altered'.<sup>56</sup> The wisdom of conservation, in the Ruskinian sense, seems to have been quickly accepted by the Trust, although restoration, and even reconstruction, with an emphasis on design intent, would seemingly have been more useful in demonstrating that vision of English life. In part this may reflect the organisation's interest in landscapes, where a philosophy of conservation seems more obvious, it may also have been a result of the connections between the Trust in its initial phase and the SPAB.<sup>57</sup> Certainly this philosophy continues to direct the organisation's work; in reference to a current project to restore an interior space at Attingham Park, Shropshire, the project curator notes that, 'the decision to re-introduce the Regency scheme was not an easy one'.<sup>58</sup> During the twentieth century, several other amenity groups emerged, for example: the Georgian Group (1937), formed as a sub-group within the SPAB, but operating as an independent society since the 1940s, the Victorian Society (1957), founded with considerable cross-membership with the Georgian Group and the SPAB, and the Thirties Society (1979), since 1993 known as the Twentieth Century Society; these societies also play a statutory role, as consultative bodies, in the conservation process. In 1997, the Institute of Historic Building Conservation was established, as, 'a professional body for building conservation professionals'.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Melanie Hall, 'The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883-1913', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), pp. 345-57 (p.345).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* p.348.

<sup>58</sup> Sarah Kay, 'Regency Colour and Drama at Attingham', *National Trust Arts, Buildings, Collections Bulletin*, Summer Issue (2008), p. 9; cited: [www.nationaltrust.org.uk/abcbulletin](http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/abcbulletin) ; accessed 23 September 2008.

<sup>59</sup> See: Gavin Stamp, 'The Art of Keeping One Step Ahead: Conservation Societies in the Twentieth Century', in Hunter, *Preserving the Past*, pp. 77-98; and <http://www.ihbc.org.uk/> , accessed 23 September 2008.

This general acceptance of the position of Ruskin and Morris has also been reflected in, and perhaps sustained by, the history of heritage-related legislation and government structures, beginning with the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. Timothy Champion, an archaeologist at the University of Southampton, suggests that this law established the foundation for subsequent, and more effective, legislation, defining monuments as buildings and structures in need of, 'protection from demolition, alteration or addition'.<sup>60</sup> Currently, the principal government heritage agency in England is English Heritage, established under the 1983 National Heritage Act. Its position on reconstruction is clearly articulated in a 2001 policy document addressing restoration, reconstruction and 're-creation' at archaeological sites, including ruined buildings: 'There is a strong presumption against restoration in British building conservation practice, based on the influential writings of William Morris and John Ruskin.'<sup>61</sup> Emphasising the limited range of situations where such interventions might be considered, the policy identifies buildings ruined by contemporary disasters, such as fire, as requiring an even greater level of scrutiny and consideration.

The principal government heritage agencies in Scotland and Wales are, respectively, Historic Scotland and Cadw. In both cases, most programmes operate with the authority of the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, and the 1990 Planning Act; in Scotland, the proposed Historic Environment (Scotland) Bill would amalgamate this authority, and in Wales, the Assembly Government undertook, in 2003, a large-scale public consultation on the historic environment. Although Historic Scotland has seemingly not addressed the issue of historic reconstruction through policy, a pro-fabric value is apparent in practice. In 1997, the owners of Castle Tioram, a scheduled ancient monument, requested permission to undertake substantial alterations. Local planning consent was received, but Historic Scotland refused permission, a decision upheld on appeal. The agency's reasons included:

whatever cultural benefit may derive from these proposals is outweighed by the damaging impact that their implementation would have both on the historic fabric of the scheduled monument and on the cultural significance of

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<sup>60</sup> Timothy Champion, 'Protecting the Monuments: Archaeological Legislation from the 1882 Act to PPG 16', in Hunter, *Preserving the Past*, pp. 38-56 (p.39).

<sup>61</sup> Paragraph # 13, *English Heritage Policy Statement On Restoration, Reconstruction And Speculative Recreation of Archaeological Sites Including Ruins*, 2001; cited: <http://www.helm.org.uk/>; accessed 23 September 2008.



Castle Tioram ... the proposals for reconstructing the Castle would, if implemented, produce a building which does not reflect any known historic form. The restoration includes elements based on conjecture, others for which there is no physical or documentary evidence, and others for which relevant evidence exists but has been disregarded.<sup>62</sup>

Cadw, if without a specific policy regarding historic reconstructions as a current conservation response, does hold within its collection of historic sites one of the more interesting reconstructions in Britain – Castell Coch; and although the visible fabric of this structure is overwhelmingly nineteenth century, it is presented to the visitor as, ‘a remarkable blend of High Victorian Gothic fantasy and solid medieval masonry’.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.4 Historic Reconstruction Outside the Movement: Castell Coch

Even as the conservation ethos in Britain swung to the ‘Ruskinian’, fabric-value camp in the late nineteenth century, historic reconstruction projects more extreme than any restoration undertaken by Wyatt, Salvin or Scott, and indeed on the scale of Carcassonne or Pierrefonds, were being realised; however, such work was essentially outside the world of ‘professional’ conservation, or at least the review and critique of the media and professional societies. The project which comes closest to illustrating Viollet-le-Duc’s theory of *unité de style* is Castell Coch, in Tongwynlais, just outside Cardiff, and described by Mark Girouard, architectural historian and former Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, as, ‘one of the most impressive achievements of Victorian architecture’.<sup>64</sup> Its origin is generally considered to rest with Gilbert de Clare, who built a stone fortress between 1260-1300, on the site of the earlier Welsh stronghold of Ifor ap Meurig.<sup>65</sup> By 1540, the complex was abandoned and had deteriorated, as John Leland recorded, ‘Castelle Gogh al in ruine no big thing but high’.<sup>66</sup> In 1792, Julius Caesar Ibbetson, a landscape painter, depicted only the remnants of one tower remaining, the rest of the site in ruins;<sup>67</sup> and John Hilling, a retired Historic Building Inspector with Cadw, suggests that the structure was ‘mined’ in the fifteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Around 1840, Cardiff chemist Robert Drane depicted the

<sup>62</sup> From the enquiry report, January 2002; <http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/castle-tioram-inquiry-preamble.pdf>; [accessed: 9 October 2010].

<sup>63</sup> David McLees, *Castell Coch* (Cardiff: Cadw, 1998), inside cover.

<sup>64</sup> Mark Girouard, ‘Castell Coch’, *Country Life* 131 (1962), pp. 1092-95, 1174-77 (p.1092).

<sup>65</sup> John B. Hilling, *Cardiff and the Valleys* (London: Lund Humphries, 1973), p. 67.

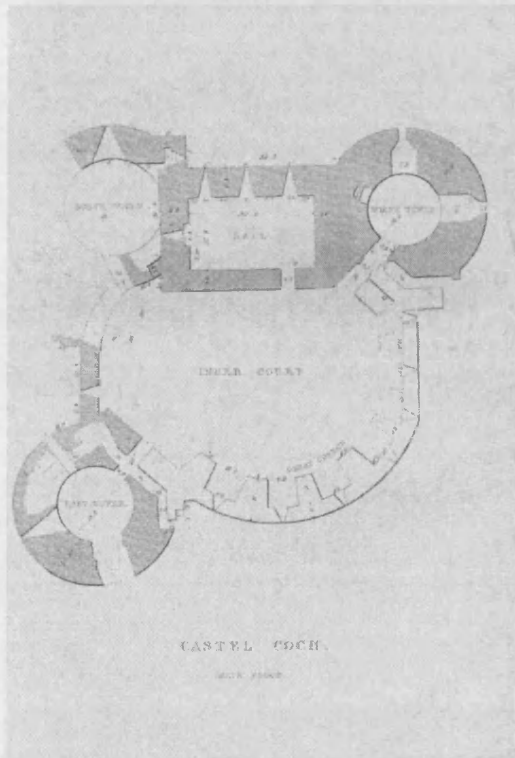
<sup>66</sup> Girouard, ‘Castell Coch’, p.1092.

<sup>67</sup> A painting in the National Gallery of Wales; <http://cat.llgc.org.uk/cgi-bin/gw/chameleon>; [accessed 10 October 2008].

<sup>68</sup> Hilling, *Cardiff*, p. 67.

site with only the ruined remains of the lower portions of the tower walls, in an advertising brochure that he published, identifying the site as a likely picnic spot.<sup>69</sup>

Drane's observation was confirmed by G. T. Clark, an antiquarian who undertook a detailed investigation of the site, reporting that 'the whole is very thickly overgrown with brushwood and weeds'.<sup>70</sup> Published in 1850 in *Archaeologia*



*Cambrensis*, Clark's description of Castell Coch was presented as, 'a faithful account of the castle as it now stands, or as it may, by a very strict indication, be inferred to have stood'.<sup>71</sup> Clark identified a roughly triangular plan form, each angle being equipped with a drum-tower; other major elements noted included a gatehouse between the south and east towers, a main hall between south and north towers, and a 'curtain wall', a semi-circular wall loosely forming the long side of the triangle between north and east towers. The north tower, rising from a square base, Clark suggested, was, 'the most perfect of the

3-4. Remaining foundations, in 1850 (Clark) whole, and in tolerable preservation'; he then conjectured that it was, 'roofed flat, with timber, and above were ramparts and a parapet'.<sup>72</sup> Clark also believed that this tower was a, 'clue to the original plan of the others',<sup>73</sup> and that all were probably three storeys in height. Although he described the ruins in detail, and makes some limited suggestions regarding lost elements such as the roofs, he admitted that there were many aspects of the building for which no clues remained, in his words, 'it is difficult to make out the details of the plan of the building'.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Cited: Girouard, 'Castell Coch', p. 1093; the pamphlet was entitled *Castell Coch; a Gossiping Companion to the Ruin and Neighbourhood*.

<sup>70</sup> G. T. Clark, 'Castell Coch', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* New Series 4 (1850), pp. 241-50 (p.250).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, note 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

At the time of Clark's investigations, the site was owned by three-year-old John Crichton Stuart, third Marquis of Bute. Although a family of royal Scottish lineage, the MountstUARTS were 'ennobled' only in 1703; their claim to lands in Wales, including Castell Coch, came through a mid-eighteenth century marriage, a union that paid considerable dividends in the nineteenth century, with the exploitation of extensive coal fields and the development of Cardiff as a port of shipment.<sup>75</sup> The adult Marquis, in addition to great wealth, had a love of seclusion and an obsessive interest in antiquarianism. In 1865, these elements were brought together in the 'restoration' of Cardiff Castle, the principal Welsh residence of the Marquis, a project undertaken by architect William Burges. Born in 1827, into a well-off family, Burges shared his patron's interests, claiming, 'I was brought up in the thirteenth-century belief, and in that belief I intend to die'.<sup>76</sup> Burges' architectural education included an apprenticeship with Edward Blore, a position as 'improver' with Mathew Digby Wyatt, readings which ranged from John Carter, of the Society of Antiquaries, to Viollet-le-Duc, and extensive travels, from France in 1849 to ever more exotic destinations, including Turkey. At Cardiff, Burges was confronted with a complex site, incorporating elements from many periods, including a late-eighteenth century phase of restoration, and with requirements to provide a contemporary residence for the Marquis. According to Matthew Williams, curator of Cardiff Castle, 'Burges sometimes demolished a number of smaller rooms to create a more impressive space ... He was prepared to be sensitive to earlier periods when he desired, and would make an effort to incorporate original material into a "restoration"'.<sup>77</sup> Williams describes the result as 'a Gothic feudal extravaganza'.<sup>78</sup> Certainly it was an opportunity to establish a working relationship for the more precise, and exquisite, historic reconstruction of Castell Coch.

Before the third Marquis, the Bute family seems to have had little interest in the ruins of Castell Coch, save for the second Marquis' brief consideration in 1827 to establish an iron foundry on the site.<sup>79</sup> In 1871, however, Lord Bute had the site excavated, and a year later asked Burges to advise on options for its development. In

<sup>75</sup> John Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981), p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 36.

<sup>77</sup> Matthew Williams, *William Burges* (Norwich: Jarrold Publishing, 2004), p.10.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>79</sup> Davies, *Cardiff and the Margquesses*, p.221.

December 1872, Burges reported back to Lord Bute,<sup>80</sup> suggesting two distinct courses of action, and providing detailed drawings that clearly supported one of these options. Burges wrote that, ‘there are two courses open with regard to the ruins; one is to leave them as they are and the other is to restore them so as to make a Country residence for your occasional occupation in the Summer.’<sup>81</sup> His drawings showed both the extant ruins and the castle restored, with steeply pitched conical roofs on the towers, a ‘restored castle’ which Girouard describes as, ‘gleefully equipped by Burges with drawbridge, portcullis, holes for boiling oil and so on’.<sup>82</sup> Girouard suggests that:

at Castell Coch the starting off point was little more than a heap of rubble, and the final result was never intended to be seriously lived in ... the plan was recoverable, and Burges followed it exactly; but the restoration of the upper portions was almost completely conjectural.<sup>83</sup>

He then notes several elements that appear historically inaccurate, such as the height and proportion of the towers. Hilling, however, suggests that, ‘the only questionable variation Burges allowed himself was in the design of the conical roofs which ... have no counterpart in any other castles of the period in Wales’.<sup>84</sup>



3-5. Castell Coch, 2005



3-6. Foundation wall, 2006

<sup>80</sup> Burges’ *Report* is part of the Bute Archive, at Mount Stuart; for the past several years, this collection has been closed to researchers pending ‘an extensive programme of re-organisation and cataloguing’. Several of the illustrations have been published, for example: Girouard, ‘Castell Coch’ pp. 1094, 1174; Hilling, *Cardiff*, p. 70; and McLees, *Castell Coch*, pp. 22, 23, 28, 34.

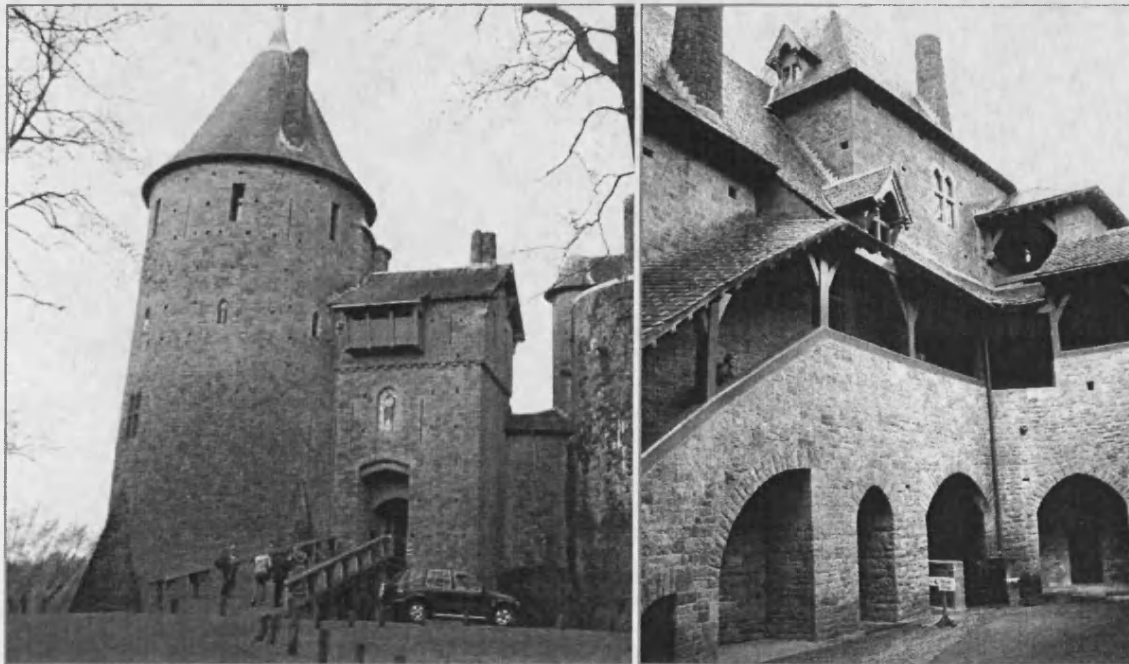
<sup>81</sup> Cited: Girouard, ‘Castell Coch’, p.1094.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1095.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1094.

<sup>84</sup> Hilling, *Cardiff*, p. 67.

Eventually the restoration proposal was accepted by Lord Bute, rather than the more Ruskinian option to leave the ruins as ruins. Construction began in 1875 and took four years, divided into phases; work began with the kitchen tower, hall and curtain wall, then the well tower and gatehouse, and lastly, the keep tower, the largest element in the complex.<sup>85</sup> David McLees, retired Historic Building Inspector for Cadw, has discussed in detail the deviation of the finished project from the drawings in Burges' *Report*.<sup>86</sup> Differences in the 'as built' exterior include the dropping from the original proposal of a crenulated watch tower rising from the keep tower, and of a



3-7. Castell Coch, entrance, 2004 (Varitek)

3-8. Interior courtyard, 2002 (C. Gunns)

roofed hoard on the well tower. Work on the interior, however, continued long after Burges' death in 1881, and was only completed in 1891; the interior design is a work of pure fantasy, and in no way an attempt to restore or reconstruct. One visitor saw in the interior, 'a quiet strain of pathos running through the decoration'.<sup>87</sup> Other than the removal, prior to 1891, of a projecting oratory on the well tower, today's Castell Coch is essentially unchanged from the nineteenth-century historic reconstruction.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the architectural community seemed little concerned with Castell Coch, treating it as a curiosity rather than a statement in restoration theory or architectural design; this may largely reflect the success of Ruskin and Morris in defining heritage conservation as essentially the preservation of

<sup>85</sup> Girouard, 'Castell Coch', p.1094.

<sup>86</sup> McLees, *Castell Coch*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>87</sup> W. G. Howell, 'Castell Coch', *The Architectural Review*, pp. 109/649 (1951), pp. 39-46 (p.42).

original building fabric. In 1898, *The Builder* published a highly romanticised engraving of Castell Coch,<sup>88</sup> but not until 1951 did the architectural media consider the project in detail; in that year, W. G. Howell, a well known Modernist architect and member of the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM), wrote an article about Castell Coch for *The Architectural Review*. Noting that the roof forms of the restored castle deviated from the form Clark had suggested in 1850, Howell quoted Burges' own defence: 'I have selected the high roof as being more picturesque and affording more accommodation.'<sup>89</sup> In 1962, Girouard argued in *Country Life* that Castell Coch is, 'an original work of art', identifying numerous ways in which Burges' design likely differs from the thirteenth-century castle.<sup>90</sup>

The conical roof forms of Castell Coch beg comparison with Viollet-le-Duc's towers at Carcassonne, and indeed, Burges admitted that 'we all crib from Viollet-le-Duc'.<sup>91</sup> Discussing the influence of Viollet-le-Duc on Burges' work, Robin Middleton observes that, 'he, though critical of Viollet-le-Duc on many an occasion, was also one of his liveliest admirers'.<sup>92</sup> In 1864, Burges supported the nomination of Viollet-le-Duc for the RIBA Gold Medal; but in 1873, Burges offered comments to RIBA members that illustrate a more complex relationship:

I have seen M. Viollet-le-Duc's works, and they have bitterly disappointed me ... The most hideous thing I ever saw was a sort of lodge of his at Courcy .... I have been over to Pierrefonds, and I think it very good on the whole, but I think some of it very ugly.<sup>93</sup>

In the same speech, Burges questions whether Viollet-le-Duc is really an architect, 'in the true sense of the word'.<sup>94</sup> This begs the question of how Burges viewed his own work at Castell Coch, as serious architecture, as an academic restoration, or perhaps an exploration, with his client Lord Bute, of fantasies of the medieval world; indeed, Hilling suggests that, 'Castell Coch was the ultimate in nostalgic escapism from the industrial squalour that everywhere accompanied the sources of wealth [used to create it]'.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p.43.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.40.

<sup>90</sup> Girouard, 'Castell Coch', p.1094.

<sup>91</sup> Crook, *William Burges*, p.120.

<sup>92</sup> Robin Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc's Influence in Nineteenth-Century England', *Art History*, 4/2 (1981), pp. 203-19 (p.208).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p.209.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> John B. Hilling, *The Historic Architecture of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976), p.181.

### 3.5 British Historic Reconstructions in the Twentieth Century

In the twentieth-century, several historic reconstructions have been undertaken, although again outside the mainstream of heritage conservation, often part of a current trend to interpret archaeological sites, and sometimes a private, commercial development. One example is the reconstruction of Stansted Mountfitchet, a Norman-era castle erected by Robert Germon. Although largely destroyed in 1212, the ruinous monument was listed as a Scheduled Ancient Monument, extant evidence of the original occupation consisting of the remains of one tower, and below-ground resources. Owned by a businessman, Alan Goldsmith, the site was opened in 1986 as a commercial tourist attraction, incorporating a partial reconstruction of the castle, adjacent to the remaining tower ruin. As noted by Marion Blockley, an archaeologist and heritage consultant, English Heritage gave consent to this *in situ* reconstruction, with the requirement to build the reconstruction on a platform, to mitigate disturbance of the earthworks.<sup>96</sup> The question of whether or not to build a historical reconstruction *in situ* suggests an issue not raised by the projects discussed previously, where at least minimal fabric exists above ground, which can serve as a base onto which the reconstructed fabric is 'grafted'. Of the reconstruction at Stansted Mountfitchet, Blockley suggests that, 'the buildings themselves are of tolerable standard, reflecting a degree of research and 'craftsmanship ... [but] the interiors are furnished with a tawdry mixture'.<sup>97</sup> In a travel article published in *The Independent* in 1996, the site was described as, 'a mixture of historical record, a large dose of medieval myth and large quantities of gore'.<sup>98</sup> As a commercial venture, it was doubtless succeeding.

More complex is the role played by the historic reconstruction of Castell Henllys, in Pembrokeshire, Wales. Castell Henllys contains the archaeological remains of an Iron Age fortified settlement and, adjacent to this, evidence of Roman occupation. Recorded by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales in 1925, the site has been relatively undisturbed by agricultural practice. In 1980, the property was purchased by Hugh Foster, an English accountant, who began developing the site as a tourist attraction, undertaking both archaeological investigations and historic reconstruction. As a Scheduled Ancient Monument, the

<sup>96</sup> Marion Blockley, 'Archaeological Reconstructions and the Community in the UK', in Peter G. Stone, ed., *The Constructed Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 15-34 (p.17).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p 22.

<sup>98</sup> William Hartson, 'Fun and Squalor in a Medieval Castle', *The Independent*, 5 October 1996.

archaeological investigation was done with the approval of Cadw, and under the supervision of Harold Mytum, then teaching at the University of York. Evidence indicated the location of four round-houses, and a granary, all of which were subsequently reconstructed *in situ*, beginning in 1981. Mytum has written candidly



3-9. Castell Henllys, 2003 (D. Challander)

about the initial development of the site and Foster's efforts to create a financially sustained project; Mytum recalls, 'while I attempted to maintain some semblance of authenticity based on archaeological and historical material, this met with limited success ... Foster saw archaeology as but one way of reaching the past'.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, Foster's interpretation programme focussed on the military and the mystical.

Following Foster's death in 1999, Castell Henllys came into public ownership, and under the authority of Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. This change generated significant local concern, which Mytum suggests demonstrates a role taken on by the reconstruction beyond tourist attraction: the reflection of a Welsh identity finding new voice in the late-twentieth century. Mytum writes, 'The excavations were revealing *their* past ... The Celtic element of the archaeology was undoubtedly a major factor in

<sup>99</sup> Harold Mytum, 'Pembrokeshire's Pasts', in Peter G. Stone, ed., *The Constructed Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 181-93 (p.183).



the empathy displayed.’<sup>100</sup> This impact has been reinforced by primary school curriculum in Wales which uses study of this pre-historic period to, ‘define an intrinsically Celtic (and proto-Welsh) identity’, a time before foreign occupations.<sup>101</sup> In the early 1990s an innovative children’s educational centre was built at the site, designed by Niall Phillips Architects – a ‘green’ building with sod roof.<sup>102</sup> The historic reconstructions at Castell Henllys now serve as a transition from a pre-historical Wales free of foreign domination to a twenty-first century Wales embracing a sustainable future. As Mytum suggests, ‘the concept of a Welsh heritage prior to English influence ... is in great part due to *in situ* reconstructions giving form to that past’.<sup>103</sup>

‘How many ages hence, Shall this our lofty scene be acted over, In states unborn and accents yet unknown.’<sup>104</sup> William Shakespeare’s words, spoken by Cassius in *Julius Caesar*, seem a portent of later international interest in the location and nature of the houses in which Shakespeare’s works were first performed, an interest which ultimately resulted in a significant twentieth-century historic reconstruction in Britain: the first Globe Theatre in Southbank, London. The original theatre was erected in 1599, employing the frame of an earlier theatre constructed at Shoreditch, in 1576, the foundations of which have recently been discovered.<sup>105</sup> The first Globe burned in 1613 during a performance, with several patrons documenting the event: ‘The fire caught and fastened upon the thatch ... it consumed the whole house in less than two hours’, offers a clue to the physical nature of the structure;<sup>106</sup> and, ‘Only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him, if he had not the wit ... to put it out with bottle ale’, offers an insight into the nature of the patron.<sup>107</sup> The Globe was rebuilt, on the foundations of the first, in the following year, as noted in 1616 by Henry Farley: ‘And I have seene the Globe burnt, and

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>101</sup> Harold Mytum, ‘Archaeology and History for Welsh Primary Classes’, *Antiquity*, 74/283 (2000), pp.165-71 (p.165).

<sup>102</sup> Anon., ‘A Hand-Made Link to the Iron Age’, *Architect’s Journal*, 200/1 (1994), pp. 29-32, 34-9.

<sup>103</sup> Harold Mytum, ‘Reconstruction Policy and Purpose at Castell Henllys Iron Age Fort’, in *The Reconstructed Past*, John H. Jameson, ed., (Oxford: Altamira Press, 2004), pp. 91-102 (p.97).

<sup>104</sup> William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Martin Spevack, ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 99 (III.1.pp.111-13).

<sup>105</sup> Fiona Hamilton, ‘Dig reveals The Theatre – Shakespeare’s first playhouse’, *The Times*, 6 August 2008.

<sup>106</sup> Thomas Larkin, cited: J. R. Mulryne, ‘Documents of the Elizabethan Playhouse’, in: J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, eds, *Shakespeare’s Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 177-91 (p.187).

<sup>107</sup> John Chamberlain, cited: Mulryne, ‘Documents of the Elizabethan’, p.187.

quickly made a Phoenix.'<sup>108</sup> This second Globe Theatre was torn down in 1644, during the Puritan era.

Curiosity about the design of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre is evident even in the eighteenth century; Andrew Gurr, professor emeritus at the University of Reading, notes that in 1791, 'Edmond Malone started the long voyage in quest of what the Globe was like'.<sup>109</sup> He surmised that the structure was six-sided, accommodating a thousand patrons in a series of galleries. In the 1830s, Ludwig Tieck, a translator of Shakespeare's work, proposed to reconstruct the Globe in Dresden. In 1912, a half-



3-10. View of London and Globe Theatre, c. 1640 (Mirian) /UGA

size replica was constructed for a Shakespeare exhibition in London, at Earl's Court, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, and described as, 'adventurous and fanciful'.<sup>110</sup>

Another half-scale model, designed by John Cranford Adams, was erected for the

<sup>108</sup> Cited: John Orrell, *The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1983), p.1.

<sup>109</sup> Andrew Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Globe', in: Mulryne, *Shakespeare's Globe.*, pp.27-50 (p.27).

<sup>110</sup> Andrew Gurr, *Rebuilding Shakespeare's Globe* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p.33.

1933-34 Chicago World's Fair.<sup>111</sup> In 1935, a proposal was made by the Mermaid Shakespeare Society to build a reconstruction of the Globe on Bankside, vaguely in the area of the original theatre structure; these efforts garnered international support, but were not ultimately realised. A reconstruction of the Globe in Southwark was again proposed in 1951, as part of the Festival of Britain, and again the plans were not carried through, in part due to developing scholarship which cast doubt on the accepted ideas of the design of the original Globe.<sup>112</sup> Fascination with the image of the Globe Theatre continues; a 2007 exhibition at the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C., entitled 'Reinventing the Globe: A Shakespearean Theater for the 21st Century', included commissioned designs by five architects who were asked to 'evoke the playwright's essence yet be thoroughly modern'.<sup>113</sup> A crucial part of this essence was identified in 1953 by C. Walter Hodges, a costume designer and illustrator, who wrote, 'we should be careful not to be confuse such an attractive exhibition piece with the living artistic reality which still awaits restoration, and to which the historical exhibit is only a background.'<sup>114</sup>

Within this context of a continuing, international interest in 'rebuilding the Globe', a reconstruction was finally undertaken, at the end of the twentieth century, just two hundred metres from the site of the original theatre. Although based on significant research and scholarship, this Globe is firstly the result of near-obsessive efforts, over several decades, of actor and film director Sam Wanamaker. Born in 1919 in Seattle, and raised in Illinois, Wanamaker was inspired, as a youth, by the previously mentioned Globe Theatre replica, at the Chicago's World Fair; he subsequently became an actor, played on Broadway, and served in the American Army during the Second World War. In the 1950s, Wanamaker was 'blacklisted' by the 'Un-American Activities Committee' of the United States Congress, and moved to Britain, where he directed several Shakespearian theatre companies. Wanamaker recounted that rebuilding the Globe, 'became my dream when I first arrived in Southwark and found that the only record of Shakespeare's amazing twenty-five years of work in London was a bronze wall tablet. He needs, and we need, something more

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<sup>111</sup> Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's, Globe Playhouse; a modern reconstruction in text and scale drawings* (New York: Scribner, 1956).

<sup>112</sup> Gurr, *Rebuilding*, p.34.

<sup>113</sup> Jeremy Kahn, 'Imagining, and Reimagining, the Globe', *The New York Times*, 13 January 2007, p.A17.

<sup>114</sup> C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored* (London: Ernest Benn, 1953), p.87.

substantial than that'.<sup>115</sup> In 1970, Wanamaker established the Shakespeare Globe Trust, which eventually acquired the land on which the Globe reconstruction now stands; he also gathered a team of specialists to help realise the dream of a reconstructed Globe that would, 'give the classics back their frightening novelty by renewing the original stage and staging ... A new and disturbing Shakespeare would be created'.<sup>116</sup>

The team represented a range of expertise, from scholars to architects and craftspeople. John Orrell, a theatre historian at the University of Alberta, was engaged in 1979 to serve as principal historical advisor to the architects; in a 2003 obituary in *The New York Times*, he was described as, 'a historian whose intellectual detective work laid the groundwork for the 1997 re-creation of Shakespeare's original Globe ... Dr. Orrell brought new techniques, including mathematics, to the search. He was a rare sight, a Shakespearean scholar who carried a slide rule.'<sup>117</sup> Perhaps the most influential scholar associated with the reconstruction is Professor Andrew Gurr, who for twenty years was the chief academic advisor. Gurr recounts that five primary sources informed the decisions made regarding the architecture of the reconstruction.<sup>118</sup> Crucial were the limited number of contemporary images of the building, including Claes Jan Visscher's 1666 engraving, generally dismissed, and Wenceslas Hollar's drawings from the 1630s. Other sources included written texts, including the plays themselves, surviving examples of timber-frame construction of the Elizabethan era, iconography of the Tudor period, and archaeology. This last source drew especially on the discovery in 1989 of the actual site of the Globe Theatre, much of which was covered by a listed nineteenth-century building.<sup>119</sup> Although many advocated the removal of the latter structure, it was retained, although approximately ten per cent of the site was excavated. In the same year approximately sixty per cent of a contemporary playhouse, the Rose Theatre, was also excavated.

Although each source added to, and often changed, the proposed design of the reconstruction, Gurr claims that Wanamaker, 'never wavered in his principle of

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<sup>115</sup> Cited: Tim Schadla-Hall, 'Shakespeare's Globe', in Peter Stone and Phillippe Planel, eds, *The Constructed Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.104-23 (p.109).

<sup>116</sup> Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Globe', p.32.

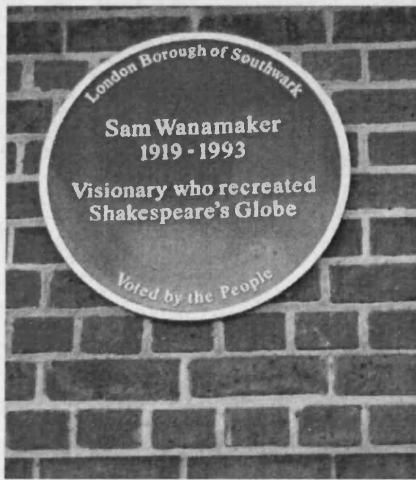
<sup>117</sup> Douglas Martin, 'John Orrell', *The New York Times*, 28 September 2003.

<sup>118</sup> Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Globe', pp.36-46.

<sup>119</sup> A detailed account of the archaeological evaluation of the original site is given by: Simon Blatherwick, 'The Archaeological Evaluation of the Globe Playhouse', in Mulryne, *Shakespeare's Globe*, pp.66-80.

maximum authenticity'.<sup>120</sup> Sod was turned for the new Globe Theatre in 1988 by Dame Judi Dench, and was opened by Her Majesty the Queen in 1997; Sam Wanamaker, however, died in 1993, and never saw the completed Globe. In 2003, Wanamaker was one of twenty 'icons' or borough luminaries recognised by Southwark Council's inaugural 'Blue Plaque' awards; the initial list also included Charles Dickens and Sir Michael Caine, while several well known nominees, such as William Blake, were passed over by the judges.<sup>121</sup> The reconstruction – and its proponent – has become history in its own right.

Although the new Globe is essentially Wanamaker's Globe, this building is also a memorial to the architect, Theo Crosby, who was ultimately responsible for the



3-11. Southwark plaque, 2007

physical realisation of Wanamaker's dream, and the team's scholarly research. Born in South Africa in 1925, Crosby came to Britain as a young architect, working for various firms before joining *Architectural Design*, in 1956, as technical editor. Crosby continued to practise architecture, from 1972 as a founding partner of the firm Pentagram. The contemporary and 'progressive' stance of his practice work might suggest Crosby an unlikely architect for such a romantic project; for example,

he was a central figure in the 1956 *This is Tomorrow* exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery, London, in which inter-disciplinary teams created pieces on the theme of habitation. A 1972 article on the newly founded Pentagram suggests one reason why Wanamaker's project may have appealed to Crosby; the author cites the partners' office philosophy as, 'either a job has to be profitable or it has to be fun to do; the criterion for exclusion is a job that is both unprofitable and uninteresting'.<sup>122</sup> The Globe Theatre was probably more fun than profitable.

More clues are offered by Crosby's published work. In 1965 he wrote *Architecture: City Sense*, in which a discussion of the failure of modern city-making is contrasted with his suggestion, that, 'it is important that buildings should promote identity: that is, the individuality of each citizen. They should also promote social

<sup>120</sup> Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Globe', p.34.

<sup>121</sup> See: <http://www.southwark.gov.uk/DiscoverSouthwark/BluePlaquesSection> [accessed 22 October 2007].

<sup>122</sup> Michael McNay, 'For Love or Money', *Design*, 282 (1972), pp.68-69 (p.68).

involvement, the opportunity for contact at every level'.<sup>123</sup> He writes, 'we must propose an incredible experiment: the revival of city life, the survival of social man.'<sup>124</sup> In his work, Crosby continues this theme of engaging citizens and rebuilding a sense of community as an important element of repairing the physical city; beyond the 'fun' of reconstructing the Globe, the project obviously has played an important role in the development of Bankside, and Southwark generally.



3-12. Reconstructed Globe Theatre, 2009 (P. Trimming)

In 1970, Crosby wrote a less celebrated book entitled *The Necessary Monument*, in which he considers monuments such as London's Tower Bridge, claiming that they, 'stand against the serried curtain walls; assets which remind us of the continuity and meaning of city life; assets which provide an escape and a relief from the overwhelming coherence, the one-dimensionality, of our culture.'<sup>125</sup> For Crosby, 'new' landmark buildings 'fill citizens with pride, [and] help to subsume private ambition within the collective, because they stand as symbols of the

<sup>123</sup> Theo Crosby, *Architecture: City Sense* (London: Studio Vista, 1965), p.15.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.83.

<sup>125</sup> Theo Crosby, *The Necessary Monument* (London: Studio Vista, 1970), p.73.

collective.<sup>126</sup> Certainly the Globe, both as a physical landmark in the community and as an institution, fulfils this role; regarding the latter, Mark Rylance, the first artistic director of the Globe, wrote, ‘At the Globe, it is the audience who have been recognised and empowered in their creative role as imaginers of the drama’.<sup>127</sup> Perhaps Crosby’s interest in the reconstruction of the Globe is explained in part by his belief that, ‘there must be a place for the illogical, irrational object or building ... there is in all of us a romantic love of the absurd, the unnecessary, the gilt on the gingerbread, which makes life not just bearable, but positively astonishing and marvellous, super-real.’<sup>128</sup> This sentiment would surely find sympathy with William Burges, and perhaps even earlier British ‘restorers’. Crosby died in 1994, and like his client, never saw the fully reconstructed Globe Theatre.

### 3.6 Analysis

This chapter has argued that historic reconstructions in Britain have emerged largely outside the mainstream heritage conservation movement, which in turn has maintained a primary focus on ‘fabric’, and authenticity of material, for at least the past century. But if historic reconstructions have played a limited role within the heritage conservation movement, the question remains what has been the place of historic reconstructions within a broader societal response to ‘the past’. The previous chapter considered Pierre Nora’s argument that the ‘post-revolutionary’ period has witnessed the replacement of traditional memory with official history, and the subsequent cache of the pre-historical-conscious experience within *lieux de mémoire*. Although Nora explicitly suggests that his theory is unlikely to work in the American context, ‘a country of plural memories and diverse traditions’,<sup>129</sup> he is mute on its utility in the British context; others, nonetheless, have given it consideration. David Matless, professor of cultural geography at the University of Nottingham, argues that Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Buildings of England* series is, ‘a form of English *lieu de mémoire*’,<sup>130</sup> and certainly Nora’s catalogue of personalities, places and institutions constituting French *lieux de mémoire* begs an obvious, if superficial, British parallel:

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p.99.

<sup>127</sup> Mark Rylance, ‘Playing the Globe’, in Mulryne, *Shakespeare’s Globe*, pp.169-76 (p.171).

<sup>128</sup> Crosby, *The Necessary Monument*, p.111.

<sup>129</sup> Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past I: Conflicts and Divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), trans. Arthur Goldhammer; p.4.

<sup>130</sup> David Matless, ‘Topographic Culture: Nikolaus Pevsner and the Buildings of England Series’, *History Workshop Journal* 54 (2002), pp.73-99 (p.94).

the Tower of London, King Arthur, and ‘pubs’, for example. Yet there are clearly major differences between the two contexts, for example, between the official French policy of assimilation, and the long-recognised, even celebrated, multi-ethnic nature of Britain, reflecting both immigration and the constituent countries – England, Wales, Scotland – which in turn have individually ‘invented traditions’ in the history-conscious, modern era.<sup>131</sup> In Britain, there has been a quite different response to issues of memory, history and use of the past to define the present; and as Nora attempted to explain the French experience, in Britain it is the work of historian Raphael Samuel that offers the most useful model.

Samuel was born in the East End of London in 1934, and while nationalities differ, he and Nora had several similar life experiences: as children, both were dislocated by the Second World War, Samuel evacuated to Buckinghamshire, and Nora in hiding, near Grenoble; both were Jewish, although Samuel at least, was non-observant; both were influenced by the politics of the Left, Nora travelling to Cuba and China in the early 1960s, and Samuel a one-time member of the British Communist Party; and both formulated thorough, and radical, frameworks for the study of history. Both men were associated with journals that played a significant role in the development of their respective theories: *Le Débat* founded by Nora, and for Samuel, the *History Workshop Journal*.<sup>132</sup> Despite these parallels, however, there were major differences between the two lives. Nora was the director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Science Sociales and a member of the Académie française; Samuel, who had studied at Balliol College, Oxford, chose to teach at Ruskin College, an institution associated with the trade union movement, and known for providing education opportunities to those with less access to traditional universities. Although a prominent historian, Samuel accepted a Chair, at the University of East London, only in 1996, the year of his death. Lutz Niethammer, formerly a professor of history at the University of Jena, succinctly defined the differences in both personality and in philosophy, when he claimed Samuel, ‘is not

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<sup>131</sup> For example see: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and especially: Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland’, pp.15-42, and Prys Morgan, ‘From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period’, pp.43-100.

<sup>132</sup> For biographical notes on Samuel, see: Bill Schwarz, ‘Keeper of Our Shared Memory’, *The Guardian*, 10 December 1996.



pompous like Nora, and he is not presenting the world as in decline, like Nora'.<sup>133</sup>

Samuel's basic premise was exactly opposite to that of Nora. Whereas Nora believed that history had replaced memory in the Modern world, Samuel argued that, 'the sense of the past, at any given point of time, is quite as much a matter of history as what happened in it ... the two are indivisible.'<sup>134</sup>

Samuel's argument is presented in *Theatres of Memory*, intended to be a three-volume work, but Samuel died prematurely. The first volume was published in 1994, and the second volume was published posthumously, in 1998, with several unfinished chapters. The title references both Classical and Renaissance ideas of memory: the Greek 'art of memory', wherein images were 'placed' within imaginary rooms, and then, retrieved in a certain order, would provoke memory; and in the sixteenth century, a physical space, designed by Guido Camillo. Based on the Greek amphitheatre, but at a much reduced scale, Camillo's 'theatre of memory' made reference, through structural elements and details, to symbols and systems, for example, the signs of the zodiac, and the seven (known) planets. The 'spectator', standing on the stage, could, by reading these symbols, in their many permutations, 'discourse on any subject no less fluently than Cicero'.<sup>135</sup> Samuel notes that, 'the art of memory, as it was practised in the ancient world, was a pictorial art, focussing not on words but on images', but in Camillo's time, he suggests, 'sacred geometry took the place of sacred geography. Here the act of recollection was conceptualised as a kind of ascent to the stars.'<sup>136</sup>

Central to Samuel's work is the relationship between history and memory; he wrote:

memory, far from being merely a passive receptacle .... is rather an active, shaping force ... it is dynamic – what it contrives symptomatically to forget is as important as what it remembers ... it is dialectically related to historical thought, rather than being some kind of negative other to it.<sup>137</sup>

Thus, in the 'theatre of memory', within our contemporary society, history and memory develop together, dynamically and co-dependently, as opposed to the paradigm suggested by Nora, wherein memory is cached in *lieux*, which are growing less relevant, even as history is devised. For Samuel, there is no need to apologise for

<sup>133</sup> Lutz Niethammer *et al.*, 'International Reverberations: Remembering Raphael', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), pp.246-60 (p.257).

<sup>134</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, vol.1* (London: Verso, 1994), p.15.

<sup>135</sup> Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 130-31.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p.viii.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p.x.

history, as it is also part of the collective response to ‘the past’; for him, ‘history is not the prerogative of the historian, nor even, as postmodernism contends, a historian’s invention. It is, rather, a social form of knowledge; the work ... of a thousand different hands’.<sup>138</sup>

In *Theatres of Memory*, Samuel examines several examples, within contemporary British society, of the interaction between memory and history. He notes that the,

extraordinary and, it seems, ever-growing enthusiasm for the recovery of the national past – both the real past of recorded history, and the timeless one of tradition ... [a] preservation mania, which first appeared in reference to the railways in the early 1950s, [and] now has penetrated every department of national life.<sup>139</sup>

Termining this mania ‘resurrectionism’, Samuel more specifically identifies: the establishment of ‘living-history’ museums and open-air museums such as the complex at Ironbridge, which he describes as, ‘a celebrated example of historical *bricolage*’,<sup>140</sup> the development of ‘industrial archaeology’ as a field of study, and the emerging interest in family history, ‘one of the most striking discoveries of the 1960s.’<sup>141</sup> Old photographs, ‘retrochic’, and costume drama are among other categories considered by Samuel.

The concept of ‘heritage’ is key to Samuel’s arguments, and especially relevant to an analysis of historic reconstructions. Samuel observes the increasingly ‘ecumenical’ nature of heritage, both in Britain and elsewhere, observing that:

dissevered from any idea of national destiny, it is free to wander at will, taking up residence and holding courts at quite recently discovered historical locations and attaching itself to a promiscuous variety of objects: not only jewelled treasures ... but also the prehistoric apple-seeds ... from fossilized faeces.<sup>142</sup>

In a 1995 interview, Samuel confessed to a conversion midway through the writing of *Theatres of Memory*, to an acceptance of the positive value of ‘heritage’.<sup>143</sup> Indeed, in this exchange, Samuel also relates how he came to understand heritage as radical, and an element in movements as diverse as the fight for civil rights by African-Americans

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.8.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p.139.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.173.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.148.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p.221.

<sup>143</sup> ‘History and Memory’, Roy Porter interview with Raphael Samuel, 1995; at: [http://www.rafael-samuel.org.uk/assets/Multimedia/history\\_and\\_memory.MP3](http://www.rafael-samuel.org.uk/assets/Multimedia/history_and_memory.MP3) [accessed 8 November 2008].

in the 1960s, and the more contemporary struggle by aboriginal peoples in Australia. Samuel addresses the work of several contemporaries who present heritage as a negative development; for example, cultural theorist Patrick Wright, who views heritage as, ‘the triumph of aristocratic and reactionary nostalgia’, and historian Robert Hewison who, in Samuel’s words, ‘more crudely, puts the appearance of heritage down to an aristocratic plot hatched, it seems, by the beleaguered owners of country houses in 1975’.<sup>144</sup> More balanced is the perspective of David Lowenthal, professor emeritus at University College, London, who writes of heritage that, ‘its potential for both good and evil is huge ... [we must] learn to control heritage lest it control us.’<sup>145</sup> Into this discussion, Samuel added the suggestion that ‘heritage’ might serve a more successful realisation, or evolution, of the multi-ethnic state, and that, ‘the new version of the national past, notwithstanding the efforts of the National Trust to promote a country-house version of “Englishness”, is inconceivably more democratic than earlier ones, offering more points of access to, ‘ordinary people, and a wider form of belonging.’<sup>146</sup> Although Samuel does not directly address them, historic reconstructions have surely been a point of access, and a part of this democratisation.

The extreme ‘restoration’ of structures in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, was largely undertaken by the Established Church, and thus can be considered part of the making of ‘official history’, an example of the conscious use of the past by an institution of authority. The total historic reconstructions undertaken in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, could have easily illustrated Samuel’s discussion of ‘ordinary people’ and access to history. At Castell Coch, the very notion of re-constructing a twelfth-century castle in the Welsh landscape seems audacious, and speaks largely to Burges’ childhood fantasises of the medieval, in which Lord Bute seemed a willing participant; today, the site provides the visitor – anyone who can decipher the bus schedule – with a portal not only to a world of medieval fantasy, but also the ‘idyllic’ world of the nineteenth-century elite; in this

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<sup>144</sup> Cited: Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 242; the comment on Hewison refers to a pending Labour government and a prospective wealth tax. Patrick White’s *On Living in an Old Country: the National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985), was an early, and provocative, discussion of ‘heritage’ in twentieth-century Britain.

<sup>145</sup> David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past* (London: The Free Press, 1996), p.2.

<sup>146</sup> Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p.160 ; Samuel discusses heritage and the multi-ethnic state in the 1995 interview with Roy Porter.

latter case, however, Castell Coch is also a document illustrating history, an original, not reconstructed, record of that nineteenth-century milieu. Samuel wrote:

memory is historically conditioned, changing colour and shape according to the emergencies of the moment ... It is stamped with the ruling passions of its time. Like history, memory is inherently revisionist and never more chameleon than when it appears to stay the same.<sup>147</sup>

The reconstructed Globe Theatre engages with Samuel's idea of 'theatres of memory' on several levels. Most literally, Frances Yates, who taught history at the Warburg Institute, University of London, suggested that the polygonal plan-form and interior tier structure of the original Globe Theatre came indirectly from Camillo's construction,<sup>148</sup> and Samuel even makes reference to the Globe reconstruction project several times in *Theatres of Memory*, but negatively, describing it variously as, 'megalomaniac' and a, 'resurrectionary folly'.<sup>149</sup> Although one may argue as to the degree to which the Globe Theatre is a 'British project', given Wanamaker's role in its initiation and execution, public reception to the reconstruction suggests that it may represent the more positive aspects of the co-dependent relationship between memory and history identified by Samuel; indeed, it may be an example of Samuel's 'thousand hands' at work. As discussed, the intent of the reconstructed Globe was not only architectural, but also an exercise in discovering the nature of Shakespeare's theatre, a crucible within which actors and directors could better understand the work through its staging. Although this suggests a form of 'living history', which Samuel suggested was, 'so far from representing a throw-back to the past, might be thought to have prefigured some of the favourite conceits – or genial tropes – of postmodernism,'<sup>150</sup> perhaps staging a play within this reconstruction, and striving to understand the sixteenth century, is equally useful in helping to see more clearly the present. Ultimately, the Globe illustrates Samuel's observation that the interplay of history and memory, heritage, is ultimately democratic, enabling many points at which the public – not just the official chroniclers – may access the past, in this case participation being enabled by purchase of a ticket to the afternoon's performance.

For historic reconstructions in Canada, the British experience informs in several ways, but perhaps most importantly by demonstrating that history and

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p.x.

<sup>148</sup> Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp.342-67.

<sup>149</sup> Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. 214, 233.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p.195.

memory can interact at sites, including historic reconstructions, and indeed that this interaction helps keep the site relevant, and a place where groups within society can see ‘their’ past. This is especially important in countries such as Britain and Canada, which are growing increasingly pluralistic. As Samuel suggested, ‘the need to make histories does seem to be a kind of elementary part of human thought’.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Roy Porter interview, *op. cit.*

## **United States**

### **4.1 Introduction**

A new nation emerged from the American Revolution, defined by a founding creed rather than a history; however, as a national 'past' has subsequently been forged, heritage conservation, and historic reconstructions specifically, have played a significant role in this process and, thus, in the creation of a national identity. Immediately following the Revolution, efforts to build an 'American past' focussed on the creation of American heroes, and especially on George Washington, 'father of the country'. The restoration of Mount Vernon, Washington's home and burial site, was initiated in the late 1850s, just prior to the American Civil War, and continued when the war ended in 1864; it was the first major conservation project in the United States, and served to reinforce, through associations with Washington and the American Revolution, the story of the founding of the country. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, however, it was the 'war between the states', the Civil War, that increasingly became the primary reference point in American history. This development was illustrated by an enlarged pantheon of national heroes associated with the Civil War, especially Abraham Lincoln, and the recognition of battlefields as places of commemoration, and a needed medium for reconciliation. In the United States, it was arguably the Civil War, not the Revolution, which served as the foundation for a modern state: the event comparable to the French Revolution or the industrial revolution in Britain.

In the twentieth century, the heritage conservation movement grew in both scale and complexity in the United States, paralleling the country's growth as a world power, and as an increasingly pluralistic society. The movement was initially characterised by the patronage of private citizens, and later by the involvement of the federal government and local communities. In 1907, the reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga, in New York State, was undertaken by the owner, Stephen Pell, and Alfred Bossom, a young British architect. More widely known is Colonial Williamsburg, where approximately half the structures within the town site were reconstructed; work here began in 1928, under the financial patronage of John D. Rockefeller. In the 1930s, the federal government became involved with historic reconstructions, starting with Wakefield, George Washington's birthplace. Historic reconstructions in the 1950s explored a wider range of heroes, events and places;

projects during this period included New Echota, Georgia, the last capital of the Cherokee Nation, and Fort Clatsop, Oregon, the wooden palisade erected by the Lewis and Clark 'Corps of Discovery' in 1805, at the western terminus of the American government mission to explore, observe, and reinforce the American claim to, the 'West'. Projects from this period also incorporated significant involvement from local communities, and in some cases, state governments.

In the twenty-first century, historic reconstructions continue to play a role in the creation of an American past. In 2006, for example, the reconstructed Fort Clatsop, which had burned down the previous year, was 're-reconstructed'. Perhaps only in the United States is 'reconstruction' officially recognised as a type of conservation activity.<sup>1</sup> To understand the role of reconstructions in the United States, Pierre Nora's model, as he predicted, is a limited tool, although Raphael Samuel's exploration of 'heritage' in Britain is more useful, especially his assumption that collective memory exists in a positive relationship with official history. The United States, however, unabashedly defining itself as 'exceptional', differs from both Britain and France in several ways.<sup>2</sup> Understanding the place of historic reconstructions in the American response to, and use of, the past, is aided by the work of sociologist Barry Schwartz, and historians John Bodnar and Michael Kammen.

#### **4.2 Heroes: Making an American Past in the Nineteenth Century**

Before the American Revolution, each British colony in North America maintained, in part, a distinct cultural identity, often the result of the colony's distinct geography, settlement history, or economic structure; although living within the political framework of the British Empire, a colonist may well have been six generations removed from actual residency in Britain. When Charles Willson Peale established the first American museum, in Philadelphia, in 1786, he included 'handcrafted objects from the New and Old worlds, Western and non-Western civilisations, and present and past';<sup>3</sup> however, Peale's international perspective did not reflect the more

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<sup>1</sup> '36 CFR Part 68', *Federal Register*, 60/133 (12 July 1995), 35843; this version of 'The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties', was developed in 1992, and replaced 1978 and 1983 versions; at: <http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/>; [accessed 30 November 2008].

<sup>2</sup> For a general introduction to the topic of 'American Exceptionalism', see: Deborah L. Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> David R. Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic, Peale's Museum and Its Audience* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), p. 2.

parochial view of most Americans. Daniel Boorstin, historian, Librarian of Congress, and Pulitzer prize winner, wrote:

Before the Revolution, each colony had viewed American history as the history of itself. A respectable tradition of historical writing had developed, but it was a provincial tradition, compounded of local pride, promotional ardour, and more than a touch of antiquarianism.<sup>4</sup>

Even fifty years after the revolution, Boorstin suggests, ‘the history of states and regions seemed primary; the history of the United States seemed contrived and derivative.’<sup>5</sup> This regional focus on history was both reflected in, and reinforced by, the establishment of state historical societies: the first was in Massachusetts in 1794, the second in New York in 1804, and subsequently, societies were founded in most other states; indeed, when Maine became a state in 1820, a historical society was established that same year. The first national, history-related organisation – the American Historical Association – was founded only in 1884, more than a century after the Revolution. If a national identity could not be forged through a common history, it was nonetheless discovered in a national hero, specifically the country’s first president.

Veneration of George Washington, as both war hero and leader, began even before the United States was formally constituted as a country. Kirk Savage, professor of art history at the University of Pittsburgh, notes that the 1783 Continental Congress voted to erect a statue of Washington, ‘the general to be represented in Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand’; the project, however, was not realised.<sup>6</sup> Eventually, both Washington and the Revolution were placed within a religious frame; Robert Hay, professor emeritus at Marquette University, for example, writes about the presentation of Washington as a Moses figure, especially following his death in 1799, and the Revolution as a latter-day ‘delivery of the Hebrews from Egypt’.<sup>7</sup> Sociologist Barry Schwartz, professor emeritus at the University of Georgia, claims that Washington was venerated because, ‘he symbolized the bond between his society’s political and religious sentiments’, thus serving as an example of society

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<sup>4</sup> Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), pp.362-63.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Kirk Savage, ‘The Self-made Monument’, *Winterthur Portfolio*, 22/4 (1987), pp. 225-42 (p.227).

<sup>7</sup> Robert B. Hay, ‘George Washington: An American Moses’, *American Quarterly*, 21/4 (1969), pp.780-91 (p.782).



making the ordinary sacred.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere, Schwartz quantifies Washington's sustained popularity, noting that, 'with the exception of the 1820s, the number of biographies written about him or reprinted remained steady at sixty-two to sixty-four per decade during the first half of the nineteenth century, then rose to eighty-six during the



4-1. Image of Washington and Lincoln (Barralet, 1866) /LOC

decade immediately preceding the Civil War.<sup>9</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the first significant conservation project in the United States was the restoration of Washington's home, Mount Vernon, although it was nearly six decades after his death that the project was initiated; and ironically, it then coincided with the Civil War, an event that would add new heroes to the American pantheon, heroes that would

<sup>8</sup> Barry Schwartz, *George Washington, The Making of an American Symbol* (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987), p.7.

<sup>9</sup> Barry Schwartz, 'Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratization of George Washington', *American Sociological Review*, 56/2 (1991), pp. 221-36 (p.223).



eventually challenge Washington's supremacy. In the 1850s, however, it was still true that, with reference to Washington, 'the man is the monument; the monument is America'.<sup>10</sup>

Washington moved to Mount Vernon, a property on the Potomac River, which he had inherited, in 1759, and proceeded to extensively enlarge both the acreage of



4-2. Mt. Vernon c. 1800 /NYPL

the plantation and the simple timber-frame house.<sup>11</sup> Even before Washington's death in 1799, Mount Vernon had become a place of pilgrimage; after he died, it fell into a state of disrepair, but remained a popular destination for tourists. Although several unsuccessful attempts were made over the

years to acquire the estate from his heirs, it was Ann Pamela Cunningham, an 'invalid Southern lady', who eventually rescued the property. In 1853, she established the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, a uniquely structured organisation, which included a female 'Vice-Regent' from each state, dedicated to raising funds for the site. The society took possession of the property in 1860, just months before the outbreak of civil war. Restoration began in 1866 under the leadership of Cunningham; eight years later, she retired as Regent, handing over her office in a much-quoted farewell address:

Ladies, the home of Washington is in your charge. See to it that you keep it the home of Washington. Let no irreverent hand change it; no vandal hands desecrate it with the fingers of progress! Those who go to the Home in which he lived and died wish to see in what he lived and died! Let one spot in this grand country of ours be saved from "change!" Upon you rests this duty.<sup>12</sup>

While Washington was the national hero, Cunningham, who died in 1875, was the first national figure to emerge in the American conservation movement; and Mount

<sup>10</sup> Observed by Marcus Cunliffe, former Professor of American Studies at the University of Sussex; cited: Hay, 'George Washington', p. 781.

<sup>11</sup> Timber, sawn into relatively small structural members, has been used to frame buildings in both the United States and Canada, from the eighteenth century onwards; the term 'timber frame' has been used here to include such structures.

<sup>12</sup> Cited: Gerald W. Johnson, *Mount Vernon, the Story of a Shrine* (Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 2002), p. 52.

Vernon – as much her legacy as Washington’s - remains the most visited historic house in the United States. Indeed, the restoration of Mount Vernon has been part of the invention of Washington, a process summarised by Savage: ‘history made him perhaps more than he made history’.<sup>13</sup>

Following the Revolution, Loyalists returned to Britain (or moved on to other colonies), and Patriots began building a new country; after the Civil War, however, factions had to reconcile, and indeed acknowledge the country’s *de facto* pluralism. The quest for a national identity which could accommodate the post-Civil War America was in several ways a search for a national ‘past’, a past which could be collectively accepted. Recognition and protection of Civil War battlefields, despite their predominantly southern locations, was a major tool in the process of reconciliation; but while they were developed primarily as sites of commemoration, they also contributed to the development of an American conservation ethos, and to the definition of a ‘collective past’. Chickamauga, near the Georgia-Tennessee border, was the first National Military Park to be established, in 1890, largely due to the efforts of veterans of that battle.<sup>14</sup> A veterans group suggested that visitors would have, ‘feelings of awe or reverence. Here their better natures will be aroused; here they will become imbued with grand and lofty ideas; with courage and patriotism; with devotion to duty and love of country.’<sup>15</sup> Fifty years later, landscape architect Stanley Abbott observed that the ‘landscape character is semi-memorial’, and that the many stone monuments erected by the States were, ‘historical evidence of the deep feeling which characterised the period’.<sup>16</sup> Although these ‘deep feelings’ about the Civil War subsided during the twentieth century, these sites of commemoration remained as symbols of the most important point of reference in American history.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a restoration project in Boston illustrated the emergence of a more professional heritage conservation movement, with more complex social and political objectives. The Paul Revere House was constructed circa 1680, originally a two-storey frame structure, with a second storey

<sup>13</sup> Savage, ‘The Self-made Monument’, p.225.

<sup>14</sup> See: John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *An Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Denver: NPS, 1983); at: <http://www.nps.gov/archive/chch/adhi/adhi.htm> ; [accessed 30 November 2008]. Established by: US Congressional Bill H.R.6454, 1890.

<sup>15</sup> *Society of the Army of the Cumberland, Twenty-Third Reunion, Chickamauga Park, Georgia* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1892), 57.

<sup>16</sup> Stanley W. Abbott, ‘Perpetuation of Scenes Where History Becomes Real’, *Landscape Architecture*, 40/4 (1950), pp.153-57 (p.155).

overhang and a steeply pitched roof.<sup>17</sup> Around 1714, extensive alterations were undertaken, with the front eaves raised to create a third storey. In 1770, Revolutionary War hero Paul Revere purchased the house, occupying it for three decades. In the



4-3. Revere House (centre-left) before restoration /NYPL

nineteenth-century the large chimney was removed, and the ground floor elevation converted to shop fronts. The surrounding neighbourhood, the ‘North End’, became home to increasing numbers of immigrants, especially Italians, and tenements were built on either side of the Revere House. In 1891, a journalist for *The New York Times* advised that, ‘another of the old landmarks of Boston is doomed ... A week hence and nothing of it [Revere House] will remain ... it is to make way for a more modern structure and one from which a good revenue can be made.’<sup>18</sup> The announcement was premature.

In 1905, William Sumner Appleton, wealthy and an 1896 Harvard graduate, became engaged in the cause to save the house.<sup>19</sup> Appleton established an association to purchase the property, helped raise the required funds, and engaged architect

<sup>17</sup> A summary of the building’s construction history, including the twentieth-century alterations, all based on the authors’ review of manuscript documents held by Historic New England, can be found in: Paul B. Jenson and Bryn E. Evans, ‘The Paul Revere and Moses Pierce-Hichborn Houses’, *Antiques*, February 1984, pp. 454-61.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Paul Revere House To Go’, *New York Times*, 25 February 1891, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Obituary in: *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 November 1947, p. 2.

Joseph Everett Chandler to restore it. Chandler, a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was considered an 'expert on colonial architecture'.<sup>20</sup> His restoration



4-4. Revere House restored, 1930s /LOC

of the Revere House changed its exterior appearance considerably and, although at a lesser scale, was as bold as the work of nineteenth-century cathedral restorers in France and Britain. The third storey was removed, returning the much lower eaves line, and the shop fronts removed; the chimney was rebuilt; in the rear, a two storey lean-to, possibly added in the eighteenth century, was removed; pendants were added to the second storey overhang; sash windows were replaced by smaller casements,

contributing to the Tudor image; and

in the interior, plaster ceilings (at least eighteenth-century, possibly original) were removed from the ground floor, but retained on the second. While seemingly fanciful, Chandler based his work, at least partly, on his interpretation of extant fabric. An architectural journal claimed that Chandler:

knew the type characteristics of the seventeenth-century house in New England. The job became one of inference. From a lower sill, scraped by the opening and shutting of a frame-work, it became clear that the original windows had been casements, swinging outward. From extant mouldings, it was possible to reconstruct the interior woodwork.<sup>21</sup>

The last reference sounds inspired by Viollet-le-Duc's theory of *l'unité de style*; and while it is unclear how committed Appleton was to such an approach to restoration, he is known to have visited Carcassonne in 1909, and to have been impressed by Viollet-le-Duc's work there.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Obituary in: *The New York Times*, 20 August 1945, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> 'Notes and Comments', *The Architectural Record*, 36/1 (1914), p.80.

<sup>22</sup> Cited: Charles B. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age, 2 vols* (Charlottesville, NC: University Press of Virginia, 1981), p.238.



4-5. Revere House, rear elevations /LOC



4-6. Revere House, interior, 1930s /LOC

The Revere House project introduces, to American conservation, the conflict between values of design intent and building fabric, a core aspect of the development of French and British conservation theories in the nineteenth century. The campaign to save the building relied on the association with Revere, hero of the Revolution, but also acknowledged the building's relatively great age.<sup>23</sup> Chandler's use of 'scientific method' for investigation supported his inference regarding design intent, or the original medieval appearance; however, some later fabric, from the time of Revere's occupation, was retained. Writing in 1919, Appleton addressed the inconsistent philosophy of the project:

The building was erected in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the ground floor rooms have been largely left in the style of this period. This is, of course, most suitable to its architecture but unsuited to a memorial to Paul Revere. The second floor has accordingly been restored pretty much in the style of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and must approximate pretty closely its appearance in his time.<sup>24</sup>

The proponents of the Revere House restoration also hoped that this landmark would help assimilate the newly-arrived immigrants in the area, providing tangible evidence of the 'American past', a past which they could, and should, accept as their own.

In Appleton's words, from a personal letter written in 1915, this reflected, 'the Americanizing processes so very much needed among our new comers'.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For example, see, "Famous 225-Year Old Landmark that Boston Soon May Know No More", *Boston Globe*, 11 April 1903.

<sup>24</sup> William Sumner Appleton, 'Destruction and Preservation Old Buildings in New England', *Art and Archaeology*, 7/3 (1919), pp.131-83 (p.144).

<sup>25</sup> Cited: James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 41.

### 4.3 Patrons in the Early-Twentieth Century: Fort Ticonderoga

‘It went by another word, quoth he of the shaven head: it was called Ticonderoga in the days of the great dead.’<sup>26</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson’s visit to a ruined fort in New York State, in 1887, provided material for a tale of murder and the supernatural; two decades later, Fort Ticonderoga became the first large-scale historic reconstruction in the United States, drawing national attention. The original fort, Fort Carillon, was established by the French in 1755, under the direction of the Marquis de Lotbinière. The site was crucial to the European machinations in North America – a strategic location between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and the corresponding water routes to Quebec and New York, respectively. The original structure was modest. In 1756, Lotbinière wrote:

we were not prepared to build in stone, having neither the material assembled nor the workmen. We were therefore obliged to line the works in oak [1755] ... During this campaign [1756] we raised all the Fort to the height of the cordon. The earth ramparts were made – the platforms of the bastions completed ... two stone barracks built .. the exterior part of the Fort supported by masonry.<sup>27</sup>

An undated drawing of the French fort shows a square plan, with bastions at the north and east corners.<sup>28</sup> In 1759, the British captured the fort, renamed it Fort Ticonderoga, and undertook a major programme of rebuilding. Local historian Joseph Cook suggested, in 1864, that, ‘the fort must not be thought of as built, in its present [*sic*] form, by the French alone ... Amherst repaired the fort and made additions of masonry on a scale of great magnificence in 1759’.<sup>29</sup> Plans drawn in 1777 depict a rectangular plan, with bastions at the corners, two outlying demi-lunes, and several buildings within the fort walls.<sup>30</sup> During the American Revolution, the fort was captured by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, respectively hero and traitor. The British briefly recaptured the fort in 1777, but retreated a final time the following year, after burning much of Fort Ticonderoga.

After the Revolution the fort became an unofficial quarry for builders in the surrounding area. A visitor in the 1840s recorded that, ‘the walls of the fort have been

<sup>26</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, ‘Ticonderoga’, *Scribner’s Magazine*, 1/6 (1887), pp.643-50 (p.650).

<sup>27</sup> Cited: S.H.P. Pell, *Fort Ticonderoga, a Short History* (Ticonderoga: Fort Ticonderoga Museum, 1975), p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division: G3804/.T5S26/1759/.T5vault.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph Cook, *An Historical Address* (Ticonderoga: Ticonderoga Historical Society, 1909), p.52; the paper was originally presented on 25 July 1864.

<sup>30</sup> Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division: G3804/.T5:2F6S3/1977/.C3vault and G3804/.T5S3/1977/.M3vault.

common soil for all who chose to avail themselves of such a convenient quarry; and the proximity of the lake affords rare facility for builders to carry off the plunder'.<sup>31</sup> In 1820, the property was bought by a New York merchant, William Ferris Pell, who erected a retreat on the lake shore, near the fort. During the nineteenth century, the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga became a popular destination for tourists. The English engraver William Bartlett visited in 1837, and subsequently published a pastoral view of Fort Ticonderoga, replete with grazing sheep.<sup>32</sup> Bartlett's depiction indicated a largely ruined structure, but with several freestanding wall sections, rising to two or three storeys, and possibly incorporating a gable end. Lithographs from 1884 and



4-7. Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, n.d. /NYPL

1891, and photographs from 1875 and circa 1890, also indicate these elements.<sup>33</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, the condition of the fort came under national scrutiny; in 1902, a reporter for *The New York Times* wrote:

<sup>31</sup> Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Guide to the Revolution*, 2 vols (New York: Harper and Brother, 1851), I, p.128.

<sup>32</sup> W. H. Bartlett, *Bartlett's Classic Illustrations of America* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2000), plate 19; the illustrations in this collection were originally published in: Nathaniel Parker Willis, *American scenery, or, Land, lake, and river illustrations of transatlantic nature*, 2 vols (London: George Virtue, 1840).

<sup>33</sup> Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division: G3804/.T5A3/1891.A3 and G3804/.T5A3/1884.E8; Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division: LC-D4-16097;



this fort, which recalls the glory of France ... this monument of the beginnings of England's imperial sway and the folly of the men who then guided her growth ... is today a grazing ground for cattle and a seat of neglect.<sup>34</sup>

Interest in the conservation of Fort Ticonderoga extended far beyond the local community, and both 'pro-fabric' and 'pro-intent' positions were evident. For example, an article in a Massachusetts newspaper suggested that:

as to the restoration of the old fort – that is not so clearly desirable. The ruins are vastly impressive; they are the real thing, and room is left for every visitor with an imagination to restore for himself ... the scene of 1775. Modern patchwork, however carefully stitched, would detract from the dignity of the ruin time has left.<sup>35</sup>

Several newspapers, however, supported the opposite position. In *The New York Times*, for instance, a journalist wrote that, 'our Government should maintain a small preserve, rebuilding the fort on its ancient lines, marking the old and rebuilt parts, and beautifying the vicinage as it may have been in the days of its glory.'<sup>36</sup> In 1897, the Ticonderoga Historical Society was founded, largely for the, 'purpose of aiding in the perpetuation of the Fort by restoration';<sup>37</sup> although the organisation actively lobbied for federal government support of this objective, success ultimately grew from a 'clambake', held by the society at the fort site in 1908, and at which Alfred Bossom, a young British architect working in New York, and Stephen H. P. Pell, descendent of William Ferris, first met.

Bossom, born in 1881 and educated at Regent Street Polytechnic and the Royal Academy of Arts, first worked with the London County Council.<sup>38</sup> In 1903, he came to the United States, to work on a large housing project associated with the steel industry in Pittsburgh; and seven years later, he married Emily Bayne, daughter of a bank president, with ties to the emerging Texas petroleum industry. Subsequently, Bossom established an architectural practice in New York, and received commissions for several bank buildings, mostly 'skyscrapers', and also worked on many buildings

<sup>34</sup> Julian Ralph, 'Waking Up a Sleeping Beauty', *New York Times*, 20 July 1902, p.21.

<sup>35</sup> *Springfield Republican*; undated clipping, cited: Pell-Thompson Research Center [PTRC], *Scrapbook*, vol.1, p.53.

<sup>36</sup> Ralph, 'Waking Up', p.21.

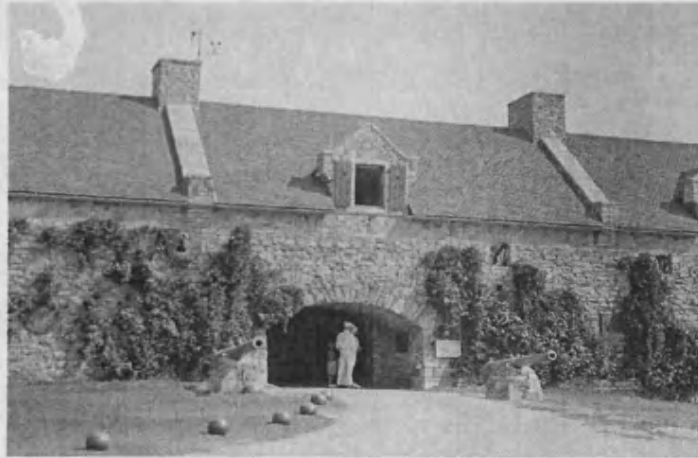
<sup>37</sup> Alfred Bossom, *The Restoration of Fort Ticonderoga or Fort Carillon in New York State*, 2 vols, unpublished manuscript, c.1925, Amherst College Library, Archives and Special Collections; vol.1, p.21.

<sup>38</sup> Sir Clive Bossom, 'Memoir of Alfred C. Bossom', in Dennis Sharp, ed., *Alfred C. Bossom's American Architecture 1903-1926* (London: Book Art, 1984), pp.10-16; in the same volume also see: Dennis Sharp and Peter Wylde, 'Alfred Bossom's American Skyscrapers', pp.17-34. Bossom returned to Britain in 1926, and in 1931 was elected to the House of Commons; in 1960, he was made a life peer – Lord Bossom of Maidstone. He died in 1965.

in Texas, in association with various local firms there. While primarily interested in contemporary architectural issues – in 1934 he wrote a book entitled *Building to the Skies: The Romance of the Skyscraper* – Bossom was introduced to Fort Ticonderoga and the idea of its reconstruction, by John Milholland, society president; Bossom began site investigations, as a hobby, in 1904.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, his meeting with Pell at the



4-8. Bossom, undated /LOC



4-9. Reconstructed fort, 1934 (Peterson/HABS) /LOC

clambake was not accidental, and he later recalled that, ‘I was ... for the restoration, [and brought] various drawings with me illustrating the glorious past of the ancient stronghold.’<sup>40</sup> Pell had spent summers at the site as a child, and seems easily convinced to support, as a member of the family that still owned the site, the reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga. Most importantly, Pell engaged his wife and wealthy father-in-law, Col. Robert M. Thompson, in the venture. In 1909, the press reported: ‘It is announced by representatives of Mrs. Stephen H. P. Pell, wife of a prominent citizen of New York ... [that Fort Ticonderoga] will be restored and made to appear exactly as it did on May 10, 1775’.<sup>41</sup>

Bossom and Pell travelled to Canada and Britain to consult archives and experts on eighteenth-century British colonial fortifications.<sup>42</sup> Several decisions regarding the reconstruction were based on excavation of the actual site, for example wall location and dimensions; even charred ends of framing members were useful, for, ‘under the microscope these gave absolute proof of the materials formerly used’.<sup>43</sup> Several intact panes of window glass were recovered, and incorporated into the

<sup>39</sup> Bossom, *The Restoration*, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

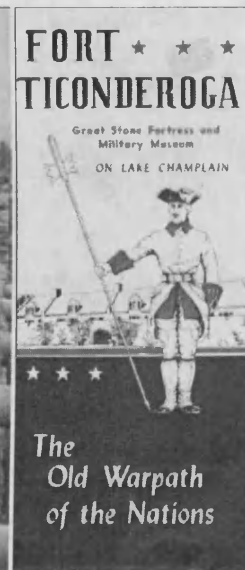
<sup>41</sup> ‘Old Ticonderoga and its Restoration’, *Christian Science Monitor*, 23 April 1909, p.14.

<sup>42</sup> Bossom, *The Restoration*, pp.17, 48.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.



4-10. View from fort, 2005



4-11. Fort brochure

reconstruction; elsewhere, glazing was, 'replaced with absolute accuracy from British sources'.<sup>44</sup> Bossom also assumed, with no obvious evidence, that the classic Vauban-style fort incorporated a tall 'observation tower' in one corner. He suggested that, 'from the courtyard, on Place d'Armes, loomed a tower, sixty feet in height, used both for observation and defence.'<sup>45</sup> Archival images and plans – possibly not available to Bossom – indicate no such structure, and efforts to fund completion of the 'reconstruction' of this element gradually ceased. In 1957, Pell's son conceded that the tower, 'may not have been in the original design'.<sup>46</sup>

The Fort Ticonderoga reconstruction was officially opened in 1909, although the project was far from completed.<sup>47</sup> President Taft toured the emerging walls of the reconstructed fort, and dignitaries from France, Britain and Canada delivered speeches; an Indiana newspaper reported that, 'the pronounced note of the day ... was a declaration for world peace. Ambassador Takahira of Japan was present and by nodding his head asserted to the fervent wish for peace.'<sup>48</sup> The notion that the reconstructed fort symbolised reconciliation and peace was reiterated in 1935, in a national newspaper: 'from the very first the restoration was conducted with one purpose in mind, that of honoring the four nations which battled at Ticonderoga, and

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 44

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> John H. G. Pell, 'Fort Ticonderoga: Pace Maker of Historic Forts Restoration', *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, 10/1 (1957), p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Even by 1925, only a third of the site was reconstructed; see: Alfred C. Bossom, 'The Restoration of Fort Ticonderoga', *Architecture*, 52/2 (1925), p. 275.

<sup>48</sup> *Evening News*, 12 July 1909; cited: PTRC, *Scrapbook*, vol.1, p.113.

thereby to develop a feeling of good will among all who visit the fort.’<sup>49</sup> For Bossom, who subsequently showed little interest in heritage conservation, and indeed gave up architecture for politics, the meaning of his work at Fort Ticonderoga was perhaps both personal and profound. In 1924, two years before they returned to a permanent residence in Britain, Bossom and his wife travelled through Mexico, visiting and drawing early Spanish missions; following this visit, he wrote, ‘All that an age signifies is written on the open book of its architecture. The architect is, at best, the conscious recorder of the culture of a race; the thrall of his times.’<sup>50</sup> His Fort Ticonderoga – the reconstruction – remains a record of early-twentieth century America.

#### 4.4 Patrons in the Early-Twentieth Century: Colonial Williamsburg

Two decades after Bossom and Pell met at the Fort Ticonderoga clambake, another American reconstruction emerged, a project larger in scale and ultimately more influential for heritage conservation. In 1909, a journalist observed of Williamsburg, the colonial-era capital of Virginia: ‘After the Revolution a gentle drowsiness, which will probably go uninterrupted till the last trump sounds, settled over the place’.<sup>51</sup> Williamsburg was established in 1699, and laid out by the governor, Francis Nicholson, adjacent to the extant Bruton Parish Church and College of William and Mary. The plan centered on a central street, nearly a mile long and ninety-nine feet wide, anchored by the college at one end and the Assembly building, or the Capitol, at the other end. Bruton Parish Church and the Courthouse were also situated on this main street, while the Governor’s Palace, the other landmark building in the eighteenth-century town, was sited at the end of a cross street, and incorporated formal gardens.

While the parish and college were both established in the seventeenth century, the current church building was completed in 1715; and the original building at the college, at one point attributed to Christopher Wren, was begun in 1695, and then ‘restored’ several times, especially after fires in 1705, 1859 and 1862. The first Assembly building, begun in 1701, was also destroyed by fire, in 1747. In 1832 the

<sup>49</sup> *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April 1935, p.8.

<sup>50</sup> Alfred C. Bossom, *An Architectural Pilgrimage in Old Mexico* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1924), p. ix.

<sup>51</sup> Arthur G. Bein, ‘A Day in Williamsburg’, *The American Architect*, 95/1749 (1909), pp.209-14, (p.209).

second Assembly building, erected on the foundations of the first, also burned down.<sup>52</sup> The Governor's Palace was completed in 1720, but destroyed by fire in 1781. The courthouse, erected in 1770, survived into the twentieth century, although altered.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the town visited in 1909 lacked much of the landmark architecture that had defined eighteenth-century Williamsburg.

Anders Greenspan, an American historian, suggests that the, 'origins of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg center on two men, one a dreamer, the other an idealist.'<sup>54</sup> The dreamer was W. A. R. Goodwin, who came to Williamsburg in 1903 as rector of Bruton Parish Church. During his initial six-year tenure, Goodwin undertook the 'restoration' of that church, a project deemed by the architectural press as 'almost too perfect.'<sup>55</sup> In 1909, he was assigned to a church in Rochester, New York, returning to Williamsburg in 1926 as rector, and with a faculty appointment at the College of William and Mary. Goodwin's 'dream' was the re-creation of eighteenth-century Williamsburg, but a romanticised version; Goodwin suggests this sense of romance in a description he wrote of the Williamsburg to which he first came:

The ghosts of the past haunted the houses and walked the streets at night. They were glad and gallant ghosts ... They helped to weave the stories of the past which have found their way into fiction, into current traditions, and into history. While these stories may not have been always entirely true to fact, they were true to life.<sup>56</sup>

In 1926, Goodwin had an opportunity to meet John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and, over a period of several months, managed to interest him in this 'dream'. Born into a wealthy family in 1874, Rockefeller's philanthropic interests were broad, including several projects related to the conservation of both cultural and natural heritage. Following World War One, he gave one million dollars to France for the restoration

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<sup>52</sup> See: Carl R. Lounsbury, 'Beaux-Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality: The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's Capitol, 1928-1934', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49/4 (1990), pp. 373-89.

<sup>53</sup> See: Carl R. Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA and London: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

<sup>54</sup> Anders Greenspan, 'A Shrine to the American Faith: Americanism and the Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg 1926-1960', Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1992, p. 3. Colonial Williamsburg is the legal name of the 'historic area' owned by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; it represents approximately eighty-five per cent of the eighteenth-century town site, and is located within the contemporary City of Williamsburg.

<sup>55</sup> Bein, 'A Day in Williamsburg', p.212.

<sup>56</sup> Goodwin to Barclay Farr, 15 March 1931; cited: Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr., A Portrait* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 274.

of war-damaged Reims Cathedral and the palaces at Versailles and Fontainebleau,<sup>57</sup> in the United States his financial support of national parks ranged from construction of carriage-ways in Acadia National Park in Maine to the establishment and development of Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming.<sup>58</sup> These efforts offer an ironic counterpoint to the source of Rockefeller's wealth: the exploitation of natural resources, notably petroleum, and the industrialisation of the United States.<sup>59</sup>

One author suggests that, 'Williamsburg served to express [Rockefeller's] ideal of the past, and it served as a repudiation of the society that his father had wrought.'<sup>60</sup> The project was announced in 1928, and by 1956 Colonial Williamsburg included eighty-two restored structures from the eighteenth century, and 404 historic reconstructions; another 720 post-eighteenth century structures had been demolished or removed.<sup>61</sup> In 1937, Goodwin recalled:

in those early days of the restoration one never knew ... whose house he might meet in the morning moving down the street. Sometimes it proved to be a colonial house on its way to fill a vacant site, but more often it was a modern home exiled from the restoration area.<sup>62</sup>

At the beginning of the project, Rockefeller had publically noted that, 'it was Dr. Goodwin who suggested the idea and it is he who is now in full charge of the work that is done to make the restoration a reality'.<sup>63</sup> In fact, Goodwin's ownership of the dream often came into conflict with management and development of Colonial Williamsburg. In 1928, inter-office correspondence between Rockefeller and his staff suggests that Goodwin was sent to Europe, ostensibly to undertake research, but really to remove him from Williamsburg so that certain properties could be acquired without his obstruction.<sup>64</sup> As late as 1935, Kenneth Chorley, president of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, wrote to Rockefeller: 'as long as Dr. Goodwin receives a salary from Colonial Williamsburg ... he will continue to embarrass us.'<sup>65</sup> Although

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<sup>57</sup> Barr Ferrer, 'The Rockefeller Gift to French Architecture', *The Architectural Record*, 56/4 (1924), pp. 383-84.

<sup>58</sup> See: Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 'Parks and Conservation', pp.302- 26.

<sup>59</sup> Rockefeller's father and uncle had established Standard Oil in 1870.

<sup>60</sup> Anders, *A Shrine to the American Faith*, p.7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>62</sup> W.A.R. Goodwin, 'The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg', *National Geographic Magazine*, 71/4 (1937), pp. 402-43 (p.441).

<sup>63</sup> Cited in Goodwin's obituary: *New York Herald Tribune*, 9 September 1939.

<sup>64</sup> Charles Heydt to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 8 October 1928; Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 143, Folder 1250.

<sup>65</sup> Kenneth Chorley to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 13 September 1935; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 148, Folder 1303.

his initial response to Goodwin's request was extremely cautious, Rockefeller became quite engaged with the project, interested in both the larger potential as well as daily operations. In 1937, he wrote that, 'the restoration of Williamsburg ... offered an opportunity to restore a complete area and free it entirely from alien or unharmonious surroundings as well as to preserve the beauty and charm of the old buildings and gardens'.<sup>66</sup> The formal announcement of the project, in 1928, indicates a more complex role for the largely reconstructed site:

The city restored will be as perpetual example of the lives of the founders of the American Republic, dedicated to the preservation and enrichment of the spirit which animated our fathers. We believe that it will be a powerful influence to keep alive the dignity and simplicity of the old Colonists, exemplified in their architecture and their conduct.<sup>67</sup>

Rockefeller approached Colonial Williamsburg as he might a business venture, quickly establishing a well-organised management structure, with Arthur Woods – a trusted employee – as liaison between his office and the project, and the person to whom everyone, including Goodwin, reported. Other trusted employees were given responsibility for the key areas of finance and legal affairs.<sup>68</sup> The Boston architects Perry, Shaw and Hepburn were in charge of the actual design and restoration work, but with the assistance of an advisory committee of architects. A prominent committee member, Fiske Kimball, expressed what he believed to be the appropriate conservation philosophy for the project:

I judge the work will conform to the best principles of restoration, namely: (1) Reverently to preserve every vestige of the old where it survives, preferably on its original site; (2) where it does not, to exhaust first every vestige of evidence as to what the old was actually like; (3) where this evidence does not suffice, to work scrupulously in the style of the very time and place, yet with artistic sensitiveness.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> John D. Rockefeller, 'The Genesis of the Williamsburg Restoration', *The National Geographic Magazine*, 71/4 (1937), p. 401.

<sup>67</sup> Press Release, 12 June 1928; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 159, Folder 1382.

<sup>68</sup> For an organizational chart, see: Thomas H. Taylor, 'The Williamsburg Restoration and its Reception By the American Public: 1926-1942', Ph.D. dissertation, The George Washington University, 1989, Appendix 1, p. 356.

<sup>69</sup> Fiske Kimball to Goodwin, 19 November, 1927, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archives; cited: Edward A. Chappell and Mark R. Wenger, 'Fiske Kimball and Colonial Williamsburg', a paper presented at: *Fiske Kimball: Creator of an American Architecture*, a symposium held at the University of Virginia, 19 November 1995; available at: <http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/finearts/exhibits/fiske/conference/ChappellWenger.html> ; [accessed 15 February 2009].

By 'old', Kimball seems to have meant eighteenth century; certainly that is the approach actually taken at Williamsburg. The advisory committee subsequently developed a list of ten guiding principles, termed the 'decatalogue'; this document included definitions ('preservation' for the restoration of extant structures, and 'restoration' for the "recovery of the old form by new work"), stipulated that all work not representing Colonial or Classical tradition should be removed or demolished, and confirmed that no attempt would be made to 'antique' new material by 'theatrical means'.<sup>70</sup> Articulating this policy framework was a 'first' for the American conservation movement and an important determinant of the re-created Williamsburg; but as architect William Perry noted in 1935, 'restoration based upon research, and faithful to fact, opens many alluring avenues, but it closes ruthlessly many others just as alluring.'<sup>71</sup>

'Alluring avenues' often overcame the factual at Colonial Williamsburg, a situation well demonstrated by the reconstruction of the Capitol, or assembly building. Carl Lounsbury, an architectural historian with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation since 1982, suggests that, 'more than any other building in the restored town ... the reconstructed capitol symbolised the patriotic ideals that motivated John D. Rockefeller, Jr.', yet it also illustrates, 'a conflict between fundamental classical ideals and historical reality'.<sup>72</sup> As noted, two assembly buildings were erected – the first in use from 1704 to 1747, and its replacement, the structure extant when the United States was founded, in which George Washington and Thomas Jefferson both served as elected representatives, and thus a building arguably more symbolic of the goals of Colonial Williamsburg. This second assembly building existed until 1832. In 1929, however, it was decided to reconstruct the earlier building, in part because there was more evidence describing that structure, including a circa 1737 image, then recently-discovered in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Lounsbury claims that the architects, although supporting the decision to reconstruct the earlier structure, then misread the archival evidence and ignored the archaeology, especially with regard to placement of doors and other architectural elements, because of their, 'deeply rooted aesthetic preference for compositional balance and axial symmetry',<sup>73</sup> a result of their

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<sup>70</sup> William Graves Perry, 'Notes on the Architecture', *Architectural Record*, 78/6 (1935), pp. 363-77 (p.370).

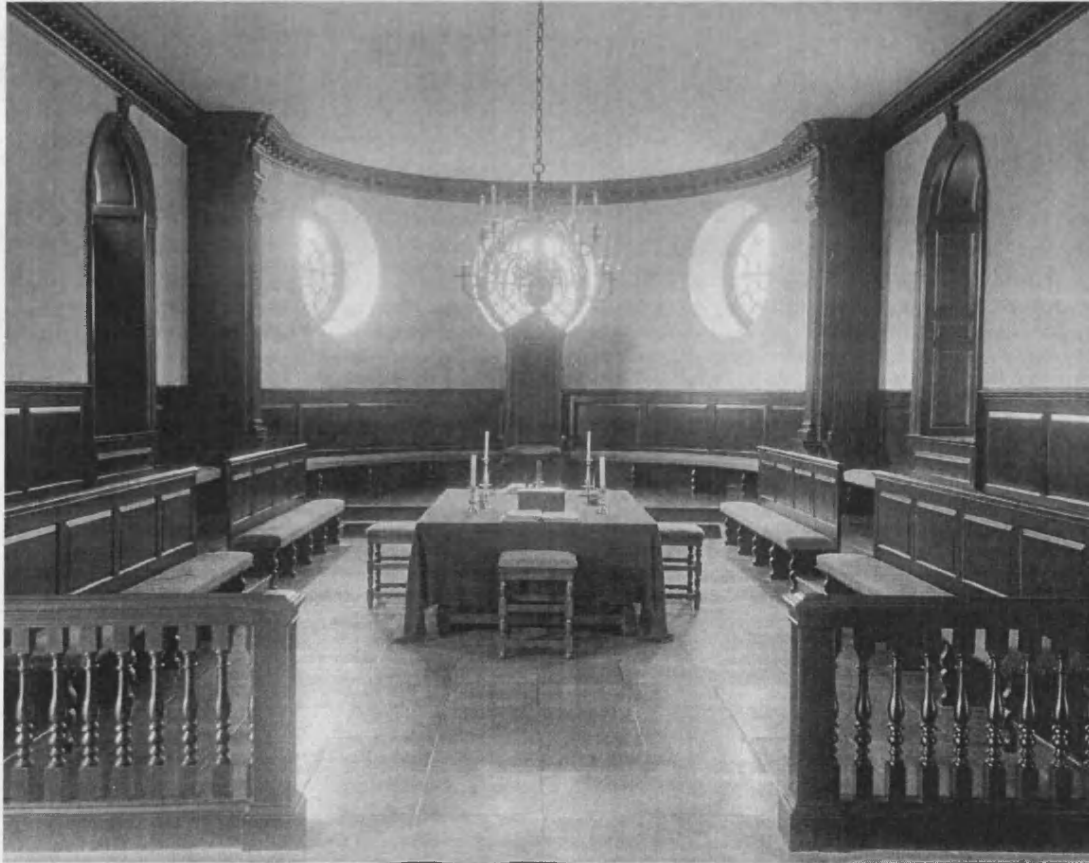
<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p.363.

<sup>72</sup> Lounsbury, 'Beaux-Arts Ideals', pp. 373-74.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p.382.



Beaux-Arts architectural training. He suggests the Capitol remains ‘a monument to the near past, telling us a much about the design principles of the Beaux-Arts as the architecture of the Colonial period.’<sup>74</sup> The first assembly building was thus, perhaps, an alluring avenue.



4-12. Interior of the reconstructed Capitol Building, 1930s (F. Johnson) /LOC

In 1931, Goodwin suggested to Rockefeller that, ‘competent Southern women who know the traditions of the place and who speak with the native accent’ be hired as hostesses in the public buildings; Rockefeller accepted the suggestion.<sup>75</sup> Although for several years architecture remained a primary focus at Colonial Williamsburg, these Southern women with the appropriate accent represented the first interpretation programme, even if it was not described as such. In 1934, Goodwin wrote to Rockefeller regarding, ‘the theatrical appeal to the imagination’; using, ‘reconstruction of vanished buildings’ as a precedent, he suggested the, ‘possible use of pageantry’ to stimulate the public’s imagination, including colonial costumes for

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.389.

<sup>75</sup> Goodwin to Rockefeller, 11 May 1931; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 156, Folder 1360.

the hostesses and horse-drawn vehicles for transportation of guests.<sup>76</sup> In 1941, interpretation became more formalised when the position of education officer was established. The Rockefeller organisation was actively engaged in this search for a ‘young man with Southern connections’; review of one potential candidate was typical: ‘taught economics ... has shown great imagination and interest in regional problems ... has an attractive wife ... would be glad to come to the Atlantic Sea Coast.’<sup>77</sup> If the criteria seem limited by contemporary standards, the very notion of an education officer was nonetheless progressive.

The public responded positively to Goodwin’s ‘romanticism’, although response to Colonial Williamsburg has always included an element of cynicism. Even as the first restorations and reconstructions were undertaken, a journalist with *The New York Times* ambiguously wrote, ‘A whole living city is being restored – deliberately turned into a museum of the past age of the faded glory of which its remnants stand as memento.’<sup>78</sup> After visiting in 1938, Frank Lloyd Wright observed, ‘How shallow life was then’.<sup>79</sup> The architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable believed that the site was, ‘far more elegant than the real Colonial city could ever have been ... It’s as phoney as a nine-dollar bill.’<sup>80</sup> There seems little evidence that visitors were necessarily provoked into a consideration of larger patriotic obligations or the idea of political freedom, although as late as 1970 the official guidebook included Rockefeller’s intent that Colonial Williamsburg’s value is, ‘the lesson that it teaches of the patriotism, high purpose, and unselfish devotion of our forefathers to the common good.’<sup>81</sup>

By the 1980s, interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg was addressing a wider range of eighteenth-century stories. For example, reconstruction of the 1773 public hospital was undertaken, and as Edward Chappell, director of architectural research, explained,

We’re using the mentally ill as an example to show how society dealt with people it perceived as deviates ... at the same time, we’re showing how beliefs

<sup>76</sup> Goodwin to Rockefeller, 3 March 1934; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 155, Folder 1353.

<sup>77</sup> RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 162, Folder 1406.

<sup>78</sup> H. I. Brock, ‘A Town to be a Museum of ‘76’, *New York Times*, 25 March 1928, p.84.

<sup>79</sup> Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p.61.

<sup>80</sup> Cited: Fergus M. Bordewich, ‘Williamsburg: Revising Colonial America’, *The Atlantic*, 262/6 (1988), pp. 26-32 (p.28).

<sup>81</sup> John D. Rockefeller, Jr., cited: *Colonial Williamsburg Official Guidebook and Map* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1970), p. xiii.

about mental illness changed over time. We want to make the point that the same issues are alive today.<sup>82</sup>

The story of African Americans at Williamsburg – fifty-two per cent of the population in the 1770s – is arguably the most important element of the expanded interpretation, and perhaps the story that most challenges the image of Rockefeller’s idealised society, or Goodwin’s romantic town. Curators were challenged, however, by the lack of extant buildings and artefacts, and limited information to support new reconstructions. Dramatisations, using costumed interpreters, therefore became a chief vehicle to tell these stories, including a controversial ‘slave auction’, staged in 1994.<sup>83</sup> Fergus Bordewich, who has written extensively on African-American history, has described this re-enactment as a historic reconstruction, which, ‘fuses serious research with subjective illustration, much as the work of Rockefeller’s architects did fifty years ago.’<sup>84</sup> Colonial Williamsburg, including its reconstructed buildings and re-enacted slave auctions, has more recently served as a forum in which the idea of ‘authenticity’ in an increasingly virtual world is discussed. Anthropologists Eric Gabler and Richard Handler, at Mary Washington University and the University of Virginia respectively, suggest that, ‘Colonial Williamsburg maintains its authority ... by selective or managed admissions of failure to discern what is fact, fancy, real, or fake. This attention to the management of impressions allows for the dream of authenticity to remain viable’.<sup>85</sup> Such a complex role for the reconstructed Williamsburg was probably not imagined by Goodwin nor Rockefeller in 1932 when the latter decided against the phrase ‘what was lost is safe’ as the motto of Colonial Williamsburg, instead choosing the more prosaic ‘that the future may learn from the past’.<sup>86</sup>

#### 4.5 The Federal Government and Historic Reconstructions

Passage of the Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, in 1906, signalled a formal engagement of the federal government in the United States with heritage conservation, although this legislation dealt only with resources located on federally-

<sup>82</sup> Edward Chappell; cited: Bordewich, ‘Williamsburg: Revising’, pp.26-7.

<sup>83</sup> See: Cary Carson, ‘Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums’, *The Public Historian*, 20/3 (1998), pp.11-51.

<sup>84</sup> Bordewich, ‘Williamsburg: Revising’, p.32.

<sup>85</sup> Eric Gable and Richard Handler, ‘After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site’, *American Anthropologist*, 98/3 (1996), pp. 568-78 (p.569).

<sup>86</sup> Carson, ‘Colonial Williamsburg’, p.14.

owned lands.<sup>87</sup> In 1916, the National Park Service (NPS) was established, and in 1935 the Historic Sites Act was passed, authorising the federal government to ‘reconstruct’ historic sites and buildings, as part of a much larger preservation mandate. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the principal framework for heritage in the United States, acknowledges historic reconstruction and, as noted earlier, the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, includes ‘historic reconstruction’ as one of four legitimate levels of preservation intervention.<sup>88</sup>

The first historic reconstruction undertaken by the federal government was ‘Wakefield’, George Washington’s birthplace, a project later described as the, ‘first among embarrassments .... [it] was the wrong size, had the wrong shape, and faced the wrong direction.’<sup>89</sup> Built in 1725, the original building was destroyed by fire in 1779,<sup>90</sup> although in 1816, a group of citizens, ‘placed a Stone upon the remains of the old Mansion-House, in which the Hero first saw the light’.<sup>91</sup> Citizen interest in the site continued with the formation of the Wakefield National Memorial Association in 1923, with the initial goal of maintaining the outline of the assumed foundations and, at some other location on the site, erecting a building that, ‘will show a house of the period, but of course will not attempt to reproduce *the* Washington house’.<sup>92</sup> In 1926, however, the group persuaded Congress to authorise construction of a replica.<sup>93</sup> Professional opinion on the reconstruction project was divided, especially given the limited evidence regarding the design or exact location of the original structure. In 1929, a journalist wrote in *Landscape Architecture* that, ‘such a restoration built on or near the original site, would provide an object of special interest and would be a visible setting for one’s mental reconstruction of the home life of the colonial Virginian gentry in the early eighteenth century.’<sup>94</sup> W.A.R. Goodwin proudly wrote to

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<sup>87</sup> For a discussion of early legislation in the United States, see: Ronald F. Lee, ‘Historical and Architectural Monuments in the United States’, US Dept. of the Interior, 1951, unpublished manuscript; at: [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/npsghistorical\\_architectural\\_monuments.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/npsghistorical_architectural_monuments.pdf); [accessed 28 February 2009].

<sup>88</sup> See: [http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/standguide/overview/choose\\_treat.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tps/standguide/overview/choose_treat.htm); [accessed 28 February 2009].

<sup>89</sup> John Matzko, *Reconstructing Fort Union* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> For a description of the reconstruction project see: Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, pp. 478-93.

<sup>91</sup> *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 21 June 1816, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> Mrs. W. Emerson to Albert Simmons, 23 April 1928; cited: Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, p. 479.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>94</sup> Elmer Eugene Barker, ‘Wakefield, The Birthplace of George Washington’, *Landscape Architecture*, 20 (1929), pp. 33-8 (p.36).

Rockefeller that, 'the rebuilding of Wakefield is also largely attributable to the endeavour here [at Williamsburg]'.<sup>95</sup> A critic of the reconstruction project was landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted junior, who had been invited to join the team as consultant; in response, he wrote, 'I find myself wholly out of sympathy with what you state is the fundamental idea; namely to construct on the very site of the birthplace a copy of the original house as near as possible.'<sup>96</sup> The reconstruction was completed, however, and dedicated in 1932, the bicentennial of Washington's birth. In 1941, the National Park Service (NPS) undertook extensive historical and archaeological research, and concluded that the 'replica' had been constructed on the foundations of an outbuilding, several hundred feet from the original site of Wakefield. While some called for the removal of the replica, the park service began presenting the structure as a 'memorial', rather than as a historic reconstruction.

After World War Two, several historic reconstructions were undertaken by the NPS; these projects were generally small scale, geographically dispersed, enjoyed significant local and political support and, in many cases, helped develop the story of westward expansion and conquest in the nineteenth century. One example is Fort Clatsop, in Oregon, near the mouth of the Columbia River, originally erected in December 1805, by the 'Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery'. This mission of exploration, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and undertaken between 1803 and 1806, was commissioned by Thomas Jefferson, the American president. Two major objectives of the mission were: to reinforce territorial claim to the vast, and unknown, western regions of the continent, and to establish a diplomatic relationship with the Native Americans of the 'West'. Fort Clatsop, the western terminus of the mission, near the Pacific Ocean, was a compound enclosed by a wooden palisade, housing thirty-three people. The last recorded observation of the fort's physical remains was in the 'middle of the nineteenth century'.<sup>97</sup> In 1899, the original site of the fort was 'discovered', a claim subsequently proven to be unfounded. Nonetheless, considerable local interest in the site developed, funds were raised to build a reconstruction, and the NPS was persuaded to become a partner, eventually taking on total responsibility for management of the site.

<sup>95</sup> Goodwin to Rockefeller, 20 January 1930; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 155, Folder 1352.

<sup>96</sup> Olmsted to Charles Moore, 18 March 1929; RAC, RG2, Cultural Interests Series, Box 143, Folder 1251.

<sup>97</sup> Kelly Cannon, *Fort Clatsop National Memorial Administrative History* (NPS, 1995), online resource; [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/focl/adhi5.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/focl/adhi5.htm) ; [accessed 2 March 2009].

The reconstruction was completed in time for the sesquicentennial anniversary in 1955. Only four years later, however, a historic structures report, based on a more thorough analysis of the archival record, especially the expedition's written journals, concluded that Fort Clatsop, 'will require reconstruction to remove elements admittedly not now historically accurate and to add features to bring the structure into conformity with what is now known.'<sup>98</sup> In 2005, before a 'better' reconstruction could be undertaken, Fort Clatsop was accidentally destroyed by fire. A year later, a reconstruction of the reconstruction was built.

Fort Vancouver is another example of historic reconstruction used to define, in a tangible way, the story of American 'conquest' of the American West. Originally established in 1824, as an outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company, the site was taken over by the American army in 1860, and burned down six years later.<sup>99</sup> In 1947 the Fort Vancouver site was acquired by the NPS but, at that time, 'appropriate development goals' could not be agreed upon;<sup>100</sup> only in 1966 was a programme of historic reconstruction begun. A more recent reconstruction project undertaken by the park service, at Fort Union Trading Post, North Dakota, illustrates the continuing debate, evident even during the Wakefield reconstruction, between those opposed to historic reconstruction and those who believe there are situations where it is an appropriate intervention.<sup>101</sup> John Jameson and William Hunt, NPS staff who have written extensively about the site, suggest that this project, 'stands out as a major confrontation between the pro-reconstruction and anti-reconstruction sentiments in America. It also demonstrates archetypical examples of the professional conservative philosophy at odds with management and agency planners and strong political and economic forces.'<sup>102</sup> Fort Union was built in 1828 by John Jacob Astor's fur-trade company; one of the most remote outposts in the northwest, it attracted hosted famous visitors, including the artist George Caitlin in 1832 and the naturalist James Audubon

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<sup>98</sup> Cited: *ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> See: Jane T. Merritt, *Administrative History Fort Vancouver National Historic Site* (NPS, 1993), online resource; [www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/fova/adhi/adhi.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/fova/adhi/adhi.htm) ; [accessed 2 March 2009].

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> The most thorough discussion of Fort Union, and especially its reconstruction, remains Matzko, *Reconstructing Fort Union* ; other sources include: John H. Jameson and William J. Hunt, 'Reconstruction versus preservation-in-place in the US National Park Service'; in: Peter G. Stone and Philippe G. Planel, eds, *The Constructed Past* (London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 35-62; and Rodd L. Wheaton, 'Lessons Learned at Bent's Old Fort and Fort Union Trading Post', in John H. Jameson, ed., *The Reconstructed Past* (Oxford: Altimira Press, 2004), pp.215-32.

<sup>102</sup> Jameson and Hunt, 'Reconstruction versus', p.48.

in 1843. In 1966, Fort Union became a National Historic Site, and a master plan prepared the following year recommended a 'partial reconstruction' of the site. The next twenty years represented an ongoing struggle within the park service between those in favour of reconstruction and those opposed to it. The former included the historians Erwin Thompson and Roy Appleman, who suggested more research was needed; the opposition included Robert Utley, then chief historian of the NPS.<sup>103</sup> The reconstruction was ultimately undertaken, from 1986 onwards.

As noted, historic reconstructions have long been accepted by American heritage legislation and policy, if limited by specific criteria and, usually, reluctant professional staff within the park service. The pro-reconstruction position received increased support during the tenure of William Penn Mott as Director of the NPS (1985-89). Barry MacIntosh, NPS historian who has written extensively on the organisation's development, notes that Mott had a particular interest in site interpretation, and believed historic reconstructions served a useful education purpose at sites where structures had largely disappeared; indeed, he actively recommended reconstructions at several sites following official visits, possibly to the chagrin of park service staff.<sup>104</sup> One site that Mott visited was Andersonville National Historic Site, in Georgia. Established as a prison camp in 1863, Andersonville was the deadliest of all such camps during the Civil War. In an open stockade, designed to hold 10,000 prisoners, 32,000 were held; on average a hundred people died there each day. When Mott visited, it was an open field; he suggested a partial reconstruction of the stockade, to better explain the site. After subsequent archaeological investigation, the main gate, on the western perimeter, and the northeast corner were reconstructed. These two small intrusions on the landscape, however, do little to convey, in any greater degree, the horror of the nineteenth-century prison.<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.6 The People and Historic Reconstructions

Although the largest and most widely-known historic reconstructions are mostly the result of wealthy patrons or the federal government, several smaller historic

<sup>103</sup> See: Matzko, *Reconstructing Fort Union*, pp. 66, 75.

<sup>104</sup> See: Barry Mackintosh, 'National Park Service Reconstruction Policy and Practice', in Jameson, *The Reconstructed Past*, pp. 65-74 (p.72).

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the archaeological investigations, see: Guy Prentice and Marie Prentice, 'Far From the Battlefield: Archaeology at Andersonville Prison', in Clarence Geier, ed., *Archeological Perspectives on the American Civil War* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. 166-87.

reconstructions have been undertaken by local and state-level organisations. One of the earliest of these was the reconstruction of New Salem, a village in Illinois where Abraham Lincoln lived during the 1831-37 period.<sup>106</sup> The village was abandoned in 1839, and by 1870 only the remains of one structure survived. There was, however, strong local interest in the site at the turn of the century, and in 1906, with the financial support of prominent newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst, it was acquired by the Old Salem Chautauqua Association.<sup>107</sup> This organisation was part of a national movement, started in 1874, that promoted adult education through community-based programmes, especially 'summer camps'. In the following decades, however, it became a movement associated with a progressive and liberal perspective on American citizenship, engaged with issues such as female suffrage and child labour laws, even as its membership remained predominantly Caucasian, Protestant and rural.<sup>108</sup>

The Old Salem chapter was organised in 1897, with the objective to, 'conduct a summer assembly or school of Art, Literature, Science, Music, Bible Study and Athletics'.<sup>109</sup> In 1909, the Association 'mapped' the New Salem site, identifying the location of original structures, based on a combination of historic survey maps and 'memory'.<sup>110</sup> Interest in Old Salem then seems to have abated, until 1916, when the idea of actually reconstructing some of the structures emerged.<sup>111</sup> In 1917, the Old Salem Lincoln League was formed, with a membership that overlapped with the Chautauqua Association, and with the more pointed objective of reconstructing the village in which Lincoln had lived. The following year, five 'log cabins' were reconstructed, in part to celebrate the centennial of Illinois' statehood.

In 1919, the State of Illinois was given the site, together with the five reconstructions, although no further work was undertaken during the following decade. In 1932, Joseph Booten, an architect employed by the State, was given the

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<sup>106</sup> For discussions of historic reconstructions at New Salem, see: Barbara Burlison Mooney 'Lincoln's New Salem: Or, The trigonometric Theorem of Vernacular Restoration' *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 2 (2004), pp. 19-39; and Edward M. Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, new series 96/2 (1994), pp. 397-415.

<sup>107</sup> See: G. E. Nelson, 'The Genesis of Restored New Salem', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 36/4 (1943), pp. 368-77.

<sup>108</sup> For a general discussion of the movement's history, see: Andrew C. Rieser, *The Chautauqua Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

<sup>109</sup> Nelson, 'The Genesis', p.368.

<sup>110</sup> Mooney, 'Lincoln's New Salem', p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> Nelson, 'The Genesis', p.371.



task of planning the development of the site, including reappraisal of the earlier reconstructions. Booten concluded that the 1918 cabins were based on faulty information, had them demolished, and then commenced a more extensive reconstruction programme. Barbara Mooney, an architectural historian at the University of Iowa who has undertaken extensive research on the site, claims that Booten's information sources were also very limited, but that 'the subjective value judgements used to design individual cabins may not have necessarily originated with Booten. A number of state and local scholars and organisations exerted pressure to insure that the reconstructions reflected their particular vision'.<sup>112</sup> In 1933, a journalist for the *The New York Times* reported that, 'the hamlet is coming back to a changeless life of its own, like a fragment of the past maintained by enchantment or escaped through some loophole in the wall of time.'<sup>113</sup> During the 1930s, local reconstruction projects were undertaken throughout the country; for example, in Macon, Georgia, a blockhouse was reconstructed in 1938 by the local branch of the Daughters of the American Revolution, with the hewn timbers replicated, however, in concrete; and in 1931, the seventeenth-century Aptuxet Trading Post on Cape Cod was reconstructed, with the support of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.<sup>114</sup>

Following World War Two, locally-sponsored historic reconstructions resumed. An example was New Echota, Georgia, where historic reconstructions were key in the presentation of a national story, long defined within the official history, but from a very local perspective. The original New Echota was established in 1825, as the new capital city of the Cherokee Nation, the site of council meetings and the Cherokee Supreme Court. Using a European town-plan model, the settlement incorporated a grid pattern with a hundred one-acre lots, and a two-acre town square. Timber-frame buildings included a two-storey Council House, a two-storey Courthouse, and a print shop where the first 'native-American' newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was published.<sup>115</sup> An 1828 visitor from New England observed that, 'New Echota is on a hansom [*sic*] spot of ground ... with a Council House and Court House and two or three ... stores, about half a dozen framed dwelling houses in

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>113</sup> Robert B. Atwood, 'The Town that was a School to Lincoln', *The New York Times*, 12 February 1933, p.102.

<sup>114</sup> For general information on these sites, see: <http://www.forthawkins.com>, [accessed 12 March 2009]; and <http://www.bournehistoricalsoc.org/aptuxettradingpost.html>, [accessed 12 March 2009].

<sup>115</sup> See descriptive, photographic and other materials in un-catalogued folders, reference room, New Echota State Historic Site (NEHS).

sight which could be called respectable in ...Connecticut.'<sup>116</sup> In 1830, the US Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, authorising the forced exile of Native Americans to western territories. After 1835, seventeen thousand Cherokee (and 200 slaves) were forcibly removed to what is now Oklahoma, with estimates of deaths on the journey ranging from 2,000 to 6,000.<sup>117</sup> In Cherokee, the journey into exile was called *Nunna daul Isunyi*, 'The Trail Where We Cried'. The land at New Echota was given to white settlers, and all the buildings destroyed, except one house, the Worcester House; in 1902, a visitor to the site observed that, 'the scene of the former greatness of a once prosperous people is now a corn field'.<sup>118</sup>

In 1931, a granite memorial was erected near the New Echota site; a writer for the local *Calhoun Times* reported that, 'today, the descendents of those who drove [the Cherokee] from his home assemble to mark the site of his last official town and to perpetuate ... the memory of one of the most pathetic pages in American history.'<sup>119</sup> The idea of reconstructing the buildings of New Echota emerged a generation later; with the support of the Gordon County Chamber of Commerce and the New Echota-Cherokee Foundation, the Georgia Historical Commission committed itself to development of the site, including the reconstruction of the principal structures.<sup>120</sup> In the late 1950s, archaeological investigations were undertaken, primarily by Clemens DeBaillou, a professor at the University of Georgia. DeBaillou corresponded with W.W.Keeler, Principal Chief, in Oklahoma, even sending him a piece of excavated framing material.<sup>121</sup> A 1970 re-appraisal of this early work noted that, 'DeBaillou has been the only person involved who has attempted to see New Echota and the Cherokee Nation from the viewpoint of the Indian Society at that time'.<sup>122</sup> Based primarily on the information provided by the archaeological investigations, the community's vision of a fully developed site was realised over the next several years, in a complex programme of restoration, relocation and historic reconstruction.

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<sup>116</sup> Benjamin Gold, cited: Henry T. Malone, 'New Echota – Capitol of the Cherokee Nation', *Early Georgia*, 1/4 (1955), pp.6-13 (p.9).

<sup>117</sup> Russell Thornton, 'Cherokee Population Losses During the Trail of Tears', *Ethnohistory*, 31/4 (1984), pp.289-300.

<sup>118</sup> Margaret Thornton, 'Tales of the Early Cherokee Civilization', *The Atlanta Constitution*, 23 November 1902, p. D5.

<sup>119</sup> *The Calhoun Times*, 17 September 1931, p.2.

<sup>120</sup> Janice Haynes Gilmore, 'The Georgia Historical Commission, Its History and Its Role in Historic Preservation', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1975, p.92.

<sup>121</sup> NEHS files.

<sup>122</sup> Steven G. Baker, Report to the Georgia Historical Commission, 1970; NEHS files.

The Worcester House had been significantly altered following an 1880 fire. Its restoration, to an assumed early-nineteenth century appearance, was undertaken in 1959, by Henry Chandlee Forman, an expert on seventeenth-century American architecture.<sup>123</sup> The Vann Tavern, an early-nineteenth century structure from elsewhere in Georgia, was relocated to New Echota in 1956, and reassembled / restored by DeBaillou. Both the notion of relocating structures and his specific restoration decisions were publicly criticised at the time. For instance, in 1960, the executive-secretary of the Commission admitted that, 'The log tavern is out of character with the other buildings ... The tavern will be moved';<sup>124</sup> in fact, the tavern remains in place today. Ultimately, it has been through the use of historic reconstructions that the community's initial vision of a fully-developed site has been realised. The first reconstruction was the *Cherokee Phoenix* print shop, undertaken in 1958, and supervised by Thomas G. Little, an architect who had previously worked at Colonial Williamsburg. In the following year, Little undertook the reconstruction of the Courthouse, a two storey timber-frame building, with a single court chamber on each floor; Little based this reconstruction on descriptions of the original, contained within minutes of Council meetings, and the limited archaeological information available. In 1960, a local resident lamented: 'New Echota afflicts me with a growing sense of embarrassment. We have made progress at a snail's pace, and now we have four buildings in a field'.<sup>125</sup>

Media coverage of the site's opening in 1962, however, illustrates a broad range of public response. In the *Calhoun Times*, a journalist warned that, 'Anyone ... expecting to see an Indian wigwam ... is in for a big disappointment. New Echota wasn't that sort of town, and the Cherokees weren't that sort of Indians.'<sup>126</sup> A local politician optimistically suggested that, 'this dedication will make us better Americans, for Americans use their mistakes as stepping stones for something more worthwhile'.<sup>127</sup> In contrast to the 1931 memorial unveiling, in 1962 there was significant Cherokee presence, and the press reported that, 'Georgians and ... Cherokees heaped praise and admiration on each other'.<sup>128</sup> In the subsequent five

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<sup>123</sup> Andrew Sparks, 'Indian Village Comes to Life Again', *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, 4 September 1960, p.5.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>125</sup> Cited: Gilmore, *The Georgia Historical Commission*, p.107.

<sup>126</sup> J. Roy McGinty, 'Echota Once Center of Cherokee world', *Calhoun Times*, 10 May 1962, p.1.

<sup>127</sup> 'Georgians, Indians Dedicate Memorial', *Augusta Chronicle*, 13 May 1962, p.4-a.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

decades, several other structures have been re-located to the site, and the Council House, arguably the most significant building in the original town site, was reconstructed in 1992. Also in that year, the Cherokee Nation Council met at New Echota, the first time that the Council had met in Georgia since the early-nineteenth century. Perhaps the essence of the ‘reconstructed’ New Echota was best captured by Jess Wilbanks, the seventy-seven year old farmer who owned the site until the 1950s, when he observed in 1960, ‘It’s sure a show.’<sup>129</sup>



4-13. Vann Tavern, New Echota, 2009

#### 4.7 Analysis

In 1812, the German writer Goethe wrote: ‘America, you are more fortunate than our old continent, You have no ruined castles ... Your soul, your inner life remains untroubled by useless memory’.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, the heritage conservation movement in the United States, and public commemorative projects in general, emerged only in the mid-nineteenth century; and historic reconstructions became part of this activity only in the twentieth century, long after the walls of Carcassonne and Castell Coch re-emerged. Addressing the lack of interest in ‘heritage’ demonstrated by Americans in the early years of the republic, Michael Kammen, an American historian and Pulitzer prize winner, describes the American people of this era as a ‘present-minded people’, and suggests ‘repudiation of the past formed a legacy from the colonial era and a

<sup>129</sup> Cited: Andrew Sparks, ‘Indian Village Comes to Life Again’, *Atlanta Journal Magazine*, 4 September 1960, p.5.

<sup>130</sup> Cited: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.110.

dominant motif in the antebellum mind'.<sup>131</sup> Kammen's position is supported by the claim of the sixth president, John Quincy Adams: 'democracy has no monuments, it strikes no medals'.<sup>132</sup> Following the Civil War, and especially after the Bicentennial in 1876, the 'past' became far more significant in defining an American identity; and since Fort Ticonderoga, historic reconstructions in America have played a more frequent and arguably more complex role than reconstructions in either France or Britain. As illustrated by, for instance, Fort Clatsop, they have even become 'authentic' history in their own right. As in France and Britain, the role of historic reconstructions in the United States can be situated within larger discussions of public memory and national identity, with three general themes evident: patriotism, the frontier, and the 'common man'.

The Revolution and George Washington are central to the theme of 'patriotism', as demonstrated by the first significant American heritage conservation project, the preservation of Mount Vernon in the 1860s, and the first major historic reconstruction project, at Fort Ticonderoga, in 1906. The dual stories of Revolution and colonialism, both represented by the latter project, suggest the complexity of the narrative of 'patriotism'; within this narrative, the emergence of the United States as an 'exceptional' nation, and a British legacy of Protestant religion and the English language, must be reconciled. As Kammen notes:

the proliferation of historical tales and anecdotes made mythical time – that is, heavy reliance upon sacred stories related to such moments as 1492, 1607, 1620, 1630, 1776, etc. – a genuine competitor with historical time and a complex source of false historical consciousness. Americans believed that they knew much more about the past than they actually did.<sup>133</sup>

Thus, at Colonial Williamsburg, the 1704 Capitol was reconstructed rather than the mid-eighteenth century structure that was more closely associated with the new republic, yet this fact is ignored within the site's narrative of patriotism. At the Revere House, the seventeenth-century building was reconstructed to an assumed eighteenth-century appearance, reclaiming the associations with the Revolution and, as Appleton suggested, helping to 'Americanize' the 'newcomers', who spoke languages other than English, and lacked connection with the British roots of America.

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<sup>131</sup> Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1991), pp.40-41.

<sup>132</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 8 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1876), p.433.

<sup>133</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords*, p.206.

This selection of a specific, if largely mythic, past in early-twentieth century United States to legitimise a present, and the celebration of ‘historical’ sites – even the reconstruction of built elements of these sites – to further an official history, parallels the work of Viollet-le-Duc. In the United States, it was not the government regime *per se* that was responsible for these ‘patriotism-supporting’ historic reconstructions, but rather a surrogate – families that held political and economic power, such as the Pells and the Rockefellers – and ‘patriotism’ obviously served the hegemonic interests of such families. When the federal government became more engaged in heritage conservation, the initial historic reconstruction projects, such as Wakefield, reiterated these values of patriotism, often at the expense of authenticity. The federal government, however, soon focussed on a second major theme: the exploration and conquest of the West.

By the turn of the twentieth century, exploration, conquest and settlement of the American West had largely been accomplished, and a highly romanticised ‘memory’ of this history was being legitimised through art and popular culture. Early historians claimed that engagement with the West defined the ‘uniqueness’ of America. These included Frederick Jackson Turner, who presented his ‘frontier thesis’ in a paper given to the American Historical Association, in 1893; he claimed that:

The advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.<sup>134</sup>

Contemporary historians Eric Foner and Jon Weiner, professors at Columbia University and the University of California at Irvine respectively, summarise Turner’s thesis of westward expansion as, ‘a mystical social process in which European culture was stripped away by settlers’ encounter with nature’, but he then notes that, ‘the West’s development was not simple heroic progress: American history contains many Wests, all more or less invented.’<sup>135</sup>

John Bodnar writes that the emergence of the theme of exploration and conquest of the West coincided with,

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<sup>134</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, ‘The Significance Of The Frontier In American History’, cited: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/>; [accessed: 7 September 2009].

<sup>135</sup> Eric Fober and Jon Wiener, ‘Fighting for the West’, *The Nation*, 253/4 (1991), pp. 163-66 (p.163).

a period in which government attempted to increase its influence over many aspects of American society and culture, [in which] the National Park Service began a significant attempt to rationalize and centralize the process of selecting historical landmarks and sites.<sup>136</sup>

Bodnar, who has written extensively on immigrant groups in the United States and public memory, and is co-director of the Center for Study of History and Memory at Indiana University, cites the passage of the 1935 Historic Sites Act as an important stage in this process.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, the most common narrative represented at sites recognised and developed during this phase is the American West, an official history illustrated, for example, by the 'Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery', and the federal government's reconstruction of Fort Clatsop. The original site was merely a temporary encampment, and the reconstruction was based on limited evidence, at best. Reconstruction of Fort Vancouver and Fort Union Trading Post by the federal government also serve as tangible representations of this story: the westward expansion of the economic and social structures of the American state.

Bodnar suggests that the use of history in the United States has long been an engagement between the official sphere and vernacular culture, the 'small realms of ordinary people' and the 'larger world of political structures'.<sup>138</sup> Projects such as Fort Ticonderoga and the various endeavours of the National Park Service in the 1930s illustrate the latter, and seem similar to the French experience. Bodnar's concept of a vernacular culture, especially its expression in 'heritage' activities, is closely related to Samuel's idea of the democratic use of history, as demonstrated by phenomena such as railway museums and an interest in genealogy. Bodnar also agrees with Samuel that a dynamic relationship exists between the official and vernacular pasts, between history and collective memory. Bodnar assumes that,

Public memory will change again as political power and social arrangements change. New symbols will have to be constructed to accommodate these new formations, and old ones will be invested with new meaning. Pluralism will coexist with hegemony. But ... how effective will vernacular interests be in containing the cultural offensive of authorities?<sup>139</sup>

In this model, historic reconstructions play an important role in the accommodation of vernacular history; the reconstruction in 1918 of the original five

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<sup>136</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p.169.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.178-9.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.252-3.

log cabins by the Old Salem League, subsequently replaced by the State's own reconstructions, is an early example. Schwartz has extensively analysed the evolution of both Washington and Lincoln as national symbols, representing official histories, and has discussed in detail the use of historic reconstruction to achieve this in the case of Lincoln.<sup>140</sup> It is not New Salem where Lincoln lived for several years as an adult, however, but his birthplace that has been adopted as the official symbol; as Schwartz notes, 'Lincoln had forgotten his first home; his admirers had not.'<sup>141</sup> The log cabin in which Lincoln was born had been dismantled in the mid-nineteenth century, and presumed lost; however, it was found at the end of the century, exhibited at Nashville and Buffalo, and finally re-erected in 1916 under the authority of Congress, notwithstanding serious questions regarding the authenticity of the logs. This official Lincoln cabin was placed within a marble structure. As Schwartz observes, 'Just as an imposing grotto was built over the humble birthplace of Christ, so a temple was built over the humble birthplace of Lincoln ... The container and its contents define one another.'<sup>142</sup>

Another way in which historic reconstructions have served the vernacular cause has been the re-use of projects, initially developed to illustrate an official history, now employed to tell alternative stories or histories associated with the site. An example is the interpretation of slavery at Colonial Williamsburg, especially as introduced by the 'auction' in 1994, controversial in part because it brings into conflict official and vernacular memories of the past, and in part because it does so within a physical forum reconstructed to serve the former. At Andersonville, a Civil War prison camp in Georgia, the federal government has long addressed a difficult chapter in the official history of the United States through the abstract presentation of the site as a 'commemorative landscape', indeed, a romantic landscape more conducive to reflection of big ideas like reconciliation and the futility of war, than the specific and graphic cruelties imposed upon Americans by Americans. The recent, and limited, historic reconstruction at the site, encouraged by the local community but anathema to the professionals (albeit approved by the NPS Director), attempts to interpret a more vernacular memory of that past, and a memory at odds – in tone, if not detail – with the official one.

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<sup>140</sup> Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p.276.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p.281.



In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that the role of historic reconstructions in the United States parallels the French experience in helping to legitimise, through 'physical evidence' representing selected periods or events, an official history of the nation, and thus an official definition of the contemporary nation, an effort often dependent on feelings of patriotism. The American theme of exploration and conquest of the West also evokes the French attempt to define the entire nineteenth-century country with elements of a northern, mediaeval past (for example, the tower roofs of Carcassonne). A significant difference in the United States is the use of historic reconstructions by communities to remember the collective or vernacular past, and even the re-use of earlier historic reconstructions to this end. This suggests a living, or continuing experience of history, as opposed to Nora's France, with memories cached in *lieux des mémoire*. Rather, the use of historic reconstructions to remember the non-official or vernacular past is similar to Samuel's observations of the growing popularity of heritage activities in Britain; however, in the studies undertaken in Britain by Samuel and others, including Lowenthal, heritage is defined by a range of activities such as genealogy, railway museums, and historic re-enactments. In Britain, historic reconstructions play a lesser role than in France or the United States, with Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, undertaken by an American, Sam Wanamaker, for ideological reasons, a possible exception. A reason for the exuberant embrace of historic reconstructions in the United States, to understand and even make both the official and vernacular past, is suggested by the eminent American geographer and philosopher Yi-Fu Tuan, who writes, 'the past excites us because it is in fact a new frontier'.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Rootedness Versus Sense of Place', *Landscape*, 24/1 (1980), pp. 3-8 (p.8).

## Canada

### 5.1 Introduction

Although the respective modern identities of France, Britain and the United States emerged from revolution, either political or economic, Canada as a state was unromantically borne in the mid-nineteenth century, of a bureaucratic process. In 1867, the British Parliament at Westminster passed the first British North America Act, establishing the 'Dominion of Canada'; the colonies of Canada (Ontario and



5-1. Map of Canada in 1867 /LAC

Québec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, became provinces, with specific constitutional powers, distinct from the new authority they also assumed as a collective, and vested in a federal government. The Act also anticipated, correctly, the subsequent creation of other provinces and territories.<sup>1</sup> There has been no civil war in Canada, or

other internal upheavals of such magnitude, notwithstanding the aspirations of the Québec sovereignty movement in the late-twentieth century, and the country has grown to become the second largest state, geographically, in the world. In 1949, Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada, and in 1999, the Arctic region of Nunavut became the third territory of Canada.<sup>2</sup> The provinces maintain significant constitutional authority, including exclusive control of civil and property rights, and of education. They also hold, and exercise, rights of taxation.

The colonies which joined confederation in 1867, thus becoming provinces, entered with pre-existing and distinct cultural identities. Several factors had influenced development of these identities, including European colonisation over several centuries, the interaction of colonists with indigenous peoples, and various waves of immigrants from the United States, including enslaved African-Americans

<sup>1</sup> Several subsequent Acts of the British Parliament, also termed British North America Act, patriated various other authorities to Canada; the 1982 Canada Act was the final in this series, totally patriating all constitutional authority to Canada.

<sup>2</sup> The Province of Newfoundland was officially renamed the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, in 2001.

following the American Revolution and in the years leading to the American Civil War. Another significant influence was geography, which differs dramatically from one region to another. In the twentieth century, the pluralism of Canadian society fabric was increased by new waves of immigration, initially from Europe, and then from many world regions, especially China and south-Asia. In the late-twentieth century, the indigenous peoples of Canada assumed a greater voice, especially within the most westerly provinces, where First Nations have had lesser periods of contact with European settlement; this has created an even more complex cultural mosaic.

Within this context of a bureaucratic foundation and subsequent waves of immigration, Canadian history has largely been framed by the quest to define the 'Canadian identity', to question its existence, and even to question the desirability of its existence. Voltaire described Canada as, 'a few acres of snow', a stereotype which remains for many in the world;<sup>3</sup> and indeed, Marshall McLuhan, the well-known Canadian cultural-theorist, who in the 1960s anticipated the post-national 'global village', observed that, 'Canada is the only country in the world that knows how to live without an identity'.<sup>4</sup> Heritage conservation, a movement that emerged in Canada only in the twentieth-century, has been a revealing reflection of this quest, and historic reconstructions have been a large part of the field in Canada. This chapter provides a broad historical context for understanding the quest to articulate a Canadian identity, and within this context, identifies key events defining the emergence of a Canadian heritage conservation movement.

## 5.2 Peoples of Canada

In 1960, archaeologists discovered the site of the eleventh-century Norse settlement of Straumfiord, in northern Newfoundland. Designated a world heritage site in 1978, and 'renamed' L'Anse aux meadows, this site illustrates the first known European attempt at colonisation in North America. The settlement was sustained for only a few decades, and the original event had arguably had less influence on Canada's national identity than this twentieth-century discovery, and the subsequent development of a 'historic site'.

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<sup>3</sup> See: Paul Simpson-Housley and Glen Norcliffe, eds, *A Few Acres of Snow* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Marshall McLuhan, in a television broadcast; cited: <http://oldfraser.lexi.net/publications/forum/1998/august/identity.html> ; [accessed: 15 September 2010].

French efforts at the beginning of the seventeenth century resulted in the first substantial and sustained European colonisation in Canada. Although French claims began with the explorations in 1534 of the Saint Lawrence River region by Jacques Cartier, initial settlement attempts failed. In 1604, however, a party led by Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts, met with more success. While the first winter was spent on Ile-Saint-Croix, an island in the Bay of Fundy, the party re-established on the mainland the following year, naming the settlement Port-Royal; and although that settlement was destroyed in 1613, the French colony of Acadie, later the British colony of Nova Scotia, was permanently established. De Monts' party included Marc Lescarbot, an author and lawyer, and Samuel de Champlain, a cartographer and draughtsman. Both men subsequently published accounts of the Port-Royal settlement, including visual and textual descriptions of the *habitation*, or the complex of buildings erected by the colonists.<sup>5</sup> In 1608, Champlain founded the city of Québec, on the Saint Lawrence River, and the capital of the second French colony in North America. During the seventeenth century, French colonisation extended throughout much of the interior of the continent, as far west as the current prairie province of Saskatchewan, and south to the Gulf of Mexico. An important goal of this exploration was economic, specifically the fur trade; a second defining aspect of French colonisation was the 'search for souls', and especially the missionary efforts of the Jesuits. Agrarian-based societies soon emerged in both Acadie and Québec, although still highly influenced by the church.

The eighteenth century witnessed the near disappearance of France's North America Empire, yet in its wake emerged distinct francophone societies, primarily in current-day Canada. By 1710, the British had captured Port-Royal, and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, formally acquired most of Acadie, renaming the town Annapolis Royal and the colony Nova Scotia.<sup>6</sup> The treaty also gave Britain much of the territory

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<sup>5</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1609). An English translation by E. Erondelle was published the same year as: Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia* (London: George Bishop, 1609). Another English translation, by W.L. Grant, was published by the Champlain Society, together with the original French text, as: Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, 3 vols (Toronto: G. Bishop, 1911). A facsimile edition of the seventeenth-century English version has also been issued as: Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia: A Description of Acadia, 1606* (London: George Routledge, 1928). Also, Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613). A facsimile edition, together with an English translation by W.F. Ganong, was issued by the Champlain Society as: Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, H.P. Biggar, 6 vols (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922).

<sup>6</sup> Port-Royal, the capital of the French colony of *Acadie*, was about five miles distant from the original 1605 settlement site.

around Hudson's Bay, crucial to the fur trade, and Newfoundland, also a strategic area, in this case for the fisheries. France did retain the island of Cape Breton, however, which became the colony of Ile-Royal, and in 1719 established the town of Louisbourg as capital of that new colony, and as protection for the entrance to the Saint Lawrence River. For a generation the population of Acadie lived as British subjects, yet continued to decline demands to swear allegiance to the British crown. In 1755, they were ordered to leave Nova Scotia, and relocate in the other British colonies to the south, an exile remembered as *Le Grand Dérangement*. In 1758, Louisbourg was captured by the British, and the following year Québec was taken; with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French empire in North America was gone, save for the small islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, today an overseas French territory. The distinctiveness of Québec was encouraged, however, by the 1774 Québec Act that protected the position of the Roman Catholic Church, and maintained the French system of civil law in that colony.

British claim to Canada dates to the 1497 voyage of Italian explorer Giovanni Caboto ('John Cabot') who, sailing under a charge from Henry VII, reached North America, most likely Newfoundland; however, early English colonisation focused on the mid-Atlantic seaboard, beginning with the establishment of Jamestown in 1607 in what is now the United States. By 1627, a permanent English settlement had been established at St. John's, Newfoundland, although primarily to service the seasonal fishery harvest. In 1668, the English ship *Nonesuch* reached the Hudson's Bay, and two years later Charles II chartered 'the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay', known as the Hudson's Bay Company, a fierce rival to French fur trading ambitions in the interior of North America. In 1621, James I of Scotland granted Sir William Alexander, later Earl of Stirling, a royal charter to settle lands coinciding with the French colony of Acadie, to be known as the Barony of Nova Scotia; Sir William's son established a briefly-lived settlement in the vicinity of de Monts' original *habitation*, but the most lasting legacy of the Scottish adventure is the name of the current province. The most influential era of British settlement in Canada, however, began in the eighteenth century.

As noted, the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht gave the Hudson's Bay lands and mainland Nova Scotia to Britain. The former provided unchallenged access to the fur trade, and an area key to the security of British interests in the northern and interior regions; the latter provided arable land and access to timber and fisheries resources,

and thus an area with potential for colonisation. In 1749, Halifax was established as capital of Nova Scotia and as a naval counter to Louisbourg. Immigration to Nova Scotia from the British Isles in the eighteenth century occurred in sporadic waves, for example, Ulster Scots in the 1760s, and colonists from Yorkshire in the 1770s. Following the American Revolution, British North America was essentially current-day Canada, and emigration from Britain obviously focused on these colonies. During the nineteenth century, these northern colonies became an important element within the global British Empire, with both trade and security value; however, the 'pre-existing' French tradition, and the proximity to the rebellious former colonies to the south, ensured a continuing challenge to British cultural hegemony, absent in colonies such as Australia and New Zealand.

Organised emigration from the United States to Canada predates the modern founding of either nation, and began with the enticement in the 1760s to 'New England Planters', chiefly from Connecticut, to occupy the fertile farms of the exiled Acadians in Nova Scotia.<sup>7</sup> Following the American Revolution, tens of thousands of Americans loyal to the British crown – the 'United Empire Loyalists', or Loyalists – moved northward, primarily to Canada (southern Ontario today) and Nova Scotia, and some to the southern part of Québec, now known as the Eastern Townships. Those Loyalists moving to the northern part of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, along the Saint John River, were significant enough in number to create the new colony of New Brunswick, in 1785. Amongst this group were significant numbers of slaves, often offered freedom and land in exchange for loyalty to the crown. In Nova Scotia, for example, they were granted land at Birch Cove (later called 'Birchtown'), but land impossible to till; most resorted to working for white Loyalists who established the nearby town of Shelburne.<sup>8</sup> Emigration of enslaved African-Americans to Canada continued during the decades leading to the American Civil War, largely through the 'underground railway', a loosely-organised network of emancipation sympathisers in the United States, which helped enslaved people escape from 'slave states' of the southern United States to the freedom of Canada, usually to southern Ontario.<sup>9</sup> The late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were generally characterised by a more

<sup>7</sup> See: Margaret Conrad, ed., *They planted well: New England planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> See: Barry Cahill, 'The Black Loyalist Myth in Atlantic Canada', *Acadiensis*, 29/1 (1999), pp. 76-87.

<sup>9</sup> For a general discussion of the history and recent commemoration, see: [http://www.pc.gc.ca/canada/proj/cfc-ugrr/index\\_e.asp](http://www.pc.gc.ca/canada/proj/cfc-ugrr/index_e.asp) ; [accessed: 15 September 2010].

open border between the United States and Canada, and the relatively unrestricted movement of people; the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) aims to restore, to some degree, this labour mobility.

During the twentieth century, immigration to Canada grew in both numbers and in countries of origin. Prior to the First World War, significant numbers of immigrants from central Europe were recruited, and in 1913 over 400,000 Ukrainians settled on the Canadian prairie; today, the Ukrainian community in Canada is the largest outside of the Ukraine and Russia. Following the 1956 Hungarian uprising, 100,000 Hungarians immigrated to Canada. In 1967 the Canadian Immigration Act was substantially amended, resulting in a more diverse – less European - immigrant pool. In the 2001 census, 4 % of the Canadian population were of South Asian (Indian, Pakistan, Bangladeshi) origin, 3.9 % were Chinese, 4.63 were Italian, 10 % German, 13.9% Irish, 4 % North American Indian, and 2.5 % Black. In 2007, 236,756 immigrants entered Canada; China and India were the first and second most popular countries of emigration, the United States and the United Kingdom, the fifth and sixth respectively, and France the eleventh most popular. Canada may well be the most ethnically-pluralistic country in the world, an illustration of McLuhan's 'global village'.

### 5.3 Identity-defining Events / Themes

As the idea of 'Canada' has emerged from this ongoing story of the confrontation and mixture of many distinct cultures, 'Canadian identity' has evolved, from an initial reliance on a European heritage, especially the embrace of French and British founders, to a variously-demonstrated anti-Americanism, and a current acceptance of pluralism, and perhaps ultimately a national identity defined as much by shared values as a shared history. In a survey undertaken in 1995, seventy-four per cent of respondents agreed that Canadians 'have a distinct character that makes us different from other people in the world'; and when asked what makes Canada distinct from other countries, thirty-eight per cent identified social programmes, twenty-three per cent identified a tradition of non-violence, and only twelve per cent chose 'history and climate'.<sup>10</sup> Several events, however, during the past several centuries are key to an understanding of a contemporary sense of national identity in Canada. Some events

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<sup>10</sup> 'Surprising Returns', *MacLean's Magazine*, 1 July 1995, p. 15.

are well-known chapters in the official chronicle of Canadian history, and some have less profile within the public historical consciousness, but retain important symbolic reference, possibly even serving as *lieux des mémoire*; however, collectively these events have directly influenced the evolution of a heritage conservation movement in Canada, and within this movement, help explain the role of historic reconstructions. These events can be considered within a chronological framework of: colonial-era, confederation, and post-confederation.

### 5.3.1 Colonial-era Events

The role of explorer Samuel de Champlain in establishing the first French settlement in North America, at Québec, has been noted. The place given to Champlain in Canada's official history, especially by English-speaking historians, illustrates the way in which this event has been used to define a Canadian identity: European heritage, with Christian and Caucasian definition, more important than any specific European nationality. In 1855, John McMullen, an Irish emigrant to Ontario, published a *History of Canada*, in which he aimed to, 'infuse a spirit of Canadian nationality into the people generally – to mould the native born citizen, the Scotch, the English, and the Irish emigrant into a compact whole'.<sup>11</sup> To this end, and notwithstanding the intended audience, McMullen presented Champlain as a hero. Brook Taylor, a professor of Canadian history at Mount St. Vincent University, suggests that in McMullen's publication, 'the founder of Québec was transformed into the father of Canada, and in the process was the first of many to be assimilated into a pantheon of national heroes.'<sup>12</sup> The continuing iconic role of Champlain in the 'founding' of Canada was again illustrated in 1905, when a society was established to publish important documents in Canadian history, assuming the name of, 'The Champlain Society'. The criterion of European foundation in defining Canada has been sustained, and has easily accommodated most of the immigration to the country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, it has been increasingly challenged in the twenty-first century, by both the changing immigrant demographic and the emergent native-Canadian voice.

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<sup>11</sup> Cited: M. Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans, Historiography in Nineteenth-century Canada* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p.154.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.



In 1763, the Treaty of Paris, ending the Seven Year's War, signalled the second major event defining Canadian identity – the acquisition by Britain of virtually the entire French empire in North America. In Canada, however, it is one single incident which is remembered as the defining moment of this larger struggle – the fall of Québec City, following the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, in 1759. Both leaders – General James Wolfe and the Marquis de Montcalm – died in the battle, and reference to the 'Plains of Abraham' has taken on an association with not only the British conquest of Canada, but also the subsequent political relationship between the dominant anglophone population of Canada and the francophone populace, the largest minority group in the country. Much of the actual battle site, adjacent to the original city walls, was built upon in the nineteenth century. In 1908, the tercentenary of Champlain's founding of Québec, the site was 'nationalised' by the newly-established Battlefield Park Commission, and with the direct involvement of Earl Grey, the Governor-General. As historian H. Vivian Nelles, professor emeritus at York University, has noted, however, 'The land once nationalized had to be shaped, marked, transformed. The Plains of Abraham were not there to be found; they had to be created. To preserve this historic site, it first had to be made.'<sup>13</sup> Frederick Todd, an American landscape architect who had moved to Montreal, was given the commission and produced a design that seemed to avoid major overt reference to winner or loser, and was in fact reminiscent of the recently developed Civil War Battlefield at Gettysburg, a site which Earl Grey had visited.<sup>14</sup>



5-2. Québec City market, below citadel, undated /LAC

<sup>13</sup> H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Québec's Tercentenary* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 286.

<sup>14</sup> See: Rodger Todhunter, 'Preservation, Parks and the Vice-Royalty', *Landscape Planning*, 12 (1985), pp.141-60 (p.156).

Soon after France lost her North American empire, much of British North America was also lost, emerging as the United States of America. This event has also remained a crucial event in defining a Canadian identity, not least due to the actual and perceived influence of the British colonists who chose to remain loyal to the British crown, and to remain in North America, re-settling in the colonies to the north. Generally referred to as 'United Empire Loyalists', though called 'Royalists' by American patriots, these 'immigrants' to Canada, numbering in the tens of thousands, profoundly influenced the subsequent development of the loyal northern colonies, and the national identity which emerged. Many Loyalists moved to the Niagara peninsula of Ontario, bordering the Great Lakes, and formed the nucleus of what is arguably the wealthiest and most politically influential region in Canada. The Loyalists also founded new towns in Nova Scotia, including Shelburne and Saint John, and were the impetus for the formation of the new colony of New Brunswick, established in 1784, through the partition of Nova Scotia; they also established themselves in Québec, especially the region southeast of Montreal, adjacent to the American border, a region now known as the Eastern Townships.

The Loyalists established an undisputed anglophone, 'pro-British' majority in Canada; loyalty to the British crown was a seldom questioned virtue. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, descendants placed the initials 'UEL' after their name as an unofficial honorific; in this spirit, organisations were formed promoting loyalty to the British crown, such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), established in 1900. The long-lasting, pro-British crown aspect of the Canadian identity was later demonstrated by the response to royal visits. George IV was the first to visit what is now Canada, in 1786, although he was then Prince Henry; the 1939 visit of George VI and Queen Elizabeth was the first visit by a reigning monarch, and the recorded images of this event remain prominent in the official Canadian chronicle. The visit in 1983 by Prince Charles and Princess Diana demonstrated a remaining sense of attachment; the more recent royal tour by Prince Charles and the Duchess of Cornwall, in 2009, drew crowds only in the tens to some public events, and may indicate that attachment to the British crown is diminishing as an element defining Canadian identity, yet in the absence of any substantial anti-monarchist movement.

If European foundation and a loyalty to the British crown were early parameters of Canadian identity, a third criterion – anti-Americanism – emerged in the early nineteenth century, facilitated by the Loyalist influence, but cemented by the

War of 1812. An outgrowth of the Napoleonic wars, this engagement between Britain and the United States was fought on both Canadian and American soil. The White House in Washington, DC was burned down by the British, while a British attack on New Orleans was repulsed by Andrew Jackson, later president, with significant British losses. The 1814 Treaty of Ghent essentially re-established pre-war boundaries, but the concept that 'anti- American' defined Canada was established, and Americans and Canadians still disagree on the victor of that war.

### 5.3.2 Confederation

Canada was officially created July 1, 1867 by the British North America Act. It represented the union of some, but not all, the colonies in British North America as a semi-independent nation, within the sphere of the British Empire, and consisted of the four new provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec and Ontario. Of these, only New Brunswick held a public referendum on union, with a majority voting against. In Nova Scotia, a substantial public resistance was led by journalist Joseph Howe, and even in the 1930s, membership in the federation was questioned in political platforms during provincial elections. In fact, 1867 was only one moment in a multi-century bureaucratic process of establishing the legal basis of Canada. In 1791, the colonies of Upper (Ontario) and Lower (Québec) Canada were established. In 1837, both colonies witnessed armed revolt against the oligarchies that controlled the colonial governments. Lord Durham investigated and recommended sweeping reform in a 1839 report, especially a more 'responsible' form of government, wherein the elected representatives were ultimately responsible for establishing the government administration. Responsible government was first established in Nova Scotia in 1848 – the first example in the British Empire – and subsequently was established in the other North American colonies.

Following the initial Confederation in 1867, the colonies of Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island joined in 1870, 1871 and 1873, respectively. The provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created in 1905, and the colony of Newfoundland joined in 1949. Three territories in the Canadian north have been established, but remain within the realm of federal constitutional authority – Northwest Territories (1870), Yukon (1898) and Nunavut (1999). Various Acts of the British parliament have extended the sovereignty of Canada, most notably the 1931 Statute of Westminster which recognised the equal authority of parliaments of former

colonies such as Canada and Australia, and the Canada Act of 1982, which conveyed total constitutional authority to the Canadian parliament, an authority accepted by passage in the Canadian parliament of the Constitution Act; both acts received royal assent by Elizabeth II in her various rights, as Queen of Britain, and of Canada. Notwithstanding this historic, bureaucratic saga, 1867 is acknowledged and celebrated as the year of the founding of Canada.

### 5.3.3 Post-confederation Events

A survey of significant events in Canada's post-confederation history supports the suggestion that shared values are as important as shared history, in defining a Canadian identity. While the specific events included in the following discussion obviously do not represent a definitive history of Canada, they do indicate five broad themes that collectively reflect most aspects of the country's past. These themes are geography, war, peace, modernity and multi-culturalism.

Although Canada, in 1867, touched only the Atlantic Ocean and some of the Great Lakes, the country's founding document anticipated expansion, westward and northward, to the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Understanding and engaging with this continental-scale geography has, over one and a half centuries, resulted in major achievements and enduring national myths. From the beginning, the challenge of traversing this geography was a major part of the political agenda. Several colonies joined the federation only because of promised railway connections; when British Columbia became a province in 1871, for example, the agreement stipulated that a railway would connect eastern Canada with the Pacific within ten years. In 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was completed with the ceremonial 'driving of the last spike', and as well-known Canadian author Peter C. Newman writes, 'trains became the country's dominant metaphor'.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, books written in the mid-twentieth century by popular Canadian historian Pierre Burton, and subsequent television programmes based on these works, have added the phrases 'the national dream' and 'the last spike' to the Canadian vocabulary.<sup>16</sup>

The CPR remains an important Canadian symbol, but its nineteenth-century completion is related to a larger story, the 'conquest' of the continent, both west and

<sup>15</sup> Peter C. Newman, 'The National Dream Derailed', *MacLean's Magazine*, 1 July 1995, pp. 30-36 (p.32).

<sup>16</sup> Pierre Burrton, *The National Dream* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970); and, *The Last Spike* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971).

north. An important aspect of the mythology of Canadian conquest of the continent runs counterpoint to the corresponding American myth; in Canada, the North West Mounted Police arrived before the settlers, bringing a 'law and order' model to settlement in this region, in contrast to the 'Wild West' of American popular culture. In 1897, conquest of the continent took on a new focus with discovery of gold in the Klondike region of the Yukon. This precipitated a 'gold rush', but again, in Canadian mythology, it is remembered as a generally well-ordered affair. These two events served to frame Canadian identity in terms of geography – peaceful conquest of the continent, the West and the North.



5-3. 'The Last Spike' of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1885 /LAC

Since the nineteenth-century, war has been a significant event in defining Canadian identity. In the Boer War, volunteer troops were sent by Sir Wilfred Laurier, the first Prime Minister from Québec, although many Québécois sympathised with the Afrikaner minority in southern Africa. In World War One, the Canadians fought as part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and at war's end secured, with struggle, an independent seat at the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Versailles.

Newfoundland, which was still a colony at this time, and not yet part of Canada, sent to France the '1st Newfoundland Regiment', which the Germans largely eliminated at the Battle of Beaumont Hamel, in 1916. In World War Two, Canada fought as a fully

independent entity, with 1.1 million military participants, and 45,000 deaths. Conscription, generally supported in English Canada but abhorred in Québec, was eventually adopted by the federal government.

Although the memory of war, and thus its role in defining Canada, is reinforced in almost every town and village with a ‘war memorial’ or cenotaph, at least one such monument has come to symbolise Canada in a more complex role, that is, the role of Canada within an international context. During World War One, the battle for Vimy Ridge, over Easter 1917, was the first time in the war that a totally Canadian force fought under Canadian command. After the war, this was the site chosen for the official Canadian war monument. Designed by Canadian sculptor Walter Allward, in a surprisingly Modern idiom, the monument was constructed in 1925-36, and rises one hundred twenty feet.<sup>17</sup> The primary theme is ‘sacrifice’, and the names of the 11,285 Canadian soldiers who went missing in France are inscribed on the monument. A second theme, however, is incorporated into the design, and is suggested by Jaqueline Hucker, a Parks Canada historian:

The theme of noble sacrifice was conjoined with that of civic obligation illustrated by two figure groups known as the “Defenders”—one the “Breaking of the Sword,” the other the “Sympathy of Canadians for the Helpless”— which anchor the monument at either end of the front wall.<sup>18</sup>



5-4. Unveiling the Vimy Memorial, 1936 /LAC



5-5. Vimy Memorial detail/ LAC

<sup>17</sup> See: Jacqueline Hucker, ‘Battle and Burial Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada’s National Memorial on Vimy Ridge’, *The Public Historian*, 31/1 (2009), pp. 89-109.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

This idea that Canada has a larger ‘mission’ in the world is now a strong element of national identity, and may find roots in this response to the experience of war.

In 1957, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Lester Pearson, a Canadian diplomat and later Prime Minister, for his efforts in diffusing the Suez Canal Crisis. Indeed, these efforts resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Peace Keeping programme, in which Canada has participated over many decades, and which in turn has contributed to a sense of national identity. In the 1960s, when the United States, with the support of other countries including Australia and New Zealand, waged war in Viet Nam, Canada remained pointedly apart, even welcoming Americans fleeing conscription to that war. Indeed, the Canadian stance to the Viet Nam war served to define Canada, both internally and within an international context, during that period; Canada’s refusal to join Britain and the United States in the more recent Iraq campaign has equally served to define a unique Canadian identity.

In the mid-twentieth century, a growing sense of ‘modernity’ emerged in Canada, parallel to an increasing urbanisation. Establishment of national cultural institutions both demonstrated this modernity, and shaped it, especially institutions such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board of Canada, and the Canada Council for the Arts. Representing both Canada’s growing international role and its emerging sense of modernity, was the 1967 World’s Fair, ‘Expo’ 67’, held in Montréal. Iconic exhibits included Buckminster Fuller’s geodesic



5-6. Expo '67, Montreal / LAC



5-7. Expo '67, Montreal / LAC

dome (the American pavilion) and Moshe Safdie’s ‘Habitat’ project. Expo’ 67 took place within an especially complex social context - the latter years of Québec’s ‘Quiet Revolution’, a term used to describe the rapid and dramatic shift from a rural

population in Québec, much influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, to a largely secular and far more urban population.

This period also saw the rise of a 'separatist' political movement within Québec, and indeed, to many the desire of a significant minority of Québec citizens to separate from Canada is an important aspect defining Canada. Although the magnitude of change wrought in Québec by the Quiet Revolution, and the sincerity of the Québec 'sovereignist' movement, should not be understated, Canada has long been defined by political dissent. As noted earlier, in at least one of the original provinces of confederation, a majority voted not to join, and likewise with the initial referendum held in Newfoundland regarding union with Canada. More recently, a sentiment of 'western alienation' has resulted in the formation of a political party in Alberta dedicated to Alberta's separation from Canada, with candidates fielded in recent provincial elections.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, such political dissent and exploration of redefined political structures, may well be another expression of 'modernity' in Canada, especially seen within a global context where similar discussions are being held in many states, including Britain, Spain and Belgium.

In 1968, Pierre Elliot Trudeau became prime minister, and immediately accepted many of the recommendations of a Royal Commission on bilingualism and biculturalism; most importantly, French and English became the two official languages of Canada, in 1969. The notion of two founding nations (Britain and France), and thus two defining cultures, became firmly entrenched even as this policy of biculturalism was becoming a less accurate reflection of Canadian society. The appointment of the last two governors-general may be the clearest example of a more recent definition of Canadian identity – an ethnic pluralism, celebrated and embraced in varying degrees. Adrienne Clarkson, born in Hong Kong, came to Canada as a refugee in 1942 and was invested as Governor-General in 1999; her successor, Michaëlle Jean, immigrated to Canada from Haiti in 1968, and served in the post from 2005 until 2010. Jean was probably the first Canadian Governor-General to be fluent in Creole.

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<sup>19</sup> See: <http://www.separationalberta.com/>; [accessed: 18 September 2010].



#### 5.4 A Canadian Heritage Conservation Context

Heritage conservation, as an organised activity based on theoretical, professional and statutory foundations, emerged late in Canada, relative to France, Britain and the United States. The early commemoration of selected battles, however, was perhaps the first indication of how the past would be used to define the present in Canada. Three memorials, all pre-Confederation, illustrate this early interest. The first recorded 'war memorial' in Canada was a column erected in Montreal in 1809, commemorating the 1805 success of the British Navy in the Napoleonic War. The 'Nelson Column', designed by British architect Robert Mitchell, was erected in Place Jacques Cartier, reportedly the first memorial to Nelson anywhere in the British Empire.<sup>20</sup> In 1997, the original statue was removed from the column, for conservation, and replaced with a replica. In 1824, a monument was erected in Upper Canada (now Ontario) to commemorate the Battle of Queenston Heights, the first major encounter in the War of 1812. Dedicated to Isaac Brock, a hero of that battle, the original monument was destroyed in 1840, and replaced thirteen years later. In Nova Scotia, a massive sandstone lion atop a triumphal arch was constructed in 1860 by mason George Laing. Sited at the entrance to an eighteenth-century burying ground, the 'Welsford-Parker' monument commemorates two Nova Scotians killed in the Crimean War. These three pre-confederation memorials suggest major tendencies in subsequent heritage conservation attitudes: in Québec, the irony of the first Wellington monument erected in the heart of the former French North American Empire belies the inequitable power-sharing of British-minority and francophone-majority populations; in Ontario, a concern with 'made in North America' history, albeit a British-centric perspective; and in Nova Scotia, a lingering, nostalgic, but widely-felt association with the Empire.

Heritage conservation in Canada emerged late, and so also a Canadian reflection on what this phenomenon meant; scholarly analysis remains limited, and is often found in peripheral discussions. The following section provides a broad heritage conservation context, considering four distinct perspectives. The first is development of a literature on historic places and buildings in Canada, as a reflection of public interest and the evolution of a heritage conservation ethic. The second is specific

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<sup>20</sup> See: Harold Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 242.

federal government endeavours, the third is provincial government activities, and the fourth is 'grassroots', non-governmental conservation efforts.

#### 5.4.1 Evolution of a Literature on Historic Places and Buildings

In 1828, Joseph Howe, a journalist and statesman from Nova Scotia, wrote an account of a visit to the town of Annapolis Royal, 'or Old Port Royal, as it was called till the time of Queen Anne',<sup>21</sup> reminding the reader of the decades of struggle between the French and British played out in this venue; Howe observes that 'these matters are now the property of the Historian, and when time has thrown a deeper shade of obscurity around them they will furnish the *matériel* for poetry and romance.'<sup>22</sup> He goes on to describe the architecture of the town, observing that 'on many of the buildings there are signs of decay, and some appear to have been erected at a very early period.'<sup>23</sup> Howe's piece, intended for the general but literate public, was both prescient, as this would be the site of the first Canadian government conservation efforts a century later, and revealing of an interest in both 'Canadian' history and the importance of place and material culture in defining this past.

The nineteenth century, however, saw little substantial Canadian literature published on this topic, in contrast to the situation in Britain and France, but similar to the American experience. The 1926 *Canadian Houses of Romance*, written by Amelia Garvin under the name Katherine Hale, was possibly the first such book published with a country-wide focus and intended for a general audience.<sup>24</sup> The author, an occasional literature critic for the Toronto *Mail and Empire*, did not, 'mean this to be a survey of architectural history', but rather, 'a personal search for places that are still alive and full of memories of the days of their creation.'<sup>25</sup> To this end, the author visited houses in each region of Canada, some well known such as Government House in Halifax and the Chateau de Ramezay in Montreal, and some more obscure, such as the Baily House in Annapolis Royal. In each case Hale offered a mix of architectural description and story. The first is usually simple, such as, 'these toy

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<sup>21</sup> Cited: Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles*, M. G. Parks, ed. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 103; this is a compilation of travel sketches about Nova Scotia, written by Howe and published as a regular feature in the *Nova Scotian*.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Katherine Hale, *Canadian Houses of Romance* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1926).

<sup>25</sup> *The Evening Citizen*, Ottawa, January 10, 1953, sect. 3, p. 5; cited in reference to a subsequent reprinting of the book.

houses were well built, many of them with walls set with clay and rushes of one foot thickness, and having enormous chimneys and fire places'.<sup>26</sup> The latter placed much emphasis on romance, at the expense of historical detail.

*The Old Architecture of Québec*, written by Ramsay Traquair and published in 1947, is the antithesis of Hale's work; it is scholarly and focused on the province of Québec. Traquair, who spent his summers in Nova Scotia, where he died in 1952, introduces the topic with a discussion of the first French settlement at Port Royal, and the buildings erected there, before the focus of French colonisation turned to Québec. After discussing the descriptions of the Port Royal site published in the seventeenth century, Traquair describes the 1939 historic reconstruction, suggesting that, 'The present buildings have no historic authority but they probably look very like the original Habitation of de Monts.'<sup>27</sup> The reconstructed Habitation at Port Royal also appears in the first broad survey of Canadian architecture, Alan Gowans' *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, published in 1958; Gowans was Head of the Art Department at the University of Delaware, and subsequently President of the Society of Architectural Historians.<sup>28</sup> He also includes photographs of a reconstruction Huron Village of the seventeenth century, in Ontario, before beginning discussion of important extant architecture.<sup>29</sup> In 1966, a much-expanded version of Gowans' earlier work was published under the title *Building Canada: an Architectural History of Canadian Life*. Gowans retained the images of these two reconstructions, and noted that since the first publication, interest in Canada's architectural heritage had grown, in both the public and academic spheres, and that 'new societies and organizations dedicated to the study and preservation of significant historical architecture have appeared... in all parts of the country on both local and provincial levels.'<sup>30</sup> The following year, T. Ritchie's *Canada Builds, 1867-1967* was published.<sup>31</sup> Prepared with the support of the author's employer, the National Research Council of Canada, this work is primarily a history of construction techniques employed in the different regions of Canada after Confederation. Nonetheless, Ritchie includes discussion of at

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 70; the reference is to houses in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.

<sup>27</sup> Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Québec* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1947), p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 36.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.18; reference is to the reconstruction of a seventeenth century Huron Village, a project undertaken by the University of Western Ontario.

<sup>30</sup> Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. xix-xx.

<sup>31</sup> T. Ritchie, *Canada Builds 1867-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

least five twentieth-century historic reconstructions, including the Port Royal Habitation, the recently-commenced Fortress of Louisbourg, and the more questionable example of the chapel at Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia, of which the author notes it is, ‘not the original Acadian church, but it probably resembles it in many details. It is a reconstruction’.<sup>32</sup>

Gowans’ work remained the standard survey of Canadian architectural history until the 1994 publication of Harold Kalman’s two-volume *A History of Canadian Architecture*. Kalman, a well known academic and long-time heritage conservation consultant, suggests his book is, ‘a summary history of Canada and Canadians as seen in their most permanent creations: buildings and communities.’<sup>33</sup> Like Gowans three decades earlier, Kalman begins his survey with photographs and discussions of historic reconstructions: the seventeenth-century Huron and Jesuit structures at Sainte-Marie, in Ontario, reconstructed in the 1960s, the circa 1000 AD Norse settlement at L’Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, reconstructed in the 1980s, and the Port Royal Habitation, in Nova Scotia.<sup>34</sup> In the subsequent detailed discussion of three and a half centuries of building in Canada, Kalman incorporates several other historic reconstruction projects, demonstrating a range of scale, region and purpose. The original Fortress Louisbourg is described in detail, yet the historic reconstruction – the largest such project undertaken in Canada – is only briefly noted; the controversial reconstructions of several seventeenth-century buildings in the 1960s on the Place Royale, in the centre of Québec City, requiring the demolition of other structures of potential heritage value, are discussed in slightly more detail. Fort Prince of Wales, on the shores of Hudson’s Bay, is also discussed, and illustrated with an aerial photograph, although the degree to which the site may be considered a historic reconstruction is not addressed.<sup>35</sup> Kalman’s inclusion of so many historic reconstructions suggests not only the degree to which such sites reflect the process of making Canada, but also the relatively common use of such sites today in defining ‘a summary of Canada and Canadians’.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 50; the other two reconstructions discussed are Sainte-Marie, Ontario and Fort Prince of Wales, Manitoba.

<sup>33</sup> Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); p. viii, vol. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5 (Sainte-Marie), pp. 12-13 (L’Anse aux Meadows), and pp. 16-21 (Port Royal).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35 (Louisbourg), pp. 30-31 (Place Royale), and pp. 684-85 (Fort Prince of Wales).

#### 5.4.2 Heritage Conservation as a Federal Government Mandate

In Canada, the national government was late in assuming responsibility in the area of heritage conservation, relative to France, Britain and the United States. This may be partly due to the country's relative youth – by the time of confederation in 1867, the French office of Inspector General of Historic Monuments was decades old, Ruskin's damnation of 'restoration' was defining a national approach to historic structures, and even George Washington's house at Mount Vernon had been rescued from neglect, and established as a national historic site. Beyond this, the provinces had distinct cultural identities, developed prior to confederation, and in the case of Québec and Nova Scotia, over a period of centuries; and even subsequent to Confederation, all provinces held authority for property and civic matters, the sphere within which heritage conservation issues most often fell. Prior to the twentieth century, the federal government's only engagement in the field appears to have been occasional funds to stabilise fortifications of historic value, undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis, and usually as the result of local community pressure, for example at Fort Chambly, Québec, in 1882-84. In 1914, the Dominion Parks Branch, which had previously focused on parks with natural value, initiated a survey of sites with potential for historic parks, and in 1917 established the first such park at Fort Anne, Nova Scotia. The bureaucracy quickly identified the need for a more transparent selection system, and the Minister was advised that,

an honorary board or committee, following the line of the Wild Life Board, [should] be appointed, composed of men from all parts of the country who are authorities on Canadian history, to advise the Department in the matter of preserving those sites which pre-eminently possess Dominion-wide interest.<sup>36</sup>

In 1919, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) was created, and the federal government's central role in defining Canadian heritage was established.

The HSMBC has received little scholarly examination, even though it remains one of the most influential mechanisms within Canadian heritage conservation. The most significant consideration is C. J. Taylor's *Negotiating the Past: the Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, published in 1990.<sup>37</sup> Although a long-time historian with the Canadian Park Service, and thus associated with the HSMBC,

<sup>36</sup> J. B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell, 1 March 1919; cited: C. J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: the Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p.31.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Taylor uses research undertaken during doctoral studies at Carleton University, in the 1980s. He notes that his intention was to examine the development of the programme within the context of the, ‘politics of historic sites’.<sup>38</sup> The literature is completed by two more recent journal pieces: a 1996 article in *The Public Historian* by Shannon Ricketts, also a long-time historian with the federal government, and a 2006 article in the *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* by Yves Yvon Pelletier, a doctoral student at Queen’s University (Canada).<sup>39</sup> While Taylor’s book provides a detailed, chronological account of the development of the HSMBC, with extensive reference to documents of the bureaucracy, Ricketts’ article considers the relationship between the process of selecting sites for commemoration and cultural identity, including the response of francophones in Québec, and Canadians from other regions, during the first two decades of the board’s existence. Pelletier considers the work of the HSMBC during the 1919-1950 period, especially the role of several key members.

A major theme illustrated by this literature is the narrow focus of the board members appointed during the first decades, on a pro-British memory of Canadian history, and the closed, ‘old boys club’ dynamic which enabled this narrow focus; Pelletier suggests it was, ‘another vehicle to commemorate Canada’s Loyalist and Imperialist past ... a common shared belief in the British imperial tradition ensured hegemony and coherence in the selection process.’<sup>40</sup> The first chairman, Brig. Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, served for twenty years, during which time the War of 1812, a topic on which Cruikshank was an expert, was the overwhelmingly most popular theme. Several other early members served for long periods, and also brought personal agendas to the table – for example, Clarence Webster from New Brunswick served for twenty-seven years, although he was initially sceptical of the programme’s goals, asking, ‘How many are there in the East who are competent to pass judgment on the historical features of British Columbia and the West?’<sup>41</sup> Webster eventually served as Chair, however, and championed the cause of the historic reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation. Taylor suggests that Webster had, ‘old world beliefs. He enjoyed being in the company of titled people .... He mistrusted modern values with their

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>39</sup> Shannon Ricketts, ‘Cultural Selection and National Identity: Establishing Historic Sites in a National Framework, 1920-1939’, *The Public Historian*, 18/3 (1996), pp. 23-41; and Yves Yvon Pelletier, ‘The Politics of Selection: the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Imperial Commemoration of Canadian History, 1919-1950’, *Journal of the CHA*, 17/1 (2006), pp. 125-150.

<sup>40</sup> Pelletier, ‘The Politics of Selection’, p. 134.

<sup>41</sup> J. C. Webster to Hon. A. B. Copp, 1 June 1922; cited: Pelletier, ‘The Politics of Selection’, p. 137.

strong emphasis on material success, physical gratification, and the rule of the common man.<sup>42</sup> This description may have applied to much of the early HSMBC membership.

Not sharing this majority vision were the members appointed from Québec; four members from that province resigned between 1924 and 1930, and the alienation of (francophone) Québec from this institution remained a dominant theme for several decades. Indeed, Ricketts suggests that this group was but the largest of many minorities excluded, a list that included First Nations (aboriginal people) and any community not of British descent. She writes, 'The Canadian nation-building experience was seen as an implantation of British-derived institutions, through which all sectors of the population would be assimilated into a unicultural whole.'<sup>43</sup> Although Québec had little opportunity within the HSMBC to express a different collective memory of Canada's past, that province, 'tended to model its heritage programmes on those already established in France, where buildings and townscapes were viewed as artworks to be preserved as part of the Nation's responsibility'.<sup>44</sup> This introduces a second dominant theme in the work of the HSMBC, a conflict between the dual elements of the mission: commemoration and preservation.

Although established with a mandate to both identify and preserve sites of national historic importance, the HSMBC was initially provided with limited funds, and no legislative authority.<sup>45</sup> This meant that identification, or commemoration with an inscribed plaque, was a more likely achievement than actual preservation or conservation work. In 1920, the year after the HSMBC was established, legislation was drafted, modelled on the British Ancient Monuments Act, and intended to provide legal authority to preserve properties of heritage significance. After a decade of discussion between the federal and provincial governments, however, the constitutional authority of the provinces over property matters prevailed, and the bill was never introduced.<sup>46</sup> Although commemoration became the primary activity of the HSMBC, recommendations for the preservation of sites were still made, with preservation being the preferred approach of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

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<sup>42</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 75.

<sup>43</sup> Ricketts, 'Cultural Selection', p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>45</sup> See: Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> See: Ricketts, 'Cultural Selection', p. 26.

members.<sup>47</sup> In 1920, the preservation of several government-owned sites was recommended, including the ruins of Fortress Louisbourg. Initial attempts to stabilise these properties had been criticised by the public, and the need to develop a framework within the Parks Branch to deal with historic parks was subsequently recognised, leading to the second important federal government effort in the field of heritage conservation.

Mere recognition of the need for resources did not mean they were provided. The economic depression of the 1930s, however, and subsequent government-funded programmes to create employment, did provide resources needed to undertake preservation work at several long-recognised sites; and thus began the process of building a system of national historic parks, representing a historical perspective beyond war and the British Empire. This Depression-era phase concluded in 1939 with the historic reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation, the first of many projects in which the federal park system employed reconstructions. Following World War Two, federal commitment to national historic sites greatly increased, due in part to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the development of 'arts, letters, and sciences', or the Massey Commission.<sup>48</sup> This Commission called for the, 'considerable expansion of the federal government's historic sites programme', suggesting that the principal goal should be, 'to instruct Canadians about their history through the emotional and imaginative appeal of associated objects. ... we consider the enjoyment of national history to be a form of entertainment not sufficiently familiar to Canadians.'<sup>49</sup> The Commission also reported that commemoration of sites, while important, had received, 'undue attention' relative to maintenance and restoration', and concluded that 'the most urgent task at the moment is the preservation of sites, of which the historic features are being obliterated.'<sup>50</sup>

In the 1960s, the reconstruction of Fortress Louisbourg began, a project first proposed in the nineteenth century. In many ways it illustrates the evolution of the federal heritage conservation programme, beginning with the acquisition of Fort Anne and the first HSMBC commemorations. Louisbourg remains the largest heritage conservation project undertaken by the federal government. Although it is a historic

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<sup>47</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p.34.

<sup>48</sup> See: Paul Litt, *The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

<sup>49</sup> Canada, *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), p. 346.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.



reconstruction, decisions were based on detailed archival and archaeological investigations, and architectural analysis, and introduced a much higher level of scholarship and professionalism to heritage conservation in Canada. Also significant is the interpretation goal of the project; rather than the military events associated with the French port, it is the daily social and economic life of its citizenry that is primarily explored. Historic reconstructions formed part of the conservation programme at several sites during this expansionary phase. Indeed, in 1992 the Canadian Park Service recognised the need to organise a workshop on reconstructions for site managers and heritage preservation staff. Introducing the three-day session, Christina Cameron, then Director General of National Historic Parks, defined historic reconstructions as both a major part of the interpretative programme and as ‘assets’ to be cared for, noting that, ‘we have inherited or built a lot of them.’<sup>51</sup>

Subsequent to the expansionary period begun in the 1960s, three policy initiatives have impacted significantly on the federal government’s heritage conservation programme, each with significant implication for the role of historic reconstructions. In 1976, the Government of Canada became a signatory to the World Heritage Convention, and to date six Canadian sites placed on the world heritage list because of their ‘cultural value’; three of these incorporate, in some way, historic reconstructions. L’Anse aux Meadows, the site of the Norse settlement in Newfoundland, was designated a world heritage site in 1978, and subsequently, several long houses were reconstructed, although not *in situ*, but adjacent to the actual archaeological site. Québec City was designated a world heritage site in 1985, with one of the most iconic parts of the city – Place Royale – incorporating controversial reconstructions from the 1960s. In 1995, the Town of Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia, was also added to the list of world heritage sites; and in 2001, Saint John’s Church, an iconic element within the Lunenburg townscape, was destroyed by fire and a reconstruction of the structure subsequently built. In 2004, a list of tentative Canadian nominations to the world heritage committee was prepared by Parks Canada, including two which incorporate historic reconstructions. These are: ‘The Klondike’, in the Yukon Territory, which includes the Palace Grand Theatre in Dawson City, reconstructed in the 1960s, and Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, which includes a 1923 structure representing, in very general sense, a church destroyed in 1755.

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<sup>51</sup> Minister of the Environment, *Proceedings of the Canadian Park Service Reconstruction Workshop* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1993), p. 10.

In 1982, the federal government (Treasury Board) adopted a policy to which all departments are subject, and under which any government-owned building more than forty years old is evaluated for heritage value, prior to demolition, alteration or disposal. When a building is deemed to have heritage value, the responsible department must seek to protect those values. Criteria include architectural merit, historical associations, and environmental context. The policy is generally known as FHBRO, after the acronym of the administering agency – the Federal Heritage Building Review Office. Of 40,000 buildings owned by the federal government, half have been evaluated, and 1300 designated, including several historic reconstructions.<sup>52</sup> The Port Royal Habitation has been designated partly for its representation of the early heritage conservation movement in Canada. The ‘chapel’ at Grand Pré, and reconstructed forts from the 1930s and 1050s – Fort George, Ontario and Fort Langley, British Columbia, for example – have also been designated. The FHBRO policy effectively legitimises historic reconstruction.

In 2001, a federal initiative was undertaken to encourage more holistic, integrated heritage conservation in Canada, named the Historic Places Initiative (HPI). A collaboration with provincial, territorial and local governments across the country, several programmes form part of this evolving initiative, including development of standards and guidelines for conservation work. Many of the elements of the HPI are directly influenced by national programmes in the United States; the standards and guidelines, for example, draw significantly from ‘The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties’, first developed by the U. S. government in 1978, and revised in 1998. The American standards, however, include ‘historic reconstruction’ as a recognised level of ‘historic preservation’, albeit within narrowly defined situations; the Canadian standards pointedly omit reference to historic reconstructions. According to a member of the working group which developed the Canadian standards, historic reconstructions were considered an interpretative tool, not a level of conservation intervention.<sup>53</sup>

#### 5.4.3 Heritage Conservation as a Provincial Government Mandate

In 1857, the Nova Scotia legislature unanimously voted, ‘to cause the ancient records and documents illustrative of the history and progress of society in this province to be

<sup>52</sup> [http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/beefp-fhbro/index\\_e.asp](http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/beefp-fhbro/index_e.asp) ; [accessed: 14 March 2010].

<sup>53</sup> Jeffery Reed, NSHPI Standards and Guidelines Officer, interview with author, 8 July 2008.

examined, preserved and arranged'.<sup>54</sup> A few months later, Thomas Beamish Akins was appointed the Commissioner of Public Records, effectively the first public archivist in Canada, as a federal archive was not established until fifteen years later, and only in 1903 did another province, Ontario, establish an archive. Indeed, this Act was perhaps the first example of a provincial authority assuming a responsibility for tangible evidence of its history, and using legislation and policy to protect that heritage. Effective efforts to protect built heritage did not emerge, however, until well into the twentieth century; in Nova Scotia, this was signalled by the creation in 1947 of the Historic Sites Advisory Council, headed by provincial bureaucrat and author of historical novels, Will R. Bird.<sup>55</sup>

This Council was a recommendation of a 1944 provincial Royal Commission on development and rehabilitation, which supported not only the Council's creation but several specific historic reconstructions, including parts of Fortress Louisbourg.<sup>56</sup> The Council, however, was established through Order-in-Council rather than legislation; thus, it had no statutory authority, and was limited to an advisory role. The Council did little during its eighteen years of existence but place plaques; however, the correspondence between Bird and both his political masters and the general public, provide an insight into what the provincial government saw as its responsibility towards built heritage, and what the public saw as this mandate, the two not totally congruent. The public was interested in preservation of properties, not merely commemoration. In 1949, for example, James D. Howe wrote to Bird:

Annapolis Royal could be a second Williamsburg, and since I know of no Henry Fords or Rockefellers interested in such projects I appeal to your council – who have a policy of restoration. It is not enough, I feel, to erect a brass plaque ... while the structure itself could be saved.<sup>57</sup>

There was also broad public interest in historic reconstructions, specifically. In 1956, Bird reported to Premier Henry Hicks that, 'I have had six requests for the rebuilding of blockhouses', and two years later reported to Premier Robert Stanfield that the citizens of, 'Amherst and Fort Lawrence are agitating to have the old Fort Lawrence

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<sup>54</sup> Cited: Brian Cuthbertson, 'Thomas Beamish Akins: British North America's Pioneer Archivist', *Acadiensis*, 7/1 (1977), pp.86-102 (p.88).

<sup>55</sup> See: Ian McKay, 'History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964', *Acadiensis*, 22/2 (1993), pp. 102-138 (p.124); and Cuthbertson, 'Thomas Beamish Akins', p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> McKay, 'History and the Tourist Gaze'.

<sup>57</sup> Howe to Bird, October 1949, NSARM, MG 20 / vol. 933, file B.

reconstructed with guns facing Fort Cumberland just across the river.’<sup>58</sup> Bird’s response to a similar request for preservation assistance in 1963 summarises, however, the government view of its mandate: ‘we, as a Council, cannot do anything about preserving old houses or buildings ... our work is marking historic sites with plaques’.<sup>59</sup> With the pending dissolution of the Council, Bird wrote, in 1964, that, ‘it is felt we will have marked all historic sites of a minor importance, and the National [government] will take care of the rest.’<sup>60</sup>

Although Nova Scotia typified the generally timid response of the provinces to heritage conservation, legislation and programmes in Québec were far more substantial, and ultimately effective. In 1922, the province established the Commission des monuments historique du Québec (CMHQ); based on the French model, this agency had a mandate that included development of an inventory of historic monuments, designation (or classification) of buildings, and preservation of such structures. Ricketts suggests that the Québec government, ‘saw the preservation of distinctly Québécois (often defined as pre-conquest) elements of society and culture as a priority.’<sup>61</sup> Richard Handler, a professor of anthropology at the University of Virginia who has written on Québec nationalism, suggests that this early effort was primarily due to the vision of Athanase David, Provincial Secretary, who was also responsible for scholarship programmes and the establishment of other provincial cultural institutions, aimed at strengthening Québec nationalism, and ties to France.<sup>62</sup> In 1961, as part of major political and social change in the province, cultural heritage or *patrimoine*, became part of the mandate of a new Ministry of Cultural Affairs, a bureaucratic structure also owing to French precedent, in this case the efforts of French minister André Malraux.<sup>63</sup>

There were few other early legislative and policy attempts to protect built heritage amongst the provinces. In 1925, British Columbia passed an ‘Act to Provide for the Preservation of Historic Objects’, yet as Ricketts notes, it was effectively not used for protection of built heritage;<sup>64</sup> and in 1953, Ontario passed legislation

<sup>58</sup> Bird to Hicks, 1 October 1956, Ibid., file I; and Bird to Stanfield, 11 July 1958, Ibid., file K.

<sup>59</sup> Bird to Lena Little, 16 September 1963, Ibid., file P.

<sup>60</sup> Bird to Marion Robertson, 5 May 1964, Ibid., file Q.

<sup>61</sup> Ricketts, ‘Cultural Selection’, p. 29

<sup>62</sup> Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Québec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 98-107.

<sup>64</sup> Ricketts, ‘Cultural Selection’, p. 30.

establishing the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board of Ontario, although its mandate regarding built heritage was limited to erecting plaques.<sup>65</sup> During the last few decades, however, all provinces and territories have passed legislation enabling comprehensive protection of built heritage. In Nova Scotia, the Heritage Property Act dates to 1980 and provides authority to both provincial and municipal authorities; Ontario's Heritage Act was passed in 1975, but substantially amended in 2005 to provide more powers to municipalities; and in Québec, the 1972 *Loi sur les biens culturels*, amended in 1985 to increase municipal authority, is currently under review.

Two other types of heritage conservation initiatives, undertaken by several provinces, have proven more influential for historic reconstructions than legislation: the use of the past for economic development, especially through tourism, and the use of the past to overtly shape a sense of collective identity, essentially social policy. A major example of the first type of initiative was the work of the Niagara Parks Commission, an agency established by the Ontario government in 1885, to,

restore to some extent the scenery around the Falls of Niagara to its natural condition, and to preserve the same from further deterioration, as well as to afford to travellers and others facilities for observing the points of interest in the vicinity.<sup>66</sup>

This agency, still in existence, assumed a mandate for the entire surrounding region, including many sites closely associated with the War of 1812; in 1908 it begun construction of the Niagara River Parkway, connecting many of these sites, and providing infrastructure for a tourist industry soon to be based primarily on the automobile. The Commission actively sought to preserve, and use, the physical evidence of the past; as Ronald Way, the Commission's historian, wrote in 1946,

every mile or so along the Parkway, the tourist reaches the scene of some past occurrence which has influenced the destiny of this country. To mark these sites, the Commissioners have encouraged, or have themselves undertaken, the erection of monuments and commemorative tablets. Furthermore, they have embarked upon a programme of historical restorations.<sup>67</sup>

In fact, this programme included several historic reconstructions, including Fort George, at Niagara-on-the-Lake. If the primary goal was attracting American tourists,

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<sup>65</sup> See: Paul Litt, 'Pliant Clio and Immutable Texts: The Historiography of a Historical Marking', *The Public Historian*, 19/4 (1997), pp. 7-28.

<sup>66</sup> Statutes of the Province of Ontario, 48 Vict., cap. 21; cited: Ronald L. Way, *Ontario's Niagara Parks, a History* (Hamilton: Niagara Parks Commission, 1946), p.29.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.218.

the Commission's efforts in the area of heritage conservation also served to reinforce a traditional, pro-British, Loyalist definition of Ontario, and Canada's, past.

In Nova Scotia, considerable emphasis was placed upon marketing historic sites, albeit with these sites carefully selected, and placed in a narrowly-defined historical context; these efforts of the provincial government served two goals, attracting tourists, and reinforcing an official memory of the past for the local population. An important element of this marketing was engagement with the growing genre of travel writing. Will R. Bird, for example, 'wore several hats': Chair of the Advisory Council, author of historical fiction often set in colonial (British) Nova Scotia, and provincial employee; and, responding to a combination of these responsibilities, he wrote an extensive number of articles and travel books.<sup>68</sup> In 1950, for example, *This is Nova Scotia* was published, in which Bird's protagonists, 'motor into the peninsula as if we were strangers, trying to view it as a visitor who had not been there before ... telling only of what we saw and encountered as we made the tour'.<sup>69</sup> At Grand-Pré, they discover an historic site that offers an apologetic view of the British colonial authorities' decision, in 1755, to exile the entire francophone population of the province, and destroy all buildings associated with the seventeenth and eighteenth occupation of the land by the Acadians.<sup>70</sup> At the Port Royal Habitation, the author finds that to, 'enter the great gate is to step back to the beginning of the seventeenth century', yet in several paragraphs of description of the site he neglects to advise that all the structures here are recent reconstructions.<sup>71</sup> Ian McKay, a historian at Queens University (Canada) who has written extensively on cultural history in Canada, suggests,

The story of Nova Scotia's Golden Age, as constructed by bureaucrats and promoters in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was a coherent narrative with a clear sense of beginning and ending, central characters and peripheral figures, heroes and villains. An elaborate mnemonic web of mansions and museums, plaques and forts, road signs and historical romances was woven by the provincial state and its organic intellectuals, partly to please tourists and partly in response to a public hungry for a reassuring 'presence of the past'.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See: McKay, 'History and the Tourist Gaze', p. 119.

<sup>69</sup> Will R. Bird, *This is Nova Scotia* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1950), p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48 (56).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>72</sup> McKay, 'History and the Tourist Gaze', p.104.

#### 5.4.4 Heritage Conservation and Non-governmental Forces

The earliest heritage conservation work undertaken in Canada often resulted from the interest and efforts of local communities; in many cases, historic reconstructions were encouraged, and in most cases a definite view of the past, reflected by the site, was evident. In Ontario, the Lundy's Lane Historical Society was established in 1887, 'with the immediate aim of developing Lundy's Lane Battlefield, but also to help spread the loyalist doctrine'.<sup>73</sup> In Nova Scotia, in 1904, the Louisbourg Memorial Association was founded, largely through the efforts of D. J. Kennelly, who in fact owned much of that ruined site and charged admission. There was broad interest in the site of the former French town, both within the community and throughout the province. In 1908, J. S. McLennan, a former resident of Montreal and a Cambridge University graduate, called for the site to be restored by the federal government; although it would take decades, McLennan's vision would eventually be realised, in great measure due to his ability to make a local and regional concern a national interest.<sup>74</sup> In British Columbia, the Hudson's Bay 'Bastion' or blockhouse at Nanaimo was saved from destruction by the secret fraternal society, Native Sons of British Columbia; indeed, this organisation was instrumental in several heritage initiatives, including the Fort Langley site, which subsequently became a federally-sponsored historic reconstruction project.<sup>75</sup>

Often reflecting, and in some cases growing from, such local heritage efforts were national and regional non-governmental organisations that usually represented a broader but related mandate. Possibly the first to have an impact on development of a Canadian heritage conservation movement was the Royal Society of Canada (RSC), established in 1883 by Royal Charter. In 1901, the RSC formed a Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places in Canada, inviting regional historic societies to nominate members, and identifying money to fund limited site investigations. At the 1902 annual meeting it was reported that a Fellow of the Society, Senator Pascal Poirier, had visited the ruins of Fortress Louisbourg, and then challenged the federal government in the Canadian Senate to address the state of

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<sup>73</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>75</sup> For discussion of this organization, see: Forrest D. Pass, 'The Wondrous Story and Traditions of the Country: The Natives Sons of British Columbia and the Role of Myth in the Formation of an Urban Middle Class', *BC Studies*, 151 (2006), pp. 3-38.

neglect here and at other sites.<sup>76</sup> In 1907, the Committee emerged as a separate organisation called the Historic Landmarks Commission (HLC), which attempted to give a national voice to local and regional concerns regarding historic sites; with the establishment of the HSMBC, the organisation re-formed yet again, this time as the Canadian Historical Association. As Pelletier notes, however, there was considerable common membership amongst the RSC, HSMBC, and the HLC.<sup>77</sup>

In 1975, the RSC sponsored a symposium entitled 'Preserving the Canadian Heritage', in association with the newly founded Heritage Canada, a national advocacy organisation. While speakers such as Sir John Pope-Hennessy, Director of the British Museum, and Northrop Frye, a well known Blake scholar, placed preservation within broad contexts, a paper near the end of the symposium was perhaps a better predictor of the ultimate direction of heritage conservation in Canada. J. M. S. Careless, a history professor at the University of Toronto, argued that the British-colonial tradition in Canada enabled a contemporary 'ethnic plurality within political unity', in a paper entitled, 'Waspishness and Multi-culture'.<sup>78</sup> Most significant is not Careless' argument per se, but the acknowledgement that Canadian society, and identity, was now based on the memory and experience of many ethnic groups, and that recognition, understanding and preservation of this more complex Canadian heritage required consideration of, 'the more immaterial aspects of historic tradition, no less vital even if they cannot be so readily viewed, touched or directly experienced. We must avoid the danger of treating just the obvious in conservation'.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, Second Series, vol. 8 (1902), p 12.

<sup>77</sup> Pelletier, 'The Politics of Selection', pp. 131-32.

<sup>78</sup> J. M. S. Careless, 'Waspishness and Multi-culture', in: Keith J. Laidler, ed., *Preserving the Canadian Heritage* (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, nd, 1976?), pp. 141-150 (p.146).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p.149



## CASE STUDIES

### 6.1 Port Royal Habitation

The first historic reconstruction built in Canada represented an early story of French colonisation, but was located in an overwhelmingly anglophone location; and although it was eventually constructed by the federal government, several of the most influential proponents of the project were American. For many, the site's demonstration of the early introduction of European civilisation to the continent was of far greater interest than the introduction of French administrative or religious institutions, *per se*; and the proponents' focus on the events of the early-seventeenth century were matched by a vision of the reconstructed site as a place where, in both a figurative and literal sense, the many antagonistic national voices of the 1930s could be reconciled. Ultimately, it has been the reconstruction's intrinsic values – the reconstruction as architecture – that have proven most significant.

#### 6.1.1 The Original Site

In 1604, Pierre Dugua, Sieur de Monts, a Protestant nobleman, established the first French settlement in North America, on an island christened Isle Sainte Croix, in the Bay of Fundy. This initial colonising effort, though all male, represented a range of society: priests, Swiss mercenaries, artisans, minor noblemen and assorted



6.1-1. Location of the Port Royal Habitation and Samuel Champlain, who founded the colony of Québec. Both men published detailed accounts of this adventure: Lescarbot in 1609, with Champlain's more

bourgeoisie. Despite the collective expertise, the first winter proved disastrous for the community and several members succumbed to scurvy.<sup>1</sup> For the second winter, de Monts moved the settlement to a sheltered inlet on the opposite (southerly) side of the bay, which he named Port Royal. Two prominent members of the party were Marc Lescarbot, a Paris lawyer,

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion see: Brenda Dunn, *A History of Port Royal / Annapolis Royal 1605-1800* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing, 2004).

extensive recollections appearing four years later.<sup>2</sup> These chronicles contain written and visual descriptions of both the Saint Croix and Port Royal settlements, and in the twentieth century provided both impetus and reference for a literal rebuilding of Port Royal.

The Port Royal compound, or the ‘habitation’, incorporated four main building ranges, totally enclosing a rectangular courtyard that measured ten *toises* long and eight *toises* wide; the complex also incorporated two distinct but connected buildings, for de Monts and the Captain of the Guard respectively, and a cannon platform projecting from the southwest corner, facing the Annapolis Basin.<sup>3</sup> Champlain seems to have been architect of the initial Sainte Croix compound, as he notes, ‘De Monts ... me permit de faire l’ordonance de nostre logement’,<sup>4</sup> but there is no record of his involvement in the more compact Port Royal habitation. Many of the buildings at Sainte Croix were dismantled and transported to the Port Royal site, and as Lescarbot recalls, ‘that which was built with infinite labour was pulled down, except the store-house which was too great and painful to be transported.’<sup>5</sup> Lescarbot describes de Monts’ house within the Saint Croix complex as, ‘fait d’une belle & artificielle charpenterie’, which one author interprets as, ‘made of fair sawn timber’.<sup>6</sup> As neither Champlain nor Lescarbot make reference to the sawing of timber at Saint Croix, it seems likely that, if this was indeed sawn timber, it was brought by the party from France. Outside the compound, gardens were established, and Champlain noted that he had, ‘arranged a summer-house with fine trees, in order that I might enjoy the fresh air ... we often resorted there to pass the time, and it seemed as if the little birds thereabouts received pleasure from this; for they gathered in great numbers and warbled and chirped.’<sup>7</sup>

Learning from the disastrous Sainte Croix experience, and from the friendly relationships formed with the indigenous people, the Mi ‘kmaq, a more formal

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<sup>2</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1609); and, Samuel Champlain, *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613). For discussion of subsequent editions of both works, see: chapter 5, note 5.

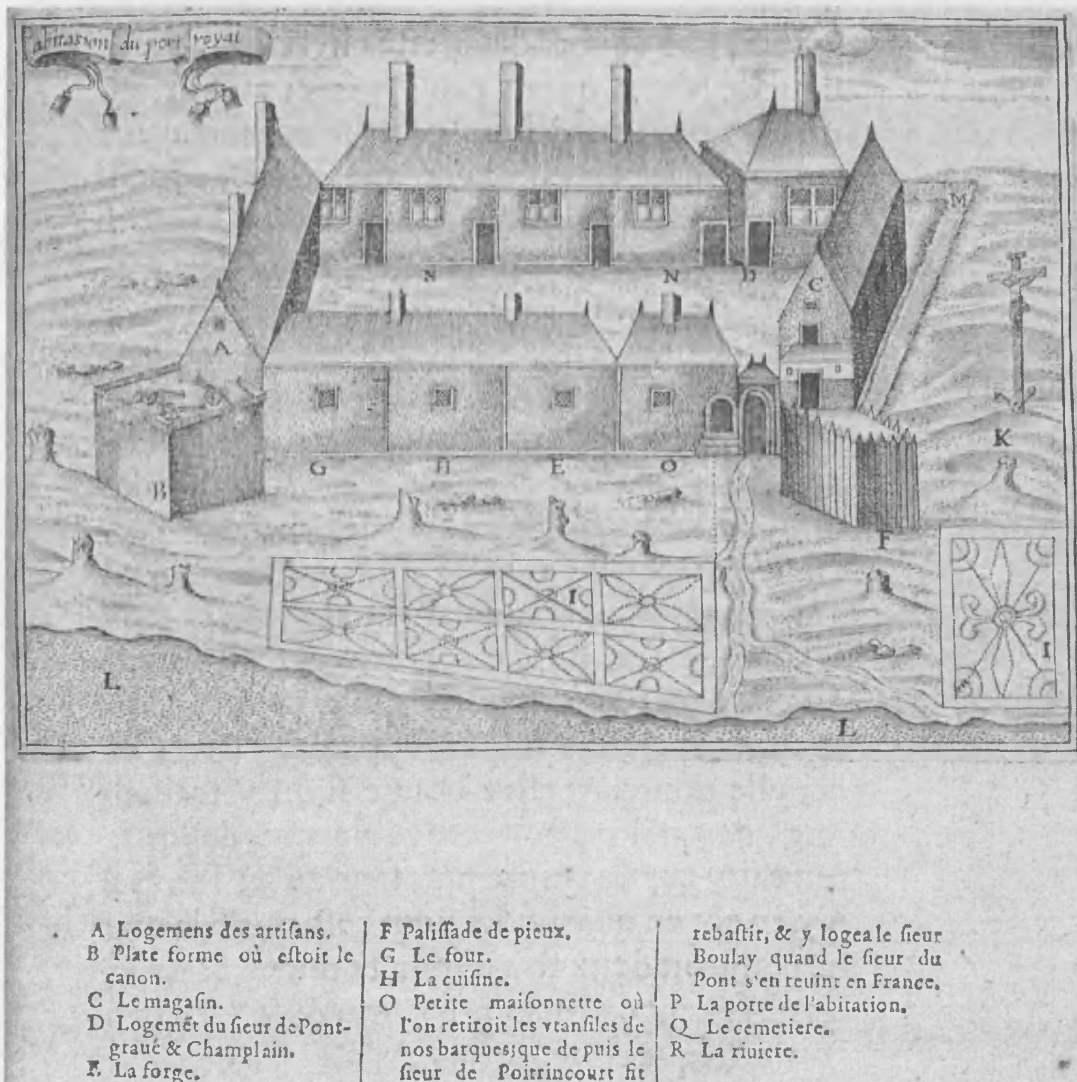
<sup>3</sup> A *toise* is approximately two metres in length. For a detailed description of the buildings incorporated into the Port Royal Habitation, see: Samuel Champlain, *The Works of Samuel Champlain*, W. F. Ganong, ed., 6 vols (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922), I, pp. 259, 373, plates 67, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 275. (“DeMonts allowed me to lay out the arrangement of our housing”)

<sup>5</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia: A Description* (London: George Routledge, 1928; a facsimile of the original 1609 edition), p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France*, W. L. Grant, trans., 3 vols (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911) II, pp. 255, 514.

<sup>7</sup> Champlain, *The Works of Samuel Champlain*, I, p. 371; Champlain referred to a, ‘cabinet avec de beaux arbres’.



6.1-2. Drawing of the Habitation, 1613 (Champlain) / LAC

structure was established at Port Royal whereby the more prominent members of the community took turns to plan and host daily meals, and to which Mi 'kmaq leaders were sometimes invited. The host was responsible for the menu, including securing local foods and game, and for planning a programme of entertainment for the evening. Essentially a social club, the programme was termed the *ordre de bon temps*; indeed, a twentieth-century author wryly coined it the continent's first Rotary Club.<sup>8</sup> Within this spirit of 'French culture transported', Port Royal boasts the earliest known drama written in North America; it was subsequently 'staged' on the waters of the Annapolis Basin, in 1606, as a welcome to members of the community, including Champlain, returning from an exploration mission. The *Canadian Encyclopaedia*

<sup>8</sup> Catherine MacKenzie, 'Nova Scotia Celebrates Pioneer Drama', *New York Times*, 1 August 1926, p.SM113.

describes the piece as a masque, including, ‘two musical cues - a trumpet call and the singing ‘in four parts’ (‘en Musique à quatre parties’) of the song Vary Neptune.’<sup>9</sup>

Lescarbot’s work was published in 1609, in Paris, as *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*.<sup>10</sup>

In 1607, French politics forced de Monts and his party to return to France, and the habitation was left in the care of the local Mi ‘kmaq until 1610, when the colony was re-established by Sieur de Poutrincourt, de Monts’ former Lieutenant Governor and a *seigneur* of Port Royal. This second effort at colonisation established a continuing French presence in the region which, within a few generations, evolved into the distinct Acadian society. De Monts’ habitation did not fare so well. In 1613, an English raiding party from Virginia, led by Captain Samuel Argall, attacked Port Royal, burning the habitation complex to the ground. Subsequently, the centre of French settlement in the region moved westwards five miles. In 1710, the British effectively assumed control of Port Royal, and took formal ownership of the entire mainland portion of the French colony of Acadia in 1713, under the Treaty of Utrecht. Port Royal was renamed Annapolis Royal, and became capital of the new British colony of Nova Scotia.

Port Royal – both the name and the original habitation site – faded from public imagination. While an 1828 traveller observed, ‘Port Royal ... is clothed with a garb of more interesting tradition than any other part of the Province’,<sup>11</sup> it was 1904 before French settlement in the region was commemorated, with a monument erected at Annapolis Royal. The inscription reads:

To the illustrious memory of ... Sieur de Monts, the pioneer of civilization of North America, who discovered and explored the adjacent river ... and founded on its banks the first settlement of Europeans north of the Gulf of Mexico. The Government of Canada reverently dedicates this monument, within sight of that settlement.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> ‘The Theatre of Neptune/ Le Théâtre de Neptune’, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0003391#ArticleContents> ; [ accessed 28 May 2010].

<sup>10</sup> Marc Lescarbot, *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1609).

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, M. G. Parkes. Ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 103-104. This is a collection of Joseph Howe’s accounts of travel throughout Nova Scotia in 1828, originally published as a regular column in his newspaper *The Nova Scotian*.

<sup>12</sup> C. J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada’s National Historic Parks and Sites* (London: McGill-Queen’s Press, 1990), p.16.

### 6.1.2 Site Rediscovered

In 1629, Richard Guthry, a member of a short-lived Scottish attempt to colonise Nova Scotia which left little evidence other than the province's name, observed the twenty-six year old ruins of the habitation, and recorded that, 'we saw the ruins of two forts, the one built by Monsieur PoutrinCourt (sic), who was driven out by Sr. Samuel Argall ane English Captane.'<sup>13</sup> Guthry is probably the last person to see physical evidence of the original habitation, and leave a written description. The 1904 tercentenary of de Monts' arrival in North America was observed in both Saint John, New Brunswick (near the site of the original Saint Croix settlement), and in Annapolis Royal, notwithstanding that the Port Royal tercentenary was in fact a year later. Concordia University professor Ronald Rudin, who has written on collective memory and contemporary Acadian identity, notes that the commemorative events at the Port Royal site were undertaken almost exclusively by English-speakers, notably J. W. Longley, Nova Scotia's Attorney General; and he further notes that the focus at Port Royal was on de Monts, a protestant, like most of the event organisers, while the New Brunswick celebrations incorporated Champlain, a Catholic.<sup>14</sup> Acadians were marginalised at the Port Royal event, with no Acadian leaders speaking; yet Longley noted that that the settlement at Port Royal was important because it was, 'with the exception of the landing at St. Augustine, the first by Europeans on the soil of North America resulting in a permanent settlement.'<sup>15</sup> Note that Longley refers to European, not French, landing. Rudin also suggests that the 10,000 visitors attracted to Annapolis Royal by the festivities had the opportunity to visit the original site of the habitation, but it is unclear where exactly the site was presumed to be; at this time no physical evidence remained, and no one in 1904 claimed knowledge of the actual coordinates.

C. W. Jefferys was a painter and illustrator well known for his 'visual reconstructions' of Canadian history, and a consultant on the reconstruction of the Habitation; in 1939, he suggested that,

since the destruction of the buildings three centuries ago, the site has remained undisturbed save by the axe and plough of late eighteenth- century settlers,

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<sup>13</sup> Guthry's letter, deposited at the Scottish Record Office, was cited in: N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. Reid, 'New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 49/3 (1992), pp. 492-508 (p.504).

<sup>14</sup> Ronald Rudin, 'The Champlain-de Monts Tercentenary: Voices from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Maine, June 1904', *Acadiensis*, 33/2 (2004), pp. 3-26.

<sup>15</sup> Cited: Rudin, 'The Champlain-de Monts', p.7.

and the erection of a farmhouse and outbuildings on one corner ... It was not until 1911 that any serious attempt at examination of the locality was made, when Professor Ganong investigated the site and marked definitely the position of the Habitation.<sup>16</sup>

William Francis Ganong, born in New Brunswick in 1864, was a botanist and early ‘cultural geographer’, though the latter term may have been unfamiliar to him.<sup>17</sup> With a degree from Harvard University and a Ph. D. from Munich University, Ganong spent an academic career as Professor of Botany at Smith College; however, he also spent considerable time researching and publishing on themes relating physical and historical connections of place, with a special interest in his native New Brunswick, and in the early French settlements at Saint Croix and Port Royal. In identifying what he believed the original location of the Habitation, Ganong’s methodology incorporated an analysis of Champlain’s written and drawn descriptions, together with a field investigation; the latter, however, was complicated by three centuries of occupation of the land, and the lack of any aerial photography. Ganong also recognised the limitations of the archival record. Referring to the engraving included in Champlain’s chronicle, he observed, ‘while the plans are correct in their leading facts, the details were obviously left to the fancy of the engraver, whose primary aim evidently was to embellish rather than to illustrate the work.’<sup>18</sup>

Certainly his conclusion was sufficient for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). In 1923 it passed a motion, seconded by Dr. Clarence Webster, the member representing New Brunswick and a friend of Ganong, stating that,

the selection of the site of Champlain’s Habitation at Port Royal as ascertained, be confirmed by this Board and that the matter of the inscription and further action be left in the hands of the mover and seconder of this resolution – as a subcommittee – and that the form of memorial be a cairn with a tablet.<sup>19</sup>

The site of the Port Royal Habitation had been reclaimed and marked with a cairn; a vision for the reconstruction of the architecture would soon emerge.

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<sup>16</sup> Charles W. Jefferys, ‘The Reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation of 1605-13’, *Canadian Historical Review*, 20/4 (1939), pp. 369-77 (p.369).

<sup>17</sup> See: Graeme Wynn, ‘W.F. Ganong, A.H. Clark and the Historical Geography of Maritime Canada’, *Acadiensis*, 10/2 (1981), pp. 5-28.

<sup>18</sup> W.F.Ganong, ‘Translator’s Preface’, in: Champlain, *Works of Samuel Champlain*, I, p. 198.

<sup>19</sup> HSMBC minutes, ‘Port Royal’, Ottawa, 25 May 1923.

### 6.1.3 The Site Reconstructed

The reconstruction of the French habitation, three centuries after its total destruction, was due largely to the vision and persuasive manner of one individual, Harriet Taber Richardson – a scenario common to many of the reconstruction projects previously discussed, such as the primary role of Wanamaker in the reconstruction of the Globe Theatre. Richardson was born in 1875 into a prominent Massachusetts family, her father Robert Taber being a publisher and executive in a gaslight company; in 1895 she married Frederick Richardson, the North American general manager of an international insurance company. Though the Richardsons lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, extended summer holidays provided Richardson an opportunity to pursue an interest in the early French history of North America. This included travel to the Lake Champlain region, where the reconstructed Fort Ticonderoga was a relatively new tourist attraction, although there is no record of whether she visited it; and from 1924 into the early 1940s, her summers were spent in the Annapolis Valley region of Nova Scotia.<sup>20</sup> One of her first summer projects here was the translation of Lescarbot's play *Le Théâtre de Neptune*, which in 1926 was performed under the auspices of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, on the waters of Annapolis Basin, the same venue as the work's seventeenth-century premiere. Even the *New York Times* announced the pending spectacle, noting in a headline that it, 'was the first play given in North America.'<sup>21</sup> With reference to the first residents of Port Royal, the article notes: 'They were the only Europeans in the unbroken stretch of American wilderness ... and after 300 years they spring into astonishing life in the vigorous pages of a young M. Lescarbot.'<sup>22</sup>

In that project, and in the subsequent plan to reconstruct the Port Royal habitation, Richardson worked closely with Loftus Morton Fortier, a founder in 1919 of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, and the Honorary Superintendent of Fort Anne National Park and Museum.<sup>23</sup> Until his death in 1933, Fortier was an influential figure in the region, involved in several projects related to development of historic sites. A retired civil servant who had worked in various parts of the country, Fortier had both personal contacts in, and an understanding of, the federal government bureaucracy. The idea of reconstructing a replica of the habitation is credited by most

<sup>20</sup> F. Fraser Bond, 'Her Dream Rebuilt the Past', *The Atlantic Advocate*, 48/5 (1958), pp.41-46 (p.41).

<sup>21</sup> MacKenzie, 'Nova Scotia Celebrates', p. SM113.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> For a brief obituary, see: *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 22 (1933), p. xxviii.

historians to Richardson and Fortier jointly, with no effort to discern which proponent first envisioned this undertaking. Barbara Schmeisser, a retired Parks Canada historian who prepared several internal research documents for that agency, suggests in a 1996 paper, only that Richardson, ‘teamed with Fortier to launch this project’.<sup>24</sup> Schmeisser cites the work, however, of another Parks Canada historian, C. J. Taylor, who wrote in 1990: ‘encouraged by the example of Colonial Williamsburg, Richardson and Fortier decided that a replica of Champlain’s habitation on the original site was not only feasible but a worthy heritage project’.<sup>25</sup> In turn, Taylor bases this suggestion on a 1939 article by Charles W. Jefferys, who was in fact rather vague about the question; after noting Richardson’s interest in, and research into, the story of the early French settlement, he wrote, ‘In conjunction with [Fortier] ... the idea of a reconstruction of the habitation took shape in 1927.’<sup>26</sup>

Although Jefferys may not have known which proponent was originally responsible for the idea, he may also have been acknowledging local political sensibilities regarding a project that, though ultimately undertaken by the federal government, was presented quite accurately as a local effort, especially of Fortier’s Historical Association of Annapolis Royal. While the actual authorship of the idea may never be known, there are several factors supporting the case for Richardson. Fortier and Association members had spent several years developing plans for appropriate commemoration of the settlement story, and protection of the site, yet the notion of a reconstruction coincided with Richardson’s arrival as a summer resident in the area, and had not previously been discussed. Certainly Richardson was familiar with the idea of historic reconstruction, and with several American examples. Her interest in early French colonisation had taken her to the vicinity of the newly reconstructed Fort Ticonderoga, and regardless of whether she visited it, she did later correspond with Stephen Pell, owner of the site. Richardson also corresponded with W.A.R. Goodwin, from Colonial Williamsburg, demonstrating knowledge of the programmes being developed there; and she must surely have been aware of the Paul

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<sup>24</sup> Barbara M. Schmeisser, ‘The Port Royal Habitation – A “Politically Correct” Reconstruction?’, *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 44 (1996), pp. 41-47 (p.42).

<sup>25</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> Jefferys, ‘The Reconstruction’, p.370.



Revere House project, in Boston, across the Charles River from her home, which was the subject of considerable public discussion there.<sup>27</sup>

In 1958, seven years after Richardson's death, F. Fraser Bond, a professor of journalism at New York University with family roots in Nova Scotia, wrote an article about her for *The Atlantic Advocate*. In this article, Bond liberally quotes Richardson, drawing from discussions he had with her; of the reconstruction, he writes:

Here is how this co-operative idea came to her: 'In the autumn I had been working in the garden site. I remember a quick shower and the beauty of the rainbow whose arch seemed to rise from the garden of Lescarbot. The night was full moon (*sic*) and as I was awaiting sleep, a shock almost electric sprang all unexpectedly – a new idea. The thought was why should it not be possible to rebuild the Habitation as a gift and a token of the friendliness on our side of the border?'<sup>28</sup>

Allowing for poetic licence, Bond nevertheless believed that Richardson assumed credit for the reconstruction vision. Indeed, in 1928 Fortier responds to Richardson's plan that the reconstruction be undertaken with money raised in the United States, then given to the people of Canada as a token of international goodwill, by writing, 'But, as to your great scheme ! How can I express myself?'<sup>29</sup>

With the idea of a reconstructed Habitation established, Richardson and Fortier developed two strategies for its realisation. Late in 1928, Fortier approached the federal government for financial support of the reconstruction project and a commitment to assume responsibility for its maintenance after completion. Taylor, in a detailed discussion of the federal response to heritage proposals during this period, notes that James Harkin, the most senior civil servant in the national parks hierarchy (including historic sites), was in favour of Fortier's proposal, writing in a memo to the Deputy Minister, 'this old Fort reconstructed, and its story as a cradle of literature on the North American continent properly exploited, could be made a real shrine for literary and would-be literary people, and that of course means tourist dollars.'<sup>30</sup> The Minister, however, decided against support of the scheme, and it would be a decade before the federal government would become involved; indeed, in 1934 the chairman of the HSMBC wrote, in reference to the Port Royal proposal, 'these attempts to reconstruct buildings which have entirely disappeared and are only known from vague

<sup>27</sup> For example: Pell to Richardson, 3 April 1940, and Goodwin to Richardson, 27 November 1937, both in NAC, MG 30, B92, vol. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Bond, 'Her Dream Rebuilt the Past', p. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Fortier to Richardson, 26 April 1928, NAC, MG 30, B92, vol.1.

<sup>30</sup> Cited: Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 69.

descriptions or plans of doubtful authenticity with modern materials and workmen of the present time are absurd and a mere waste of money'.<sup>31</sup>

The second strategy was totally Richardson's work. In April 1928 she held a meeting in Boston from which emerged the 'Associates of Port Royal', an organisation with the sole aim of raising monies to fund the reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation. The membership roll included several well-known academics and Goodwin from Colonial Williamsburg, while the executive committee, with Massachusetts governor C. F. Hurley as Honorary Chairman, included two former governors, the presidents of the College of William and Mary, Harvard University and the University of Virginia, and William Phillips, Under Secretary of State (1922), and American ambassador to several countries, including Canada (1927) and Italy (1936).<sup>32</sup> Establishment of the Associates not only served as a fund raising vehicle, but also served a second intention Richardson had for the reconstructed habitation, which she conveyed to Fortier in 1928:

I should like, if the rebuilding is done, that it becomes a creative point, not merely a sight-seeing place, and that for a few weeks in the summer either lectures or talks in French or English, either historical or literary ... might be held there, simple enough to be unforced, but vital to help Nova Scotia. Perhaps the renewal of the Order of Good Cheer - that would be an impulse toward a friendly relationship and the advancement of understanding of people or peoples in that lovely place. At any rate, something alive and forward thinking.<sup>33</sup>

In 1929, the stock market crash and ensuing financial depression brought fundraising to a halt; by 1932, only \$1,600 of the \$10,000 target had been realised.<sup>34</sup> For the next several years, Richardson devoted time to research into the site, and promotion of the story in the United States. In 1933 she wrote to Samuel Webster, the HSMBC member from New Brunswick and a major supporter of the reconstruction project:

By careful observation this summer and comparison of Champlain's map through the past years I find the Habitation to have stood about 30 feet back from present bank of the river on the point of the bank to the dip in the land near Mr. Parker's house.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.116.

<sup>32</sup> For membership lists, see: NAC, MG 30, Series 92, vol. 4; and NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

<sup>33</sup> Richardson to Fortier, 22 April 1928; NAC, MG 30, B92, vol 1.

<sup>34</sup> NAC, MG 30, B92, vol 1 (folder 2, #27).

<sup>35</sup> Richardson to Webster, 20 September 1933; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

In the following year, the Associates embraced an emerging medium to tell their old story, arranging a month-long series of radio broadcasts on Station WHEB, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, called 'The Old Acadian Hour'.<sup>36</sup>

The year 1938 proved to be a turning point for the habitation project, with the federal government announcing it would assume responsibility for the site, and immediately commence the reconstruction - in Richardson's words, 'the second hope of Port Royal'.<sup>37</sup> While seemingly a sudden change in position, this decision came after a general election resulted in a new government, which then introduced economic programmes aimed at reducing unemployment.<sup>38</sup> As in the United States earlier in the decade, development of national parks and historic sites was a major beneficiary. Kenneth Harris, a long-time government architect, was placed in charge of the project, and though little is known about his background or earlier career, he did come to this job with conservation experience garnered at the Fort Anne site in Annapolis Royal – probably as much conservation experience as any architect in Canada at that time. Indeed, Harris' appreciation of the significance of the site was demonstrated by his quick engagement not only of local experts on the site, especially Richardson, but also a host of Canadian and international experts in the fields of history and architectural history.

Also in 1938, C. C. Pinckney was engaged to undertake an archaeological investigation of the site, paid for by the limited sums raised by the Associates. Pinckney was a graduate of Harvard University, with a post-graduate degree in landscape architecture, and with previous archaeology experience at Colonial Williamsburg, Stratford Hall and Mount Vernon: all nationally-significant historic sites in Virginia. Pinckney came to the project on the recommendation of B. W. Pond, chairman of the landscape architecture programme at Harvard University, and a member of the Associates. Though rudimentary by contemporary standards, and later criticised, Pinckney's work in the autumn of 1938 was much appreciated by both Harris and Richardson; she wrote in December 1938:

The subsoil drawings made by Mr. Pinckney and his survey are deeply interesting – and accurate to a degree. We have much to thank Prof. Pond for - not only his own interest but for sending the man so fitted for this task.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> John C. Johnson, *Procession Through the Years: Minutes From Seven Decades of Historical Association Records* (Annapolis Royal, NS: Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, 1996), p.10.

<sup>37</sup> Richardson to Webster, 8 December 1938; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

<sup>38</sup> For a general discussion, see Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, pp.112-114.

<sup>39</sup> Richardson to Webster, 8 December 1938; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

Perhaps predictably, Pinckney's work largely reinforced Ganong's 1911 conclusions. In reporting Pinckney's findings to Webster, Richardson wrote, 'The charred charcoals have appeared in quantity as expected – lots of pottery ... molten glass and iron near the site of the forge and cannon platform'.<sup>40</sup> Jefferys, reporting to Webster of Pinckney's findings, noted that:

the foundations of most of the buildings have been unearthed, and they prove to be pretty much of the dimensions (and in the positions) as we expected to find them. They consist for the most part of rough piers of uncut field stones. Practically no dressed stone was found. This is what we had anticipated: any material of this kind most likely was taken to build the Scot's fort, or by later settlers. The cellar of the storehouse has been partly uncovered, it apparently has a cobble stone floor, and extends under about one half of the building. The well has been discovered in the middle of the courtyard, and has been excavated to a depth of some 15 feet. The rough stone foundations of 4 gun platforms have been found in the south-west bastion area, which encroaches upon the plot on which the [HSMBC] cairn is erected: this will have to be removed... very few relics have been turned up.<sup>41</sup>

In October 1938, members of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal were invited to the archaeology site to inspect the results, where printed markers outlined the various buildings and rooms of the original habitation, as identified by the investigation.<sup>42</sup>

When Harris was appointed project architect, C.T. Currelly, Director of the Royal Ontario Museum, warned Webster, 'Try not to let a Government Architect mess this thing up'.<sup>43</sup> In fact, Harris proved an extremely capable manager, and while he may not have viewed the reconstructed habitation within the same romantic perspective as Richardson, he seems to have been committed to executing an authentic and workable piece of architecture. In addition to Jefferys, he consulted with several prominent Canadians, including Ramsay Traquair, a Scottish-trained architect who had lectured at the Edinburgh College of Art prior to his appointment as Professor of Architecture at McGill University, Montréal, in 1913. Traquair subsequently developed an expertise in French colonial architecture in Québec,

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<sup>40</sup> Richardson to Webster, 23 October 1938; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

<sup>41</sup> Jefferys to Webster, 23 November 1938; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.

<sup>42</sup> Johnson, *Procession Through the Years*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>43</sup> C.T. Currelly to Webster, 12 August 1938; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F211.



6.1-3. Archaeology 'dig' /AHS

6.1-4. Architect Harris (2<sup>nd</sup> from left) /AHS

culminating in his 1947 work *The Old Architecture of Québec*.<sup>44</sup> Harris also sought the advice of international experts (beyond Pinckney), including Adrien Huguet, a French antiquarian, and Pierre Ansart, an architect from Amiens, France, 'whose knowledge of old Picardy buildings is minute and extensive'.<sup>45</sup>

A model of Harris' proposed reconstruction was unveiled at the 1938 meeting of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, with actual construction starting in 1939; Harris noted that, 'preparation of preliminary sketch plans and studies and of working and detail drawings was necessarily a process of gradual revision and development'.<sup>46</sup> Harris' design was based on several criteria, with the written and graphic descriptions published by Champlain (1613) and Lescarbot (1609) being the two most influential, especially the 'picture plan' included in Champlain's book – a bird's-eye perspective from the southeast corner. Harris did approach this drawing with caution, however, noting that it was, 'a strange mixture of truth and error. The layout of the Settlement and the appearance of the buildings generally, are doubtless indicated correctly, but the drawing cannot be relied upon in detail.'<sup>47</sup> A third reference was the archaeological investigation, or 'soil reading', undertaken by Pinckney, but as noted, this conveniently supported the seventeenth-century

<sup>44</sup> Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Québec* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1947); for a general biographical sketch of Traquair, see: <http://cac.mcgill.ca/traquair/biography.htm> ; [accessed 1 June 2010].

<sup>45</sup> Jefferys, 'The Reconstruction', p. 373.

<sup>46</sup> Kenneth D. Harris, 'Restoration of the Habitation of Port Royal, Lower Granville, Nova Scotia', *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, 17/7 (1940), pp.111-116 (p.114).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.114.



having stepped back into the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, an illusion shattered only when they encounter two anachronistic but welcome toilets'.<sup>49</sup> The lean-tos were subsequently removed. In detailing the structural system, not clearly evident in the engraving, Harris opted for a heavy-timber frame typical of early Québec structures, noting, 'the walls of the storehouse and elsewhere show the picturesque *colombage* construction with heavy sills, posts and plates and having braces and diagonals set at various angles and filled in between with ... pole noggin, roughly flattened'.<sup>50</sup>

Construction began on 26 June 1939, employing local labour, local materials, and traditional construction processes. Harris wrote:

In conformity with historical evidence, bricks were made from local clay and sand ... sun dried and kiln baked by old-time brickmakers. All framing timbers, where exposed to view, have been hand hewn and adzed by broadaxmen in the old manner, which alone gives a feel of antiquity in the construction.<sup>51</sup>

Such 'instant patina' was realised in several ways; Jefferys notes, for example, that the masons, 'were careful to leave all lichen or moss-covered surfaces exposed so that already the masonry looks as though it had existed for centuries'.<sup>52</sup> In 2002, an album



6.1-6. Making bricks on site for the Habitation reconstruction, 1939 /AHS

containing several dozen photographs taken by Harris during the construction period and kept by him after the project completion came into the public domain.<sup>53</sup> This collection documents in detail the craft skills used both in forming materials – making

<sup>49</sup> Fairfax Downey, 'For Joy of Living', *The Atlantic Advocate*, 48/11 (1958), pp.103-112 (p.105).

<sup>50</sup> Harris, 'Restoration of the Habitation', p. 114.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Jefferys, 'The Reconstruction', p. 377.

<sup>53</sup> Donated, circuitously through an Ontario Member of Parliament, to the Annapolis Heritage Society Archives.

bricks onsite from local clay, hewing rafters with an adze, splitting pine shingles – and in the assembly process. Harris' handwritten notes in this album record that construction was completed on 27 February 1940; while the proponents worked twelve years to see the reconstruction become a reality, the building process took only eight months. Perhaps due to the war, the official opening was not held until the summer of 1941.<sup>54</sup> The ceremonies, which included singing of 'There'll Always be an England', were broadcast across Canada on the relatively new CBC.<sup>55</sup> Richardson, who had seen the completed reconstruction the previous summer, was not unable to attend; however, as she later wrote to Webster: 'I am a part [of], and always shall be in spirit – as you are – alive in Port Royal.'<sup>56</sup>



6.1-7. Opening of the reconstructed Habitation, 1941 /NSARM

#### 6.1.4 Intention and Reception

During the twelve years it took for the idea of a reconstructed Habitation to be realised, several people and groups were engaged with, and could be considered proponents of, the project; however, three proponents undoubtedly had the most

<sup>54</sup> See: *The Halifax Herald*, 5 July 1941, pp. 1,3.

<sup>55</sup> Nova Scotia Archives website, <http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/habitation/>; [accessed: 19 January 2006].

<sup>56</sup> Richardson to Webster, 20 January 1947; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205.



significant impact on the final product: Richardson, Fortier (and the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal), and Harris.<sup>57</sup> Each proponent had very personal, if sometimes overlapping, intentions regarding their efforts to reconstruct the Habitation, and while less significant proponents may have represented an even wider range of motive, the intentions of Richardson, Fortier and Harris serve to demonstrate the role played by this site in the broader context of heritage conservation in Canada.

The first intention, which sets the Port Royal Habitation apart from European examples, was to demonstrate a European context within which this chapter of North American history could be told, where European is equated as ‘civilised’, and in contrast to the ‘wild’ period, before European colonisation. Both Richardson and Fortier place the original Habitation and its brief period of occupation in this context of ‘culture’ and, by extension, the reconstructed Habitation is a reminder of this legacy – an instant *lieu de mémoire*. Indeed, the initial project that brought Richardson and Fortier together was the translation and staging of Lescarbot’s ‘Le Théâtre de Neptune’, the ‘first’ play written and produced in North America; yet this perspective excludes the culture, including drama forms, of the many nations living on the continent for centuries prior to the arrival of the French, or any other Europeans. In 1933 Richardson wrote to Webster, in reference to Port Royal: ‘in the place where the first cultural settlement existed is a spirited call to work’.<sup>58</sup> A second example of this intention is the focus on ‘l’ordre de bon temps’, or the Order of Good Times, established at Port Royal, and the subject of a 1934 radio series on early French settlement in Nova Scotia; yet focus on this event – latter depictions of which show the invited Mi’kmaq to the side and behind the European hosts – obscures the initial winter during which several Frenchmen died of scurvy, or the role of the Mi’kmaq in helping the French survive in that environment.<sup>59</sup> The romanticised depictions of gourmet menus and Parisian-like entertainments seldom include the beaver-tail entrées.

While the record does not indicate to what – if any – religious faith Richardson adhered, it is interesting that Christianity was not employed by her as another indication of the ‘civilised’ quality of the French settlement, though de Monts

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<sup>57</sup> While Harris was a civil servant, his personal commitment to, and vision for, the reconstruction resulted in a site that reflects the architect far more than government policy regarding such interventions to historic sites, which in any case did not exist at this time

<sup>58</sup> Richardson to Webster, 15 February 1933; NBM, Webster Collection / Port Royal, F205

<sup>59</sup> For example the illustrations done by C. W. Jefferys.

had included both priests and protestant clergy in his party, and the Mi'kmaq grand chief Membertou was baptised in 1610. Richardson was also interested in the gardens, located just outside the habitation walls in Champlain's engraving, and she sought out seeds from Vervins (Lescarbot's birthplace) and elsewhere in France for a garden reconstruction project.<sup>60</sup> The seventeenth-century French garden, which would, 'not be formal, but consist of winding patches of vegetables and flowers', and possibly incorporate a reconstruction of the summer house to which Champlain referred, was never realised; minutes of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal record, however, that in 1947 an, 'early seventeenth-century arbour' was opened to the public'.<sup>61</sup>

Other historic reconstructions in Canada have also served to demonstrate a European context in which to consider seventeenth-century North American history and at one, Sainte-Marie-among-the Hurons, Catholicism is the chief defining parameter.<sup>62</sup> Established as a Jesuit mission in 1639, in what is now Ontario's Georgian Bay region, the site was a rudimentary compound with a log palisade wall. In 1649, the Jesuits burnt the compound before moving to a new mission site. Alan Gordon, a professor of history at Guelph University, in perhaps the only scholarly discussion of the site, cites a nineteenth-century translation of the records of Fr. Ragueneau, one of the Jesuits at the site: 'We even applied the torch to the work of our own hand, lest the Sacred house should furnish shelter to our impious enemy'.<sup>63</sup> British settlers in the early-nineteenth century observed French ruins, which Félix Martin, another Jesuit, had sketched in 1855; later in the century, the site was a favourite picnic spot for the local community.<sup>64</sup>

In 1940, the Jesuits bought the property, and in 1947, 'they began to imagine a full-scale reconstruction and, to this end, invited archaeologists to dig'.<sup>65</sup> Eventually, the provincial government of Ontario took on the reconstruction project, though the Jesuits remained involved; a 1964 publication depicts Fr. T.J. Lally on site with the

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<sup>60</sup> Richardson to Goodwin, 9 February 1938; NAC, MG 30, B92, vol.1.

<sup>61</sup> John C. Johnson, *Procession Through the Years*, p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> See: Alan Gordon, 'Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 85/3 (2004), pp. 507-31. The most relevant thesis is: Paula R. Drew, *The Reconstruction of Sainte Marie: Social, Political, And Religious Influences On An Archaeological Interpretation*, MA thesis, Trent University, Canada, 2004.

<sup>63</sup> Gordon, 'Heritage and Authenticity', p. 507.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 511.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 512.

workmen.<sup>66</sup> The reconstructed site, opened in 1967, is roughly a rectangle sixty metres by two hundred fifty metres, bounded by a river and log-palisade walls. The interior of the reconstruction has, 'areas for Christian and non-Christian Wendat. These divisions reflected the Jesuit concern with order, regiment, and the need to emphasise the value of conversion'.<sup>67</sup> The site was presented as a 'demonstration' of many 'firsts' in the history of Ontario, such as domesticated animals – a claim made oblivious to the domesticated dogs maintained by the indigenous people. The combination of the concepts of 'civilised, Christian and European' in defining a framework within which to understand a North American history, however, is the most significant intent of the site, and in this is an echo of the earlier Port Royal reconstruction.

A second major intention of the Habitation is primarily associated with Richardson – an intention that the reconstruction would both figuratively and literally help to reconcile nations, and to promote international goodwill. Central to her vision of a reconstruction was the engagement in this process, of the nations that had made, and destroyed, the original structure. This included: the Americans, especially those from Massachusetts and Virginia – representing the British colonies from which the 'destroyers' had come – who would finance the rebuilding, through the Associates; the French, who had agreed help furnish the new Habitation, though this promise was interrupted by war; and the Canadians, associated with all three of these nations, who would accept and maintain this gift. As early as 1928, Richardson saw the completed structure as a venue for 'lectures and gatherings' that would advance understanding amongst peoples. In this aim, Richardson was supported by William Phillips, an Associate who was also the American ambassador to Canada, and later Under-Secretary of State. After meeting with Phillips in Nova Scotia in 1929, Richardson writes, 'he was intensely interested in the idea of bringing to life a foundation for the study and research of such problems as may come up between the United States and Canada and using it (the reconstructed Habitation)'.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, Richardson predicted that such a foundation would, within twenty-five years, even include European nations.<sup>69</sup> In 1937, the *New York Times* ran an article on the efforts to 'gather a modest sum' to rebuild the Habitation, suggesting that it would be, 'a happy episode

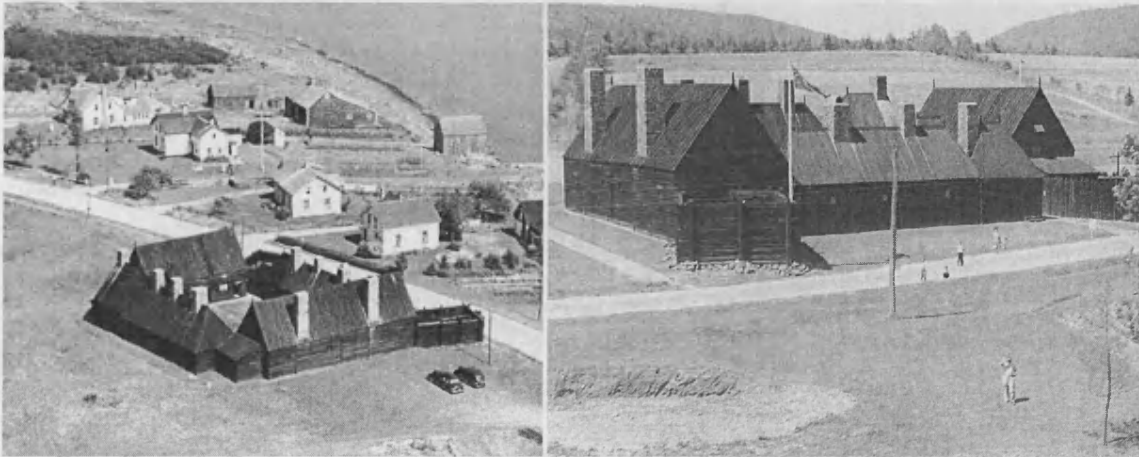
<sup>66</sup> *History News*, 19/9 (1964), p. 139.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.508.

<sup>68</sup> Richardson to William Lane, n.d. 1929; NAC, MG 30, B92, vol.1.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

in international history if citizens of America were to join descendents of the two nations in Canada (Britain and France) in making this a permanent house of friendliness on the coast which Champlain traversed'.<sup>70</sup> While the idea that an historic reconstruction could contribute to world peace was not obviously associated with the nineteenth-century European projects discussed, as earlier noted it was a theme at the 1909 opening of Fort Ticonderoga, where guests from Britain, France and Canada agreed with the Japanese ambassador on this elusive goal.



6.1-8. Aerial view, 1946 /NSARM

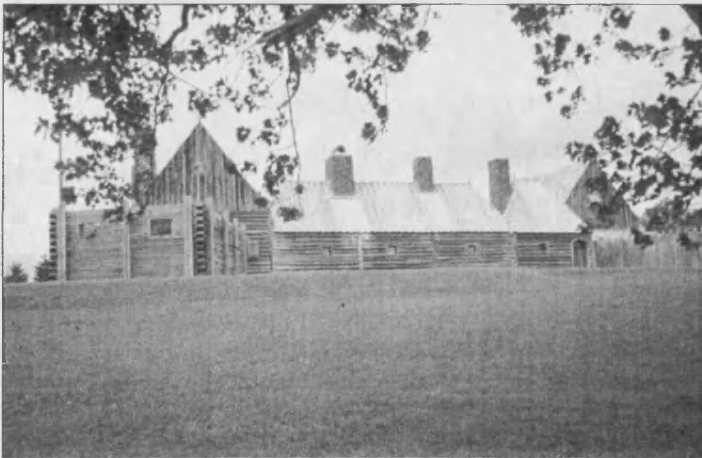
6.1-9. Aerial view, 1956 /NSARM

A third intention is associated primarily with Harris, who became engaged in the project late in its genesis, but ultimately exerted the largest influence on the physical appearance of the final reconstruction. It was Harris, as architect and ‘problem solver’, who identified the bases for designing the 1939 building, decided the relative weight to give each source, and ultimately relied on ‘inference and reasonable probabilities’. Given that the original habitation had been totally destroyed several centuries earlier, the reconstruction was essentially a mid-twentieth century piece of architectural design, and in this Harris shared an intention with the authors of several earlier reconstructions: Burges at Castel Coch, Viollet-le-Duc at Saint Sernin, Perry at the Williamsburg Capital, and certainly Crosby at the Globe Theatre. Certainly Harris’ design vision aimed at authenticity, as informed by the bases he had identified, and especially Champlain’s ‘picture plan’ and Pinckney’s ‘soil readings’; yet, these were just parameters of the larger design problem, and Harris’ intention was architecture, not necessarily romance.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> ‘The Order of Good Times’, *New York Times*, 6 August 1937, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> This relationship between architectural design and architectural history was explored in a 2005 symposium held by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain; this included a presentation by the author of the reconstructed Port Royal Habitation.

Reception of the Port Royal habitation, by various groups at different times since 1940, can be examined in the context of response to these three major intentions, beginning with the creation of a European context within which Port Royal clearly demonstrates a 'civilised community'. A key response was the Nova Scotia government's incorporation of the 'l'ordre du bon temps', repackaged as the Order of Good Cheer, into the provincial tourism programme. Tourists, who stayed in the Province for ten days, and upon promising to return someday, were given a certificate and membership in North America's 'oldest social club'. Though part of the broader tourism role identified for heritage conservation during this period, and previously discussed, this specific programme also supported the intention to 'remember' the



6.1-10. Front view of Habitation, 2006



6.1-11. H T Richardson [L]/PC

seventeenth-century Port Royal habitation as a centre, albeit a small centre, of European culture, yet remaining a chapter in North America's history. Ian McKay notes that by 1956 there were 200,000 'members', located on four continents, and suggests that, 'the tourist pursuing this kind of history did not really need to work at acquiring culture'.<sup>72</sup> The Order remains in place for visitors to Nova Scotia meeting the minimum criteria, but current interpretive programming at the site, while still addressing the Order as major element of the story, presents a more comprehensive picture; for example, it quotes Lescarbot's memory of a typical meal: 'we always had twenty or thirty savages, men, women, girls, and children, who looked on at our manner of service. Bread was given them *gratis* as one would do to the poor.'<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Ian McKay, 'History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964', *Acadiensis*, 22/2 (1993), pp. 102-138 (pp.106-07).

<sup>73</sup> Cited on the site's website: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/portroyal/natcul/histor.aspx> ; [accessed: 6 June 2010].

Tourism promotion offers other examples of a supportive reception to this intention. As previously noted, Will R. Bird, writing in 1950, provided a detailed description of the habitation without mentioning that it was a reconstruction, but noting that it was the, ‘oldest permanent settlement of white people in America’, north of the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>74</sup> This theme of an early European presence is often repeated in tourism literature; for example, a 1974 advertisement in the *New York Times* suggests to the potential American visitor: ‘You could wander through the antiquity of Annapolis Royal and escape through the centuries at the Port Royal habitation, a perfect re-creation of the oldest white settlement’.<sup>75</sup> An article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, published just after the site was completed, was more specific in defining the European qualities of the place:

There is now proof that this site marks the first visible evidence of Christian worship in America – north of the Spanish settlements ... The habitation gardens were the first to prove that European vegetables and grains could be grown ... in the Northern new world.<sup>76</sup>

Reception of the site in the years immediately following its completion included a limited response to Richardson’s intention that the habitation be a catalyst for increased understanding and goodwill amongst nations, especially the United States, Canada, Britain and France. In covering the completion of the reconstructed habitation in 1940, *The Christian Science Monitor* headlined its article ‘Rebuilt Nova Scotia Habitation Symbolizes a Broad Good Will’, and referenced the, ‘many forces in the world today tending to weaken rather than strengthen ties of international friendship’.<sup>77</sup> The same newspaper published another article on the habitation in 1941, suggesting that visitors, ‘were finding comfort, in days of shaken faith, in looking back at those times of ‘beginning’ which it represents’.<sup>78</sup> In fact, the vision that Richardson, Philips and others had for the habitation as a venue for lectures and international gatherings, never became a reality. It may have been difficult to reconcile this ambition with the site’s role as a national historic site and tourist destination; and in the re-configured political world of post-World War Two, the brief

<sup>74</sup> Will R. Bird, *This is Nova Scotia* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1950), p. 91.

<sup>75</sup> Advertisement, *New York Times*, 19 May 1974, p. 547.

<sup>76</sup> ‘Rebuilt Nova Scotia Habitation Symbolizes a Broad Good Will’, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 15 August 1940, p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Donald Messenger, ‘The Habitation is Again Inhabited’, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 21 February 1941, p. WM12.

seventeenth-century play at Port Royal, between the French colonists and the English from Virginia, may have seemed even farther removed from the wars, and rumours of war, of the late-twentieth century. In 1994, however, the HSMBC, in a restatement of the national historic significance of the site, identified the, 'well-documented experiences of natives and newcomers associated with Port Royal', as an exceptional record of, 'Mi'kmaq and French as they came together and co-existed in the period of discovery and colonization'.<sup>79</sup>

Reception has, to a larger degree and perhaps more directly, been a response to Harris' intentions to create a replica faithful to the original, or at least to the information sources available; and to his efforts to create a piece of architecture, a response to the larger, twentieth-century design problem which he confronted. While the popular press, and especially the tourism media, touted the reconstruction's authenticity, in Bird's case obviously failing to note that it was not the original, the professional and conservation communities were more cautious. In 1947, Traquair, whose research on Québec architecture was used as an information source by Harris, wrote, 'The present buildings of course have no historic authority but they are probably very like the original habitation of de Monts.'<sup>80</sup> William Inglis Morse, the Honorary Curator of Canadian Literature and History at Harvard University and noted collector of documents associated with the French regime in Nova Scotia, suggested that, 'the ingenious imaginings of commentators and archaeological findings are fraught with very fuzzy possibilities', and that the reconstructed habitation was, 'one more iota of the poison called history'.<sup>81</sup> Despite Morse's comments, the archaeology undertaken by Pinckney was initially one of the strongest elements supporting the authenticity of the reconstruction, and certainly the work done here was of the standard undertaken at sites such as Mount Vernon and Colonial Williamsburg, where Pinckney had worked. As former Parks Canada historian Barbara Schmeisser noted, however, by the 1960s there was concern as to whether the correct site had been identified for the reconstruction, a concern that remained even after a large internal review of the documentation and archaeological records was undertaken in 1968.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Parks Canada, Port Royal National Historic Site, Commemorative Integrity Statement, 1997; Appendix 1, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Traquair, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> W.I. Morse, ed., *Pierre du Gua Sieur De Monts Records: Colonial and Saintongeois* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1939), pp.45-46.

<sup>82</sup> Barbara Schmeisser, 'Port Royal Habitation, 1928-1938'; a paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association conference, Montreal, 1985; p. 29.

Reception to the Habitation as a distinct piece of architecture, especially in the late-twentieth century, has been similarly provocative. Harold Kalman, in the most thorough survey of Canadian architectural history, suggests that the reconstructed habitation, ‘Accurate or not ... [has] become an integral part of the historic fabric of the Fundy Basin’.<sup>83</sup> As early as 1980, Parks Canada staff suggested that the early-twentieth century building of the reconstruction was a minor theme that could be discussed in the site’s interpretation; however, the senior management response at that time was: ‘the reconstruction of the habitation is not so much a theme, but a fact, and should be explained with minimum fanfare’.<sup>84</sup> In 1994, however, the HSMBC formally recognised this ‘theme’ as one of the two areas of significance of the site, stating in the minutes: ‘the replica of the habitation is the Government of Canada’s earliest large-scale historical reconstruction and as such is a milestone in the Canadian heritage movement’.<sup>85</sup> In the previous year, the habitation had been designated a ‘classified’ building by the Federal Heritage Building Review Office (FHBRO), indicating that it held heritage significance in its own right, apart from the seventeenth-century story associated with the site, the heritage value lying in its illustration of an important point in preservation history, in Canada. This identified value is similar to the values identified in the second (and successful) nomination of Carcassonne as a world heritage site – that is, Carcassonne’s illustration of nineteenth-century preservation practice and philosophy, and its demonstration of Viollet-le-Duc’s design vision. Missing from this reception of the habitation is recognition of Harris, the architect, whose name did not even appear on the drawings, as per the government-office policy. In 1949, a plaque recognising Richardson’s role was erected at the habitation site by the HSMBC; Harris, however, remains unrecognised at the site which he largely authored.

In summary, the chief intentions of the proponents of the habitation were: demonstration of the civilised, and thus European, context of a seventeenth-century North American history; establishment of a forum within which nations could reconcile, and from which international goodwill would emanate; and, the realisation of an architectural vision that could work as both a scholarly exercise (and authentic

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<sup>83</sup> Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture* 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), I p. 21.

<sup>84</sup> An internal memorandum from Henri Tétu to D. McCreery, 22 May 1980; cited: ‘Port Royal NHS: Confirmation and Clarification of National Historic Significance’, HSMBC Report OB-4, June 1994, note 16, n.p.

<sup>85</sup> HSMBC, Minutes, November 1994 meeting.



reproduction) and as a designer's unique response to a twentieth-century design problem. Reception of the site in the past seventy years has been wide-ranging, but has essentially reflected a response to each of the chief intentions; nonetheless, the most recent, and perhaps ultimately most influential, response is recognition of the site's intrinsic value in revealing a piece of twentieth-century history, and in helping to explain the phenomenon of 'heritage conservation', if in a self-referential manner.

## 6.2 Fort George and Place Royale

Historic reconstructions have often been employed to ‘demonstrate’ an official chronicle or ‘version’ of the past, usually to legitimise a current regime or to strengthen a ‘national identity’; Carcassonne, in France, and Castell Coch, in Wales, have been discussed in this context, in previous chapters. In Canada, as early as 1939, historic reconstructions were used to support a sense of national identity, with the reconstruction of Fort George and other structures by the Niagara Parks Commission, an Ontario government agency. These were sites associated primarily with the War of 1812, the British / Canadian – American conflict that saw American troops on Canadian soil, and the White House, in Washington, burned down by the British. The War of 1812 is a key event in the official Canadian chronicle, demonstrating a Canadian past where the land was protected by the British, from the Americans, and a past that supports two elements defining a Canadian identity: British heritage, and anti-Americanism.

In Québec City, historic reconstructions in the area of Place Royale, starting in the 1950s and undertaken by the provincial government, demonstrate historic reconstructions used for the same purpose as Fort George, although in support of a different official chronicle, a differently-defined nation. Place Royale, at the base of the escarpment upon which the city walls and citadel were built, and adjacent to the riverfront, was a key public area from the city’s founding in 1608. As with much of the building fabric of this city, the structures located around this square represent four centuries of change and evolution. Destruction during the British siege in 1759, and the subsequent rebuilding during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the British administration, diminished much of the evidence of the seventeenth-century city, built during the French-regime. In the mid and late-twentieth century, however, increasingly nationalistic (sovereignist) provincial governments were anxious to establish an official chronicle that obscured the period of British occupation, and celebrated the pre-conquest history of Québec. Restoration and reconstruction of buildings in the historic Place Royale district were used to further this purpose; and in a city with several layers of building, the more recent British layer was removed, and the earlier French layer reconstructed, often with limited information of its design and detail.

### 6.2.1 Fort George – the original site

The Niagara Peninsula, a rural region of the Canadian province of Ontario, is actually an isthmus, situated between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, two lakes in the Great Lakes system. Running along the eastern side of the ‘peninsula’ is the Niagara River, forming a border between Canada and the United States (New York State), and incorporating the well-known Niagara Falls. The distance between the lakes is approximately fifty kilometres. European settlement of the region effectively began with the arrival of ‘United Empire Loyalists’, an often-heard term in Ontario, referring to residents of the British colonies who, at the time of the American Revolution, remained loyal to the Crown, and re-established in the remaining British colonies.<sup>1</sup> The Niagara region was a popular destination, especially for Loyalists from



6.2-1. Location of Fort George

New York.<sup>2</sup> Eight thousand Loyalists eventually moved to the region surrounding Lake Ontario and the upper reaches of the Saint Lawrence River, and in 1791 the colony of Upper Canada was created.<sup>3</sup> James Graves Simcoe was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor, and immediately undertook the establishment of garrisons throughout the new colony and the building of fortifications. As part of this programme, Fort George was

established in 1796 at Newark, at the mouth of the Niagara River, looking across to the American Fort Niagara, a stronghold previously owned by the British.

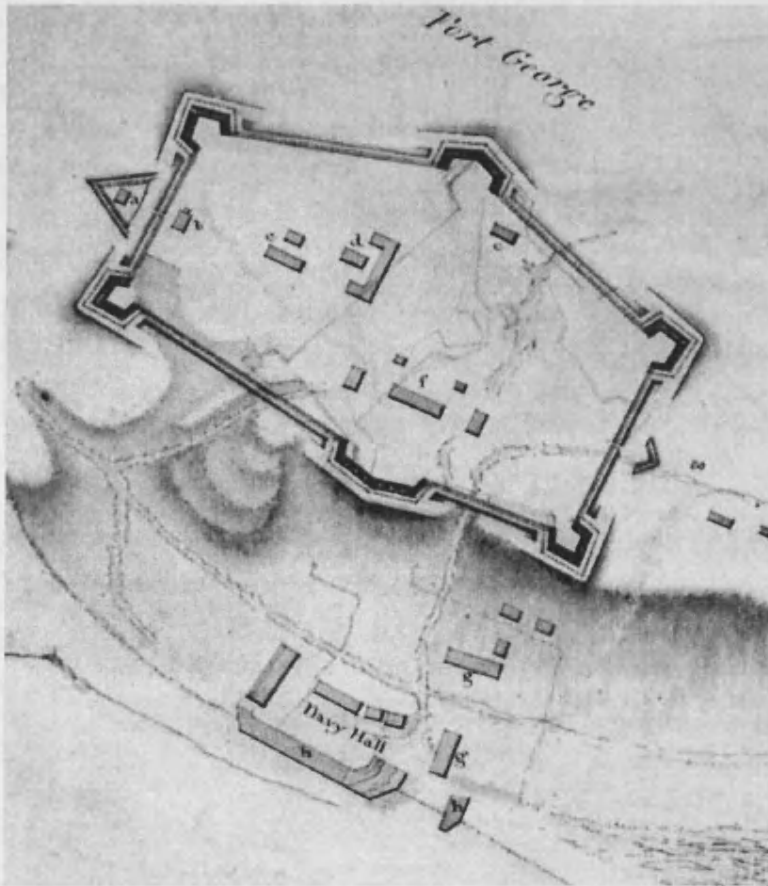
In contrast to the Port Royal Habitation, an extensive number of visual images remain of Fort George. Library and Archives Canada, for example, holds at least twenty-six architectural drawings, including a 1796 plan / elevation of a proposed blockhouse, a 1799 site plan showing proposed fortification works and the structures which had by then been erected, and a series of drawings done in 1822-23 by the

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the United Empire Loyalists as a social force in Ontario, see: Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists, The Ontario Loyalists and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Turner, ‘The Early Settlement of Niagara’, in Hugh J. Gayler, ed., *Niagara’s Changing Landscapes* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), pp.179-207 (p.190).

<sup>3</sup> The colony of Québec – the region at the lower end of the Saint Lawrence – became the colony of Lower Canada, and the post of Governor-General was established, superior to the Lieutenant-Governors administering the individual colonies, including Nova Scotia and the recently-created New Brunswick.

Royal Engineers, recording the structures then extant within the fort.<sup>4</sup> Also, a small number of artistic depictions from the early nineteenth-century exist, the best known being a watercolour done by surgeon James Walsh in 1805. Walsh shows the corner of a two-storey structure with a second-storey overhang, a large one-storey structure with two formal entrances, several smaller one-storey buildings, and an octagonal watchtower; all the buildings in this depiction are clad with weatherboarding.<sup>5</sup>



6.2-2. Plan of Fort George, 1799 /LAC

Initially, Fort George consisted of a few scattered buildings; the fortifications that then developed around this group roughly formed a pentagram in plan, described by historian Ronald Way as,

an irregular field work, consisting of six small bastions faced with framed timber and plank and connected with a loopholed stockade twelve feet high, outside which there was a shallow, dry ditch. The solid earth bastions were

<sup>4</sup> The drawings cited are in the collection of Library and Archives Canada (LAC): H3/450/Amherstburg/1800 (original in British Museum); H1/440/Niagara/1799; and H3/450/Niagara/1823.

<sup>5</sup> The original watercolour is in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; it is reproduced in: Claude Potvin, 'A Perspective on Landscape at Fort George', *APT Bulletin*, 18/ 1 & 2, pp. 106-08, fig. 2.

floored with plank to form platforms for cannon and the parapets pierced with numerous gun embrasures.<sup>6</sup>

In 1980, Parks Canada historian Yvon Desloges, using construction cost estimates found in the British Military and Naval Records collection at Library and Archives Canada (then the National Archives of Canada), prepared a chronology of the construction (and sometimes rebuilding) of the various structures at Fort George.<sup>7</sup> The first major structure erected was the 'centre blockhouse', begun in March 1796 – a two storey, timber frame building, sitting on a stone foundation, with a ground floor plan dimension of 26'x96'; the second-storey plan included an overhang, with overall dimension of 30'x100'. The upper floor was partitioned, by a brick wall, into two dormitories. In the same year, an 'officers' kitchen' and a bakery were erected, both of frame construction. A powder magazine, started in 1796 but not completed until 1797, was a small (21' x 35') masonry structure, with internal brick arches. Two soldiers' blockhouses were added to the complex in 1797, each a frame structure measuring 24' x 44', and painted white. In 1798, a hospital was constructed, also a frame building on a stone foundation, with two sick wards and a separate surgery; that same year a two storey, octagonal blockhouse was erected, with a diameter of twenty-eight feet, and sited near the powder magazine. By 1799, the complex was largely completed with the erection of an officers' barracks, which included an apartment for the commanding officer, and an officers' kitchen. Work did continue on the bastions in 1799, and on surrounding trenches in 1800. A visitor in 1812 observed that, 'all of the blockhouses were constructed of squared logs, were two stories in height and had splinter-proof roofs. The powder magazine [was] built of solid masonry with bomb-proof arches'.<sup>8</sup>

### 6.2.2 Fort George – destruction

On 18 June 1812, the United States declared war on Britain, with a Senate vote of 19-13; indeed, formal declaration was the culmination of ongoing antagonisms that emerged from the Napoleonic Wars. Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Henry Bruyeres, Commander of the Royal Engineers in Canada, ordered significant alterations to Fort

<sup>6</sup> Ronald Way, 'The Work of the Niagara Parks Commission,' *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, 20,12 (1943), pp. 207-18 (p.210).

<sup>7</sup> Yvon Desloges, *Structural History of Fort George* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980). The building descriptions included here are primarily based on Desloges work.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

George: strengthening of the perimeter works and an actual reduction in the area enclosed, the construction of new 'splinter-proof' barracks for four hundred soldiers, and the removal of the second storey of the existing barracks buildings, although the last directive would seem to be as significant a project as actually constructing a new barracks.<sup>9</sup> The Americans attacked Fort George in May 1813, with bombardment leading to the burning of the wooden buildings, apparently even the 'splinter-proof' barracks. Lt. Col. Harvey, the British commander, quickly retreated from the fort, although only after blowing up as much of the remaining infrastructure as possible. The only element of the original fort remaining intact was the masonry powder house.

The Americans quickly constructed a defensive base within the remaining earthworks; although little documentation has been found of the American work, Way suggests, without noting his sources, that:

Constructed upon the north end of the original fort, it occupied about one half of the area. Five full bastions were connected with curtains of solid earth – a more substantial arrangement than the former British stockade. Three log barracks were built by the invaders to house their garrison.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, this seems like a lot of improvement to be undertaken in a few months; in December 1813, the British retook Fort George. Desloges cites the record of Charles Askin, who observed that the fort at this time was unrecognisable, and no barracks remaining.<sup>11</sup> In 1814, the British erected an officers' barracks, two soldiers' barracks and a powder magazine, according to Desloges, although Way believed that only two barracks and a stone magazine were built.<sup>12</sup> The 'second' Fort George suffered from lack of maintenance; in 1825, a government commission observed that, 'this fort is in a complete state of ruins. The wooden buildings within it have not been habitable ... for some time. There are two magazines ... both of them in want of repair.'<sup>13</sup>

### 6.2.3 Fort George – discovery

Although the retreating Americans did not seriously damage the improvements they had undertaken at Fort George, they did completely burn the adjacent town of

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<sup>9</sup> Cited: Desloges, *Structural History of Fort George*, pp.36-37.

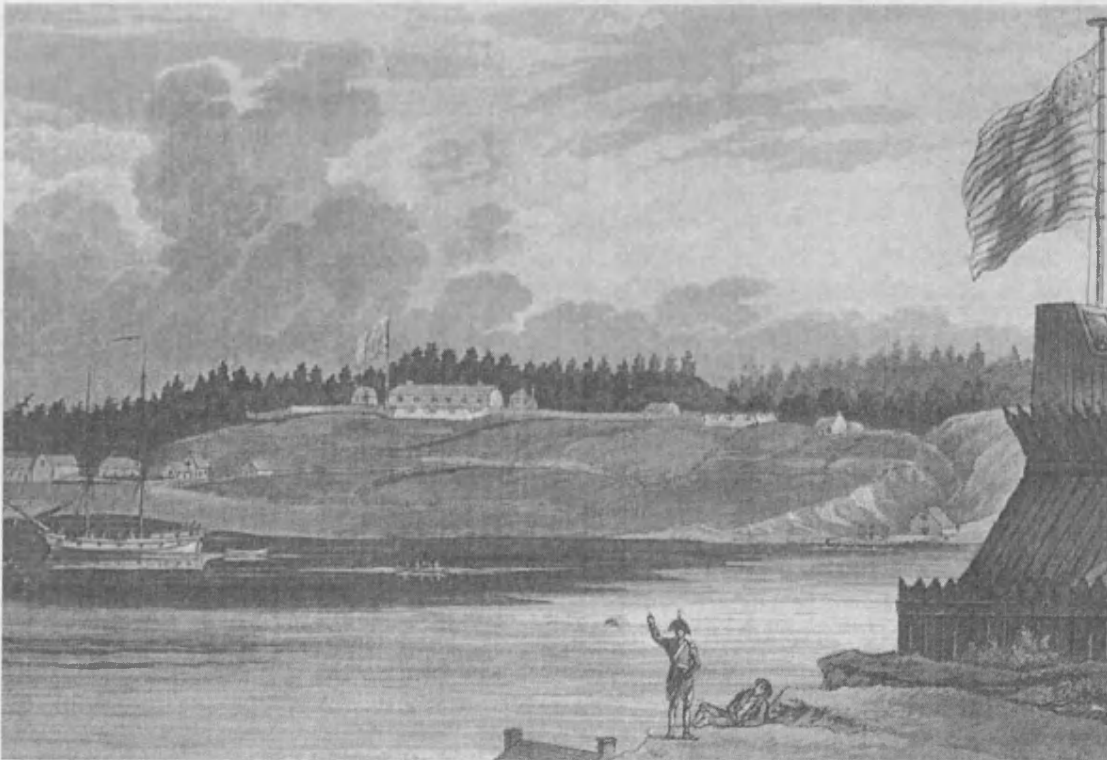
<sup>10</sup> Ronald L. Way, *Ontario's Niagara Parks, A History* (Hamilton: Niagara Parks Commission, 1946), p.252.

<sup>11</sup> Desloges, *Structural History of Fort George*, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46, and Way, *Ontario's Niagara Parks*, p. 252.

<sup>13</sup> Cited: Desloges, *Structural History of Fort George*, p. 52.

Newark. Although the town quickly rebuilt, with much of this early-nineteenth century fabric extant today, the name 'Newark' was abandoned, and the rebuilt settlement became known as Niagara, later Niagara-on-the-Lake.



6.2-3. View of Fort George, circa 1813 (E. Walsh) /NYPL

In 1818, a visitor recorded that, 'map-makers and travellers persist in calling it Newark, but that name is not acknowledged by the inhabitants ... [who] have not yet recovered from the vicissitudes of the late struggle'.<sup>14</sup> Several written descriptions were published throughout the nineteenth century of the gradually disintegrating ruins of the fort, one even appearing in an 1876 New Zealand newspaper.<sup>15</sup> A detailed description appeared in *The Dominion Illustrated*, a Montreal publication, in 1890:

The ruined remains of the old fort are easily accessible and, notwithstanding the levelling and disintegrating processes to which they have been subjected, by 'decay's effacing finger', the outlines of the solid embankments of earth which contributed its principal strength, are still distinctly visible and may be followed with the utmost ease by anyone who wishes to study the form and structure of the old historic landmark .... Time has worn down the sharp edges of the earthworks, has partly filled up the moat and covered ways, and has reduced the sharp outlines of the gateway, or main entrance, to a mere gap in the embankment ... only two of the old buildings [are] still remaining, and one

<sup>14</sup> John M. Duncan, *Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819*, 2 vols (Glasgow: University Press, 1823), I, p.105.

<sup>15</sup> *Otago Witness*, 5 February 1876, p. 4.

is in ruins, [they] are, or rather were, brick structures covered with an arched brick roof.<sup>16</sup>

This article concludes by asking why this Canadian monument has been allowed to decay, while within sight, across the river, the American Fort Niagara has been maintained, and proudly ‘flies the Stars and Stripes’.

Parallel with the physical decay of Fort George, the site evolved as a tourist stop. Patricia Jasen, a historian at Lakehead University, suggests that this interest emerged just after the war (or 1812), albeit as an ancillary tourist interest to Niagara Falls, just a few miles away; she writes:

Traversing battlefields and imagining conflicts they had only read about was a popular pastime for nineteenth-century tourists, for it afforded such romantic pleasures as the worship of the warrior-hero, the melancholy fantasy of violent death, the tangible presence of the remains of battles ... and the association of landscape with history.<sup>17</sup>

The HSMBC first considered the national historic value of Fort George in 1920, recommending only that the Militia Department hand the property over to the Ontario government, to develop it as a historic site. In 1927, the Board approved text for a



6.2-4. Old powder magazine, Fort George, undated [c. 1930s?] /NYPL.

<sup>16</sup> *Dominion Illustrated*, 25 October 1890, p. 279

<sup>17</sup> Patricia Jasen, ‘Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790-1850’, *Canadian Historical Review*, 62/3 (1991), pp. 283-318 (p.302).



plaque erected at the site, noting its role in the War of 1812, and in 1968 approved an amended text for a new plaque, that also acknowledged the subsequent historic reconstruction.<sup>18</sup> Although recent Parks Canada documents credit the Niagara Historical Society with an early interest in the Fort George ruins,<sup>19</sup> there seems to be no published indication of this. Indeed, the Society's extensive website does not currently reference the reconstructed Fort George, although it does provide a great deal of information on the original fort; it promises visitors to the Society's museum that they, 'will explore 9000 years of history in the first gallery', although seemingly not the reconstructed local fortifications.<sup>20</sup> The effective proponent of the reconstruction of these ruins, in the twentieth century, was an Ontario government agency, and especially one of its employees; Ronald Way is a major, if largely unrecognised, figure in the history of heritage conservation in Canada.

#### 6.2.4 Fort George – reconstruction

The Niagara Parks Commission was established in 1885 by an act of the Ontario Legislature, with an initial purpose of safeguarding and managing development in the Niagara Falls region.<sup>21</sup> Early in the twentieth century, the Commission assumed a broader role, constructing a 'parkway' to ease access to the area for the growing number of automobile tourists, and developing historic sites, mostly associated with the War of 1812. The Commission's work in developing a tourism industry, and using heritage to achieve that purpose, illustrated a common provincial endeavour at this time. Heritage was used in two major ways: commemoration of historical events deemed important to the history of the region, and to Canada, and the actual 'preservation' of sites where historic events took place, and where physical evidence, however meagre, remained to authenticate the remembered story.

An example of the Commission's efforts is the conservation of the Brock Monument, one of the oldest public monuments in Canada; it was erected in 1824 to commemorate Sir Isaac Brock, a hero of the War of 1812, whose body was originally buried within Fort George, but was later re-interred near the monument. This structure

<sup>18</sup> HSMBC, Minutes for: 21 May 1921, 19 May 1927, and 28 & 29 November 1968.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the 'Commemorative Integrity Statement' for the Niagara National Historic Sites, prepared in 1998; Shannon Ricketts, 'Cultural Selection and National Identity: Establishing Historic Sites in a National Framework, 1920-1939', *The Public Historian*, 18/3 (1996), pp. 23-41, also suggests that Fort George was 'the focus of local preservation efforts for some time' (p. 33).

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.niagarahistorical.museum> ; [accessed: 25 June 2010].

<sup>21</sup> See: Way, *Ontario's Niagara Parks*.

was blown up in 1840, and construction of the current memorial column finished in 1856, paid for by public subscription. After the Commission assumed responsibility for the monument in 1896, various repairs were undertaken, electric lights were installed in 1921, and in 1941, a second memorial tablet was installed to provide information about the battle in which Brock was killed, information ‘omitted’ from the original.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1930s, the Commission took on an even more active role in heritage conservation, acquiring several new sites, and undertaking three historic reconstruction projects where, ‘important structures which would be highly prized today have partially or even wholly disappeared’.<sup>23</sup> The first reconstruction project was the William Lyon Mackenzie house, in Queenston, undertaken by architect A. E. Nicholson. Mackenzie, who emigrated from Scotland in 1820, was publisher of a newspaper and an important figure within the political landscape of the colony of Upper Canada; the reconstructed house was opened in 1938, by Mackenzie’s grandson, William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister. The second historic reconstruction was Fort Erie, located at the point where the Niagara River flows from Lake Erie. Although several minor, temporary fortifications had been built in the vicinity in the eighteenth century, a substantial fort was begun in 1805, but in 1811 was only partially completed; Bruyeres recorded in that year, ‘two piles of barracks together with the masonry of two bastions fronting the lake were finished ... the interior of the barracks only partially completed’.<sup>24</sup>

In 1908, the Commission acquired the Fort Erie, then in a state of, ‘utter ruin and neglect’, and in 1914, suggested the reconstruction the site, stating in an annual report, ‘it is hoped ... that the ruins may be rebuilt when occasion warrants it’.<sup>25</sup> Reconstruction ultimately began in 1937, with William Lyon Somerville as architect; the reconstructed Fort Erie opened in July 1939, and the Commission’s official history suggests that,

the purpose and meaning of Fort Erie’s restoration (sic) ... was not the commemoration of a victory or rehabilitation of a notable structure. It is something else – it is a memorial to the courage and self-sacrifice of those

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp.242-3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p 248.

<sup>24</sup> Cited: *ibid.*,p.261.

<sup>25</sup> Cited: *ibid.*,p 267.

who gave their lives in order that Canada might become the free nation that she is today.<sup>26</sup>

It seems doubtful that many of the soldiers and militia fighting there in the early-nineteenth century anticipated an independent Canada, and more likely their motivation was indeed pro-British (or Crown), and anti-American.

The third reconstruction project undertaken was Fort George, the largest of the three projects, and arguably the most significant. This project, while undertaken by the Commission, was the first major heritage project for which Ronald Way was responsible, and provides considerable insight into his conservation philosophy, a perspective that would later have a major impact on heritage conservation in Canada. In 1934, fourteen years after the HSMBC recommendation, responsibility for the Fort George site was transferred from the federal government to the Commission. Reconstruction of the fort commenced in early 1937, and was completed during the summer of 1940, making it contemporary with the Port Royal Habitation reconstruction.



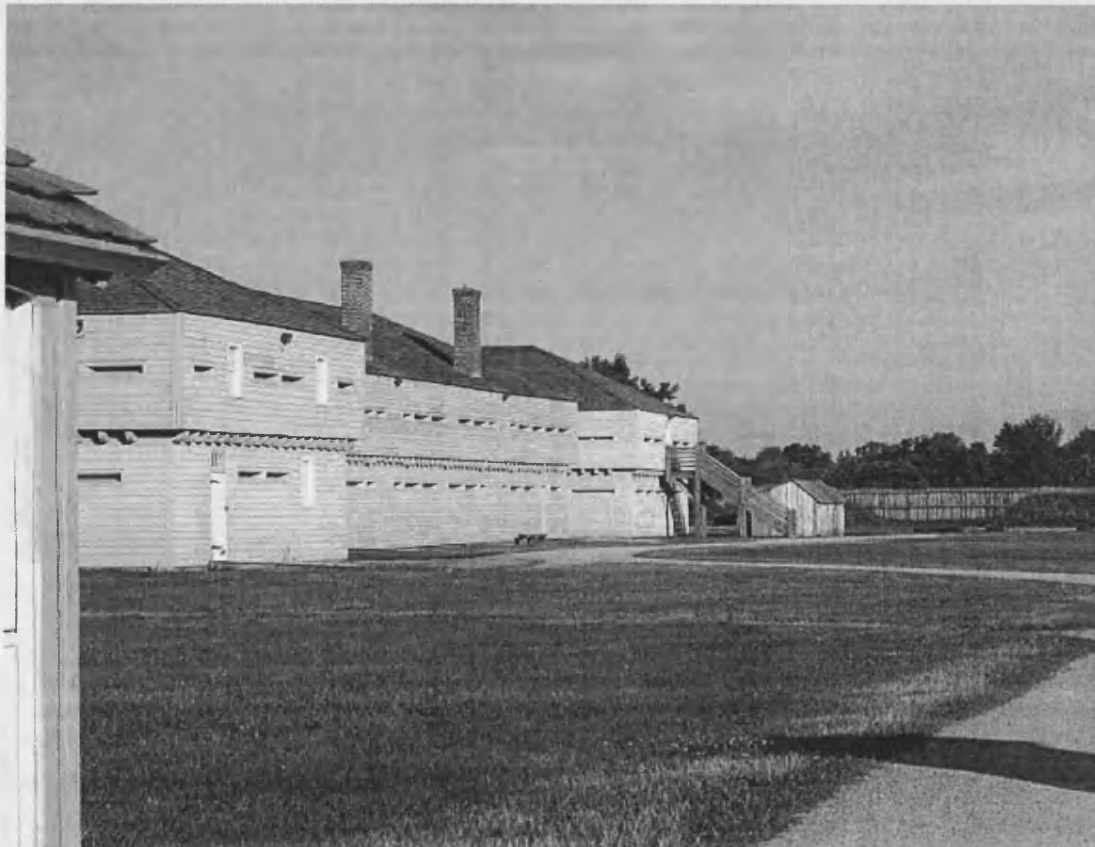
6.2-5. Reconstructed barracks at Fort George /NFPL

Ronald Way, the official Commission historian and the *de facto* author of the reconstructed Fort George, was well prepared for the assignment. Born in 1908, he studied history at Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario, and in 1936 earned an

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.268.

M.A. degree, with a thesis entitled *Defences of the Niagara Frontier (1764-1870)*.<sup>27</sup> In 1936, Way was given responsibility for planning the restoration of Fort Henry, an early-nineteenth century fortification on the Saint Lawrence River, a project completed in 1938 and overlapping with his work for the Niagara Parks Commission. At Fort Henry, Way also prepared an 'interpretation' plan involving costumed re-enactors, and retained an association with that site through the 1960s. In 1958, Way began working for the Saint Lawrence Parks Commission, another Ontario government agency, specifically to develop 'Upper Canada Village', a collection of historic buildings removed from ten communities that were flooded in the building of the Saint Lawrence Seaway. This site was an early example of 'living history' interpretation in Canada. It opened in 1961, by which time Way had been seconded by the federal government to serve as 'general consultant' in the development of the Louisbourg reconstruction, in Nova Scotia. In 1975, he was invested as a Member of the Order of Canada.



6.2-6. Reconstructed barracks at Fort George, 2007 (Balcer)

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<sup>27</sup> Deposited at Queen's University Archives, this thesis discusses both Fort Erie and Fort George. In 1974, four years before his death, Way was awarded a honorary degree from Queen's.

When Way died in 1978, the Canadian Historical Association remembered his, ‘effort and toil to conceive what the historical record would not reveal, to reconstruct what it begrudgingly divulged or correct what it divulged erroneously’.<sup>28</sup> If slightly ambiguous, this sentiment nevertheless summarises Way’s approach to the reconstruction of Fort George, and indeed his later work at Louisbourg. In 1950, Way wrote that the most important decision in the work at Fort George was deciding the period in history to be represented.<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, the initial British period of occupation was chosen, as opposed to the brief American tenure, which Way suggests had few historical associations for Canadians. In the same article, he identifies three sources of information for reconstructions – archives, archaeology and local tradition / oral history – of which the second source was considered, by far, the most useful. Way also suggests a fourth source, if implicitly; in reference to the reconstruction of a specific bastion at Fort George, he writes, ‘merely to interpret the original plans, it was necessary to make a comprehensive study of the whole science of fortification as it stood as the latter part of the eighteenth century’.<sup>30</sup> This is similar to Harris’ use of construction techniques typical in Québec and France, as reference for the reconstruction of the habitation. For future historic reconstructions in Canada, perhaps Way’s most prescient observation was that, ‘a successful restoration could only result from the close co-operation of the government, the architect, the contractor and the historian’, each with a particular viewpoint, and with regard to Fort George, ‘when serious but inevitable differences of opinion arose, compromise was the only practical expedient’.<sup>31</sup>

In a 1955 presentation to the Kingston Historical Society, Way said that after undertaking the research and making basic decisions such as the period of reconstruction, ‘my association with a typical restoration entered upon a new phase. In the preparation of working drawings, I was an associate of the architect and my practical knowledge of draughtsmanship was not amiss’.<sup>32</sup> Way does not identify the architect in this, or indeed, subsequent publications; however, a federal government

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<sup>28</sup> A brief obituary, written by Carman Bickerton, appeared in: *Historical Papers, Canadian Historical Association*, 13/1 (1978), pp. 247-246.

<sup>29</sup> Ronald L. Way, ‘Historical Restorations’, *Annual Report, Canadian Historical Association*, 29/1 (1950), pp. 58-63 (p.60).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> R. Way, ‘Historical Restorations’, *Historic Kingston, The Transactions of the Kingston Historical Society*, 4 (1954-55), pp. 26-32 (p.29).

report prepared in 1989, citing an internal report on the reconstruction submitted by Way in 1973, suggests that the architect was W. L. Somerville, whose firm was also responsible for the reconstruction of Fort Erie.<sup>33</sup> This 1989 report also quotes Way's observation that, 'Mr. Somerville's efforts would seem to have been directed towards earlying (sic) up', the reconstructed buildings; for example, in most reconstructed buildings, the rough-hewn logs were left exposed and unclad, although drawings and images from the period strongly suggest that most were indeed clad with some sort of exterior weather board. The only original structure on the site, the powder magazine, was re-roofed with copper during the reconstruction project because, according to Way, the minister (within the provincial government), 'had a passion for copper roofs because of their relative permanence'. Way suggests that architect Somerville agreed, observing that, 'a metal roof was a metal roof'.<sup>34</sup>

While such roofing and cladding details suggest a wide latitude for Way's 'compromise as practical expedient', he continued to claim that, in a reconstruction, the architect had to, 'restrain his creative instincts and content himself with the role of mere copyist, for, in historical restorations, there is little scope for improvements beyond the ken of the original builders'.<sup>35</sup> The reconstruction recollected by Way in 1974 seems a more likely, but less idealistic, project than he described just three years after it was completed; in 1943, he wrote that eleven of the original fourteen buildings were 'restored' and the bastions, stockades and other defences at Fort George reconstructed, 'carefully according to the original plans of the Royal Engineers'.<sup>36</sup> His later summation, perhaps illustrating more compromise than authenticity, is in agreement with Desloges, who has probably investigated the original construction documents more thoroughly than anyone else; in Desloges' opinion:

one definite conclusion can be drawn from this analysis [of the archival documents]: the present Fort George corresponds very little with the Fort George of 1810-11. If the location seems to be the same as in 1799, many details differ, such as those pertaining to the construction of the blockhouses. There is no hospital, kitchen or bakery, but a tunnel has been built to the octagonal blockhouse.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Cited in the Federal Heritage Building Review Office (FHBRO) report 89-15; the internal report is cited as: Way, Ronald with Way, Beryl. W., 'The Reconstruction of Fort George 1936-1940', Manuscript on File, 3 vols, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1973.

<sup>34</sup> FHBRO 89-15.

<sup>35</sup> Way, *Historic Kingston*.

<sup>36</sup> Way, 'The Work of the Niagara Parks Commission', p. 210.

<sup>37</sup> Desloges, *Structural History of Fort George*, p. 58.

In 1969, the Fort George reconstruction was transferred from the control of the Ontario government to the Parks Canada network of national historic sites. In the 1980s, the Officers' Quarters, and one of the blockhouses, were clad with clapboarding, deviating from the 1939 reconstruction, and moving towards increased authenticity – described by Parks Canada as, 'another layer of conservation philosophy'.

#### 6.2.5 Fort George – intention and reception

The most obvious proponent of the reconstruction of Fort George was the owner, the Niagara Parks Commission, and its primary objective, or intention, the economic development of the region through use of both historic and natural resources in the creation of a tourism destination. In furthering these aims, the Fort George project is typical of heritage conservation efforts, in the 1930s, in other parts of Canada and in the United States. Beyond this, however, the decision to reconstruct the fort rather than interpret the picturesque ruins, and to eliminate evidence of the brief American occupation in the process of recreating the British era, suggests another intention: the demonstration and reinforcement of an official Canadian past, or at least an Ontario past, defined chiefly by a British foundation, and the subsequent repulsion of American conquest attempts. Official promotion of this pro-British and anti-American definition of Canada was broader than Fort George or the work of the Commission, and in Ontario centred on two events – the influx of pro-British Americans at the end of the American Revolution (the United Empire Loyalists) and the War of 1812. In the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, the chronicles of these two events were often retold, sometimes mythologised, so as to support the pro-British and anti-American definition of Canadian identity.



6.2-7. Queen Elizabeth II visiting Fort George /NFPL

Norman Knowles, professor of history at Saint Mary's University College, Calgary, has explored in detail this use of the Loyalist story;<sup>38</sup> he notes, for example, the introduction of a history textbook in the Ontario schools in 1857 that portrayed that province as, 'a distinct British-American society built upon the loyalty, patriotism, industry and self-discipline of its Loyalist founders'.<sup>39</sup> Associations between the Loyalists' arrival and the War of 1812 – some of the first generation Loyalists would still have been alive in 1857 – were subsequently emphasised, and by the early twentieth-century, in Knowles' words, 'the traditions surrounding the War of 1812 and the Loyalists became practically synonymous in the public imagination'.<sup>40</sup> By the end of the twentieth century, he suggests that the Loyalist story was connected to a quite different definition of Canadian identity: 'In the pluralistic Ontario of the late twentieth century the Loyalists were reinvented as the nation's first refugees, and the founders of multiculturalism'.<sup>41</sup>

The Commission's intention to use Fort George to support a traditional sense of Canadian identity, within Ontario, is in large measure due to its chairman during



6.2-8. Historic re-enactment at Fort George /NFPL

<sup>38</sup> Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.



this period, T. B. McQueston, who was also provincial Minister of Highways and Public Works. Born in 1882, McQueston was a graduate of the University of Toronto, and in 1930, helped organise the first British Imperial (later Commonwealth) Games, in his home town of Hamilton. McQueston assumed his portfolios immediately after being elected to the Ontario legislature (provincial parliament) in 1934; and within this position, was instrumental in the construction of a memorial arch, the Clifton Gate Memorial in Niagara Falls, designed by Somerville, the architect for Fort George and who coincidentally was from McQueston's hometown. Built in 1936 and demolished in 1967, this monument incorporated motifs representing both the Loyalist arrival and the War of 1812. Joan Coutu, a professor of fine art at the University of Waterloo, has examined the extent and range of McQueston's engagement with Commission projects, from development of historic sites such as Fort George to landscaping projects and the building of the Niagara Parkway (highway).<sup>42</sup> She suggests that McQueston's view of Canada closely coincided with a mainstream sense of identity, at least within anglophone Ontario, in the early-twentieth century, a view summarised as, 'the French discovered Canada, the British took it over, instilled civilisation and, with the help of the Indians, repelled the Americans'.<sup>43</sup> Fort George, a tangible and physical representation of the War of 1812, albeit with the British earthworks and buildings reconstructed, yet, 'recovered from' the scarring imposed by the American forces, further supports this narrative, and McQueston can be seen as the 'human face' of the Commission, and as a proponent of that project.

Ronald Way, although an employee of the Commission, can be considered an individual proponent of the Fort George reconstruction, as he approached it not merely as a job-making exercise, nor even as a purely symbolic representation of an official narrative of the past; rather, Way approached the reconstruction as a heritage conservation professional, a historian increasingly absorbed by preservation projects, and with a definite philosophical position. Notwithstanding his concern for authenticity – and a begrudging acceptance of compromise – Way was clearly supportive of reconstruction as a 'level of intervention'. In 1943, he wrote, 'the policy of rebuilding important structures such as Fort George ... instead of merely

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<sup>42</sup> Joan Coutu, 'Vehicles of Nationalism: Defining Canada in the 1930s', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 37/1 (2002), pp.180-203.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.199.

preserving the unintelligible ruins has contributed to the teaching of Canadian history and the development of patriotism and high ideals'.<sup>44</sup> In this statement, Way indicates that he viewed development of heritage sites, through reconstruction or otherwise, not as an end in themselves, but as a means to an end; and to the degree that they helped develop patriotism, Way's intention, as proponent, was closely allied with the Commission.

There was virtually no negative response to the reconstructed Fort George, although Way remembered that, 'as the remains of the American fort disappeared and the shape of the British fort emerged, local antiquarians became most eloquent in questioning the authenticity of the reconstruction'.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, opening in the early years of World War Two, the reconstructed Fort George became part of an extensive public campaign to encourage patriotism, and to support Britain. After ownership (and management) of the site passed to the federal government in 1969, the interpretation programme at Fort George became more focussed on the specific events of the War of 1812, as a discrete historical event, rather than on Fort George as a symbol of a pro-British past. The current Parks Canada 'commemorative integrity statement' for the site, prepared in 1998, reflects this in its key messages and defined historic values – an attempt to explain this site to an increasingly pluralistic, and decidedly less British, Canada.

#### 6.2.6 Place Royale – reconstructing 'another' Canadian nation

A Canadian identity framed by pro-British and anti-American sentiment, and supported by a past which remembered the Loyalist arrival in the 1780s as a 'founding', was not a Canadian identity generally experienced across the country; even in Nova Scotia, with a population largely of British descent, the earlier French occupation was well woven into the collective memory of the past, as was the 'pre-Loyalist' history of the earlier American settlers, the Planters. The approach to heritage sites in regions outside Ontario, but contemporary with the Fort George reconstruction, reflects this, for example at Port Royal habitation or Grand Pré. In Québec, at least for the majority francophone population, this notion of 'national identity' was even more foreign, literally; the idea of nationalism in Québec, especially with the advent of the 'Quiet Revolution' in the 1960s, was defined by

<sup>44</sup> Way, 'The Work of the Niagara Parks Commission', p.208.

<sup>45</sup> Way, *Annual Report*, p.61.

language, the geography of the province, the distant French heritage, and especially the pre-conquest French regime in Québec. This sense of nationalism, which increasingly precluded the significant events and contributions of the British colonial period – for example the British-influenced architecture of nineteenth-century Québec City<sup>46</sup> – was demonstrated in, and strengthened by, the government approach to heritage conservation in general, and the use of historic reconstruction specifically, especially the work undertaken at the Place Royale in Québec City. Indeed, this project was sufficiently ‘bold’, or perhaps obvious, in its political intentions that it was critiqued in the United States, and even in France.

The project centred on a part of the city adjacent to the St. Lawrence River, the spot where Champlain constructed his initial ‘habitation’ in 1608, and which soon evolved into a market square.<sup>47</sup> While a bust of Louis XIV was erected there in 1686, and the square was officially named ‘Place Royale’, by the end of the seventeenth century the bust had been moved to another location in the city, and the square renamed.<sup>48</sup> In 1682, a fire destroyed fifty-five buildings in Place Royale, and during the siege of 1759 one hundred sixty buildings in this area were destroyed by British bombardment.<sup>49</sup> Over two centuries later, in 1931, when the urban fabric had undergone considerable evolution and change, a second bust of Louis XIV was erected in the square, a gift of France, and the re-emergence of pre-conquest Québec began. Also in the early 1930s, Gérard Morisset, a Québec historian, was in France studying restoration, and developing an admiration for the theories of Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>50</sup> Luc Noppen, an architectural historian at the University of Québec who has written extensively on heritage conservation in Québec during the twentieth century, called Morisset, ‘Viollet-le-Duc’s *disciple inconditionnel*’, and cites several articles written by Morisset in the 1930s in which the French architect’s restoration work, at Pierrefonds and elsewhere, is praised. After returning to Québec, Morisset wrote extensively about the early architecture of Québec City, identifying Place Royale as

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<sup>46</sup> For example, see: Luc Noppen, ‘The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec’, *SSAC Bulletin*, 21/7 (1996), pp. 4-10.

<sup>47</sup> The most detailed study of this project is: Luc Noppen et al, *La Restauration à la Place Royal de Québec*, Art Ancien du Québec, Etudes – No. 1 (Québec: Université Laval, 1978); a more recent description is: Isabelle Faure, ‘La reconstruction de Place-Royale à Québec,’ *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec*, 36/98 (1992), pp. 321-36.

<sup>48</sup> See: Lucie Morisset and Luc Noppen, ‘De la ville idéale à la ville idéale: l’invention de la place royale à Québec,’ *Revue d’Histoire de l’Amérique Française*, 56/4 (2003), pp. 453-79.

<sup>49</sup> A.J.H. Richardson, ‘Buildings in the Old City of Quebec’, *APT Bulletin*, 2/3-4 (1970), pp. 3-97 (p.21).

<sup>50</sup> Noppen, *La Restauration à la Place Royal*, p.83.

especially significant; in the 1950s, as advisor to the provincial government, he was a key figure in the initiation of a large, multi-decade programme to 'restore' Place Royale, creating both a major tourism draw, and a symbol of urban renewal.



6.2-9. View of market place, showing Chevalier House behind, 1860s / LAC

Within Place Royale, Morisset identified the Chevalier House (later termed Hotel) as especially important; this was actually four attached buildings, on three adjacent lots, and although the different structures dated from different eras, the property was associated in 1752, just prior to the British conquest, with a merchant named Chevalier. In 1956, the provincial government acquired the property, and engaged architect André Robitaille, who had studied architecture in France with the urban theorist and expert on the 'place royale' in French cities, Pierre Lavedan; Robitaille worked closely within the theoretical frame work established by Morisset, a framework ultimately derived from Viollet-le-Duc's notion of '*unité stylistique*'. At the Chevalier House, this meant significant restoration of parts of the complex, the total demolition of one significant building, and its 'reconstruction' as it might have looked in the mid-eighteenth century. Completed in 1962, this project established the context for the second project in the redevelopment of Place Royale, the reconstruction of the Fornel House. A fire in the early 1960s largely destroyed the nineteenth-century structure that stood on this site, although underground vaults, dating to the French regime, survived; the opportunity was seized to 'restore' the site to its supposed 1723 appearance, and add to the 'stylistic unity' of Place Royale, or at least to its re-emerging eighteenth-century appearance. In fact, it later emerged that the two-storey structure erected, based on then available information, should in fact have been three stories in height to have depicted an accurate image of 1723.

Dozens of restoration projects followed in the 1960s and 1970s, with an ultimate goal of recreating the eighteenth-century Place Royale. Criticism of the

project grew, however, even within the Québec conservation community, culminating in a government-sponsored symposium in 1978, at which several parties reflected on the history of the project. The specialists involved in the project defended the philosophical approach which had supported extensive historic reconstruction:

Because Place Royale represented the most important concentration of [architectural] elements from the French period, it was crucial to the identity of the entire [Québec] nation .. for Québécois seeking their national identity, Place Royale becomes a privileged tie between the French Canada of yesterday and Québec of today.<sup>51</sup>

Other conservation specialists at the symposium, however, were critical of this position, pointing out that the project deviated from international standards of conservation practice; the reconstruction proponents countered, however, that the decision to reconstruct reflected provincial conservation theory of the 1950s, and that the reconstructions were a valuable reflection of that period – the argument used by France in nominating Carcassonne as a world heritage site in 1997. Indeed, Québec City was also inscribed on that list, in 1985.



6.2-10. Place Royale, after the fire, 1760 (R. Short) /LAC

<sup>51</sup> From a Québec Ministry of Cultural Affairs symposium report, cited: Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Québec* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p.149.

Criticism of the Place Royale reconstructions continued, however; Françoise Choay, the well known French architectural theorist, wrote about this project in her seminal 1992 work *L'allégoire du Patrimoine*, noting that groups of old buildings were destroyed, 'pour les reconstruire sans base scientifique, dans le style de l'architecture française du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle'.<sup>52</sup> James Marston Fitch, a former director of the historic preservation programme at Columbia University, also included the Place Royale project in his influential 1990 book *Historic Preservation, Curatorial Management of the Built World*, calling it a, 'hard-edged mix of demolition, restoration ... and complete reconstruction of the oldest buildings to re-create the appearance of Place Royale before the British conquest'.<sup>53</sup>



6.2-11. Place Royale, 2007 (C. Finot)

Fort George in the 1930s and Place Royale in the 1960s, both demonstrate the use of the past, and of historic reconstruction, to support traditional notions of nation, and national identity. In the twenty-first century, both appear historic, even quaint, relative to the need to define group identity in a more pluralistic, possibly 'post-national' context.

<sup>52</sup> Françoise Choay, *L'allégoire du Patrimoine* (1992), p.166. [published in English as: *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 145.]

<sup>53</sup> James Marston Fitch, *Historic Preservation, Curatorial Management of the Built World* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1990), p. 55.

### 6.3 Louisbourg

In 1720, the former fishing village of Havre à l'Anglois was officially 'founded' by the French government as the town of Louisbourg, capital of the colony of Isle Royale, and an administrative, military and economic centre. With a civil population of nearly three thousand, and a garrison population that ranged from several hundred to over a thousand, the fortified town also boasted the third lighthouse erected in North America, a hospital, and one of the longest buildings on the continent – the King's Bastion, over one hundred twenty metres in length. In 1758, Louisbourg was captured by the British, and used as a staging ground for the assault on Québec the following year; the fortress built to guard the entrance to France's American empire became part of its fall. In 1760, the British government decreed that, 'all the Fortifications of the Town of Louisburg ... be forthwith totally demolished'.<sup>1</sup> The



6.3-1. Map showing location of Louisbourg

demolition was completed in November of that year.<sup>2</sup> While the rise and fall of Louisbourg was dramatic, yet another chapter in the town's history began two centuries later, when in 1961 John Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, approved the reconstruction of Louisbourg. Subsequently, two miles of fortifications and a quarter of the buildings within the town wall, including the King's Bastion, have risen again. Louisbourg has become the largest and most costly project undertaken by Parks Canada; indeed, some Canadians may be sympathetic to Louis

<sup>1</sup> Cited: J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from its foundation to its fall* (London: Macmillan & Co. 1918), p. 290. The complete 1918 edition is available online at: [http://www.archive.org/stream/louisbourgfromit00mcleuft/louisbourgfromit00mcleuft\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/louisbourgfromit00mcleuft/louisbourgfromit00mcleuft_djvu.txt); [accessed 9 June 2010].

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.291.

XV who reportedly wondered why he could not see the towers of Louisbourg from his window at Versailles, given the drain it had become on his coffers.<sup>3</sup>

The literature to emerge since the late-nineteenth century demonstrates a historiography with two consistent but quite distinct perspectives of Louisbourg. Starting with the work of Francis Parkman, an American historian who in the mid and late-nineteenth century produced many volumes on the French empire in America, Louisbourg was often presented primarily as a battlefield, with a focus on the final conquest by the British.<sup>4</sup> Other authors, however, have approached Louisbourg as an important urban settlement, defined by sustained social, economic and political activities. One of the first to undertake such an analysis was J. S. McLennan, a member of the Canadian Senate, who in 1918 published a detailed study of life at Louisbourg; although McLennan discussed the military aspect, his focus was broader, and included civilian life in the town.<sup>5</sup> This second aspect of Louisbourg has dominated the more recent literature, for example the work of A. J. B. Johnston, a historian with Parks Canada who has published widely on French colonial and Acadian topics, and especially his 2001 work, *Control and Order in French Colonial Louisbourg, 1713-1758*.<sup>6</sup>

This latter aspect of Louisbourg historiography also provided the framework within which the reconstruction was undertaken, and formed the basis for the subsequent interpretation and presentation of the site. Focus has been on the people and activity of the community; for example, a visitor to the site today observes a re-enactment of the 'summer of 1744'. The meticulously, perhaps obsessively, reconstructed buildings and landscape provide an equally authentic backdrop for the daily, sometimes mundane, activities of the residents. While the physical reconstruction of Louisbourg certainly represents the visions of diverse proponents, the primary intention has been to provide an 'authentic' representation of life in Louisbourg; indeed, a reconstruction in which the ordinary and commonplace is

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<sup>3</sup> This anecdote appears in many early works on Louisbourg, but never referenced. For example, see: James L. Stokesbury, 'Fortress Louisbourg', *American History Illustrated*, 5/9 (1971), pp. 4-11, 41-47 (p.4).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America*, 9 vols (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1877-1892).

<sup>5</sup> J. S. McLennan, *Louisbourg from its foundation*.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. B. Johnston, *Control and Order in French Colonial Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (East Lansing, US: Michigan State University Press, 2001).



evident, where the visitor can be transported to the eighteenth century. To paraphrase David Lowenthal, the past is a foreign country, but not ‘too’ foreign.

### 6.3.1 The Original Site

The fortified city of Louisbourg was a direct result of the Treaty of Utrecht, in which France lost the colonies of Acadie (Nova Scotia) and Plaisance (southern Newfoundland), but maintained the major inland colony of Québec, and current-day Cape Breton, an island that had previously formed part of Acadie. Cape Breton became the colony of Isle Royale, and the French government sought an appropriate location to establish an administrative capital for the region, a region which supported the rich off-shore fisheries, and effectively created a gateway to the inland empire, at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. After a survey of the island in 1716, Jean-François de Verville, a member of the corps of engineers, recommended Havre à l’Anglois, and in the following year began the design of a fortified town; construction of the walls began in 1720, and Louisbourg was officially ‘founded’ in that year. Verville continued to oversee construction until 1724, when Etienne Verrier was appointed resident engineer. While Verville was responsible for the basic form and pattern of the town, Verrier – who had entered the engineer corps in 1707, and spent over twenty years in Louisbourg – not only implemented and improved Verville’s fortification and town plans, but was responsible for the architectural design of several public buildings.<sup>7</sup> The urban form of Louisbourg evolved not only within the context of official plans and designs, but also buildings codes; as early as 1717, the property owners were given instruction on how property boundaries were to be marked, and by 1723, fourteen related ordinances had been issued. As Johnston notes, this included a minimum building height and the regulation of roofing material.<sup>8</sup>

The two defining two-dimensional or plan elements of Louisbourg were the fortification walls, establishing the edge of the settlement, and the grid plan of streets, imposed upon the peninsular site and the pre-existing, irregular-shaped properties. Both elements evolved considerably from Verville’s initial 1717 proposal, which concentrated development along one shore front. By 1734, the grid had been imposed on most of the peninsula, with forty blocks identified, and the walls essentially cutting

<sup>7</sup> See: F. J. Thorpe, ‘Etienne Verrier’, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. III 1771-1740 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2000); available online at: <http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html> ; [accessed: 11 June 2010].

<sup>8</sup> Johnston, *Control and Order*, pp. 82-3.

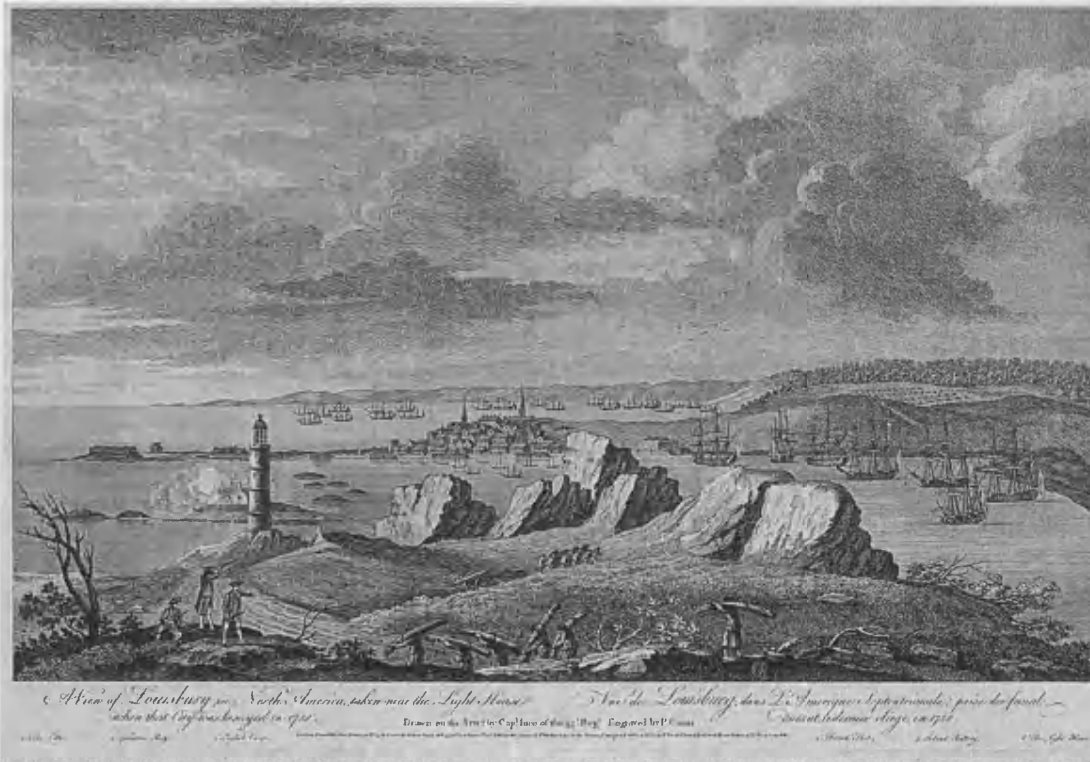


6.3-2. Map of Louisbourg, by T. Emmet [1750?] /NYPL

off the town from the mainland, to the east; ten years later, both the walls and the plan grid had changed significantly. New fortification walls cut off the western tip of the peninsula, and the number of grid blocks was less, although buildings continued to exist outside the walls. The final configuration represented over two miles of wall, similar to the walls of Québec or Montréal, and incorporated seven bastions and four gates. The walls enclosed approximately sixty acres, thirty blocks, seventeen streets, and one hundred and eighty buildings. Most blocks consisted of privately-owned lots, both commercial and residential, and often included kitchen gardens; in 1983, Margaret Fortier, using archival sources, documented one hundred and sixty-eight such properties.<sup>9</sup> Public buildings and a parade square (*Place d'armes*) were also included.

As illustrated by several images made of the town in the eighteenth century, mostly southerly views from the harbour, two structures gave Louisbourg its primary three-dimensional or architectural definition: the King's Bastion and the

<sup>9</sup> A considerable amount of Parks Canada research material and internal reports related to Louisbourg has been made available on the internet by the Louisbourg Institute (LI), housed at Cape Breton University, <http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/>; this includes: Margaret Fortier, 'The Cultural Landscape of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Louisbourg', Microfiche Report Series 83.



6.3-3. View of Louisbourg, 1762 /LAC

King's Hospital, the latter operated by the Brothers of Charity. The King's Bastion was by far the most prominent structure, and was also an integral part of the fortification system. Its construction began in 1720, and at three hundred and sixty-four feet in length, it was one of the largest buildings on the continent. The building incorporated barracks, the governor's apartments, a central clock tower, a chapel, a jail, kitchens and other spaces. It was a three-storey, masonry structure with a slate roof. Most of the work, excepting the clock tower, was completed by 1726.<sup>10</sup> The hospital building was constructed between 1721 and 1730, paid for and owned by the state, and incorporated one hundred beds in four wards, a chapel and various ancillary spaces, and a tall spire that rivalled the clock tower on the King's Bastion as the most iconic symbol of the new town.<sup>11</sup> Most construction in Louisbourg, however, was vernacular, summarised by Susann Myers, a Parks Canada restoration architect working at Louisbourg in the 1990s, as, 'typically one-storey or two-storey buildings, with steep-pitched roofs, often with hipped ends, and with many door and window

<sup>10</sup> A detailed discussion of the construction chronology, and the bureaucratic politics associated with the project, are provided by: Blaine Adams, 'The Construction and Occupation of the Barracks of the King's Bastion', *Fortress of Louisbourg Report HA 13*, 1971, LI.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the hospital, see: Johnston, *Control and Order*, pp.23-4.

openings, usually with small-paned casement windows'.<sup>12</sup> Myers suggests that timber frame construction (*charpente*) was common, with round logs used for infill, and that, 'vertical log (*piquet*) construction was common for more modest residences, storehouses and outbuildings'.<sup>13</sup> Of the fortifications, two of the gates demonstrated special architectural presence: the Dauphin Gate, the main land access, surmounted by the Royal coat of arms, and the Frederic Gate, a formal entrance from the harbour in Baroque style, although executed in wood.

In 1752, Louisbourg's population was 3,940 – almost equal to Montréal's 4,432, and half of Québec's 7,995.<sup>14</sup> This population represented a diverse society, ranging from the Governor and others with close association to the power structure in Paris, to tavern keepers, fishermen, soldiers, enslaved Africans and *femmes de mauvaise vie*, or prostitutes.<sup>15</sup> The Church was represented in several instances: the Brothers of Charity at the Hospital, Récollet friars (from Brittany) as curés to the civilian populace and military chaplains, and sisters from the Congregation of Notre-Dame, in Montréal, who in 1727 established a school for girls.

While Louisbourg was an administrative and commercial centre, it also remained a fortress, and twice came under attack by the British. In 1745, four thousand militia, from several American colonies but mostly from Massachusetts, captured Louisbourg, occupying the town for three years; France then regained the town in 1748, through the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1758, the town fell again to the British, an early casualty of the Seven Years War. Most, but not all, of the French population was removed; many civilians returned to France, and military and administrative officials were taken to Britain, as prisoners. During 1759, the British used Louisbourg as a staging ground for the assault on Québec, and in 1760 the government ordered the systematic and complete destruction of the fortifications and major public structures at Louisbourg; indeed, much of the town already lay in ruins, a result of the bombardment during the siege. The task was completed in November 1760, after five months of blasting, with considerable amounts of building material, ranging from cut stone to fireplace mantels, taken to Halifax, the British naval port established in 1749, as the capital of Nova Scotia.

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<sup>12</sup> Susann Myers, 'The Architecture of Louisbourg', LI.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Terry Crowley, *Louisbourg: Atlantic Fortress and Seaport* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1990), p.12.

<sup>15</sup> Johnston, *Control and Order*, pp. 257-8.

### 6.3.2 The Site Rediscovered

Between 1760 and 1768, the British maintained a garrison in Louisbourg, and a total population of five hundred lived amid the ruins; in 1767, survey undertaken by George Sproule found eighty-four houses were occupied.<sup>16</sup> In the summer of 1768, after the garrison had left, Lieutenant-Governor Franklin recorded a population in the town of just 'sixty-five English and four French'.<sup>17</sup> A 1774 survey by George Cottnam noted a population of one hundred forty-five, half of the residents described as Irish.<sup>18</sup> The population within the boundaries of the former French town never recovered, in large measure because the government refused to grant title to any of these lots.

In 1825, Father Vincent de Paul (a religious of La Trappe Abbey, travelling in North America) reported, 'I am writing to you at this moment on the ruins of the Old town of Louisbourg. There remain only two paltry houses, built of wood'.<sup>19</sup> Seven years later, John McGregor, a Scotsman who grew up in Nova Scotia but later returned to Scotland and sat as MP for Glasgow, wrote:

we observe in Louisbourg the desolation which destiny entailed on the splendid cities of the world. All is silent, excepting the reverberations of the sea ... A few huts, the habitations of poor unambitious fishermen, form only a melancholy contrast to the superb edifices, scientific fortifications, naval grandeur, military pomp, and commercial activity of which Louisbourg was once the splendid theatre.<sup>20</sup>

McGregor goes on to note evidence of the former fortified town: ruined bastions, foundations of public buildings, and wrecks of sunken war ships in the harbour. Throughout the nineteenth century travellers recorded the romantic ruins, and occasionally noted the remnant population, never exceeding a few families, within the former walls. In 1921, it was estimated that eight or nine houses were located adjacent to the fortifications, but none on the actual ruins.<sup>21</sup> In 1928, the federal government acquired all these properties, in order to establish a National Historic Site, and in 1960, expropriated a further twenty-four square miles of land in the region, in anticipation of the reconstruction project.

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<sup>16</sup> A transcription of this survey is included in: Wayne Foster, 'Post-occupational History of the Old French Town of Louisbourg, 1760-1930', Report HD 02, 1965, chapt. 1, LI.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., chapt. 2.

<sup>19</sup> A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, 2 vols (Antigonish, Canada: St. Francis Xavier University Press, 1960-1971), p. 489.

<sup>20</sup> John McGregor, *British America*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1832), pp. 391-2.

<sup>21</sup> Foster, 'Post-occupational History', chapter 11.

Several efforts have been made, subsequent to 1758, to commemorate specific events in Louisbourg's history. Johnston has written about two of these: an 1895 project that had long been considered the first overt commemorative event, and a much earlier commemoration that, before his article was published in 1983-84, was unknown in the literature.<sup>22</sup> This first commemoration was undertaken in 1767, by Samuel Holland, a British officer who had been at Louisbourg in 1758, and with Wolfe at Québec the following year. Commemorating the British siege of Louisbourg in 1758, Holland described the monument in a letter in 1768:

The Monument we have erected at Louisbourg, on the Ruins of the Citadel, is made with the Hewn Stones of the Ruinous Fortifications ... and as there are no workmen to be had to Execute it as I would have wished it to be, it is in the Rustick taste, that the Injurys of Time can make but little impression on it.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, the injury of time did make an impression, and the memorial was soon lost to history.

The second commemorative project received far more publicity. Erected in 1895, by the Society of Colonial Wars, an American group, this memorial recognised the one hundred and fifty year anniversary of the first capture of Louisbourg. The monument was a twenty-six foot shaft of polished granite, of the 'Roman Tuscan' order, surmounted by a ball of red granite, and situated on the, 'westerly side of the ruins'.<sup>24</sup> The red ball apparently replaced an intended cannon ball which formed part of the original design; the text read, 'To Our Heroic Dead.'<sup>25</sup> The opening was attended by several members from New York, including the secretary, Howland Pell, a cousin to Stephen Pell who a decade later began the reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga. In 1939, the Society erected a stone cross, in memory of the American, English and French soldiers who died at Louisbourg. In 1995, the Society returned yet again to Louisbourg, and erected another memorial, with a simple design and conciliatory text: 'to the Eternal Friendship of All Those Whose lives were touched

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<sup>22</sup> A.J.B. Johnston, 'Preserving History: Commemoration of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940', *Acadiensis* 12/2 (1983), pp. 53-80; and 'Commemorating Louisbourg c. 1767', *Acadiensis* 13/2 (1984), pp. 147-9.

<sup>23</sup> Holland to Frederick Haldimand, 20 January 1768; cited: Johnston, 'Commemorating Louisbourg c. 1767', p. 148, n. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Society of Colonial Wars, *Report of the Committee on Louisbourg memorial* (New York, 1896); [CIHM/ICMH collection de microfiches, no 35842].

<sup>25</sup> 'State Society of Colonial Wars', *New York Times*, 18 December 1894, p. 9.

by Colonial Louisbourg'.<sup>26</sup> Other memorials were erected in 1939 and 1946, to religious orders present in eighteenth-century Louisbourg.

The 1895 memorial, which drew considerable criticism from Canadians, and especially French-Canadians, because of its American genesis, coincided with an emerging public interest in the historic value of this site. As noted in the previous chapter, Sen. Poirier, a member of the Royal Society's Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places, visited Louisbourg in 1902 on behalf of that society, and subsequently used his political voice to call for the federal government to become involved in preservation of the site.<sup>27</sup> Poirier employed several arguments beyond the obvious historic value of the site: the threat of the site's development by Americans, reference to the money spent by the Federal government to acquire the Plains of Abraham, and as an example of what could be done, he noted recent legislation in France intended to regulate, 'la conservation des immuebles qui, ou point de vue de 'histoire ou l'art, offrent un intérêt national'.<sup>28</sup>

In 1903, part of the Louisbourg town site, including the more prominent ruins, was bought by David J. Kennelly, an officer in the Royal Indian Navy who had retired to Nova Scotia.<sup>29</sup> Kennelly transferred ownership to the newly established Louisbourg Memorial Association; this society, although having Edward VIII as Patron, and including the Governor General and the Nova Scotian premier on its Board of Trustees, seems to effectively have been an umbrella under which Kennelly undertook the preservation and presentation of the site, according to his own criteria and principles. His development of the site included stabilisation of ruined walls (with liberal use of cement), the operation of a restaurant amid the ruins, and a twenty-five cent admission.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps fortunately for the site, Kennelly died in 1907, and the Association's work ceased. The following year, however, another advocate for the preservation of Louisbourg emerged, and in J. S. McLennan, perhaps the first proponent of the actual reconstruction of the eighteenth-century town.

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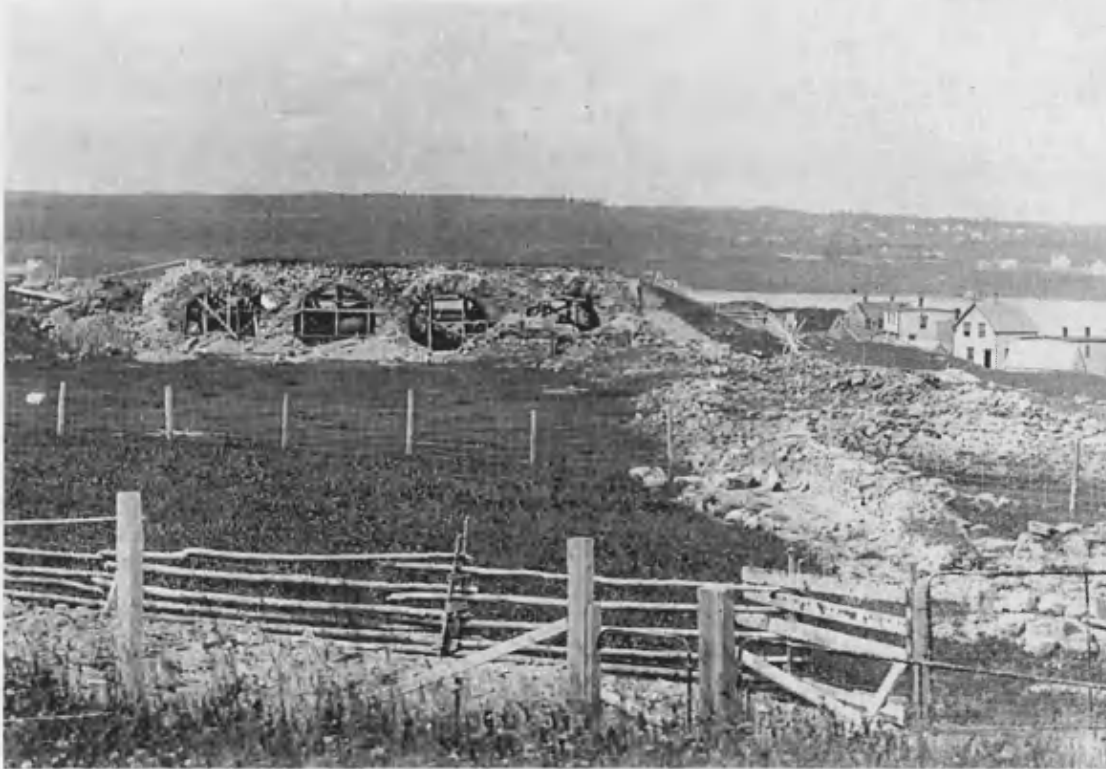
<sup>26</sup> Eric Krause, 'Louisbourg Monuments', LI; see: <http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/louisbourgmonuments/1995GSCW.htm> ; [accessed 13 June 2010].

<sup>27</sup> Pascal Poirier, 'Louisbourg en 1902', *Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions for 1902*, second series, 8, pp. 97-126.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.126.

<sup>29</sup> Foster, 'Post-occupational History', chapter 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, and C. J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p.18.



6.3-4. Ruins of Louisbourg, c. 1907/OA

McLennan was born into a prominent Montreal industrialist family in 1853.<sup>31</sup> After graduating from McGill (1874) and Cambridge (1879) universities, McLennan worked with his father, first in Montreal, and from 1884, in Cape Breton. McLennan eventually ceased an active role in these coal and steel enterprises, and became editor of the main newspaper in Cape Breton. In 1916, he was appointed to the Canadian Senate, and died in Ottawa in 1939, while attending the emergency session of Parliament called to declare war. In 1918, McLennan's major study, *Louisbourg From Its Foundation to its Fall*, was published, although he had completed the manuscript before the war, in 1913; as late as 1984, G. A. Rawlyk, one of Canada's most prominent historians, wrote that McLennan's work, 'remains ... the best available historical overview of Louisbourg in the 18<sup>th</sup> century'.<sup>32</sup> McLennan continued to publish on the ordinary, day-to-day life of French Louisbourg, including a 1931 article in the *Canadian Geographical Journal*.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, McLennan's passion for Louisbourg, and his vision for an historical reconstruction, was evident as early as

<sup>31</sup> Considerable biographical information is included in A.J.B. Johnston's article on McLennan's house, 'Petersfield', in: 'A Vanished Era: The Petersfield Estate of J. S. McLennan, 1900-1942', in Kenneth Donovan, ed., *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays* (Sydney, Canada: UCCB Press, 1985), pp. 85-105.

<sup>32</sup> G.A. Rawlyk, 'Louisbourg Revisited', *Acadiensis*, 14/1 (1984), pp.116-22 (p.117).

<sup>33</sup> John Stewart McLennan, 'Louisbourg', *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 3/4 (1931), pp. 249-269.



1908, in a paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, entitled 'A Notable Ruin, Louisbourg'; in this paper he called for the involvement of the federal government in the preservation of the site, and suggested that, 'to reconstruct the city as it was ... is only a question of intelligence and outlay'.<sup>34</sup> During the 1920s and 1930s, McLennan used both his social status and his political connections, to lobby the federal government to assume responsibility for the preservation of Louisbourg, and for its reconstruction.

In his mission, McLennan found an important ally in Samuel Webster, the New Brunswick member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), and as earlier noted, a strong supporter of Richardson's campaign at Port Royal, during this same period.<sup>35</sup> In November 1928, McLennan wrote to Webster, outlining what he saw as the conservation challenge at Louisbourg, including the possibilities for reconstruction; McLennan had recently visited Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, a state historic site at that time, incorporating several 'reconstructed' log cabins, and was impressed with the 'principles' upon which that site was developed. Regarding development of Louisbourg, McLennan wrote:

the site should aim at giving the ordinary visitor a vivid picture of the place ... buildings as may be necessary [should be] reconstructed in the style of the time ... avoid minimizing the value of such reconstruction by modern statues or similar work ... avoid with the utmost care marking sites, streets, etc. in such a way that it would give the impression of a cemetery with headstones.<sup>36</sup>

McLennan believed, based perhaps on his own extensive research, that, 'there is abundant material for an almost complete reconstruction of the town and its fortifications in various Archives'.<sup>37</sup> Practically, McLennan did not believe a complete reconstruction could be realised, but in identifying the most important elements to reconstruct suggested that,

the object of founding Louisbourg was a commercial one ... I would like, therefore, to see some wharves built, and it might be arranged that these wharves be utilized for fishing ... permitting the fishermen to live at hand in houses, the exterior of which would be of the period.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> McLennan is cited in: Johnston, 'Persevering History', p. 65, n. 46.

<sup>35</sup> For a biographical sketch of Webster, see: George F. G. Stanley, 'John Clarence Webster, the Laird of Shediac', *Acadiensis*, 3/1 (1973), pp. 51-71.

<sup>36</sup> McLennan to Webster, 28 November 1928, John C. Webster Collection, F197 (New Brunswick Museum).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

In Webster, McLennan had a sympathetic correspondent; in 1923, Webster remembered a visit to the reconstructed Fort Ticonderoga, in northern New York, as one of his happiest days.<sup>39</sup>

The work of McLennan, Webster, and others in Cape Breton, did effect a federal conservation response, but not a commitment for a reconstruction. Immediately after its establishment, the HSMBC had addressed the Louisbourg site; the minutes of the October 1919 meeting record a concern that the site be secured, ‘otherwise one of the most interesting historical relics in America will become an indistinguishable mass of ruins and of no interest to students of history or of tourists’.<sup>40</sup> Over the next several years, Louisbourg seemed a perennial agenda item, especially after Webster became a member, yet the impact on federal government action, as indicated by the Board’s concerns and motions, was limited, with occasional projects undertaken by the federal Parks Branch.

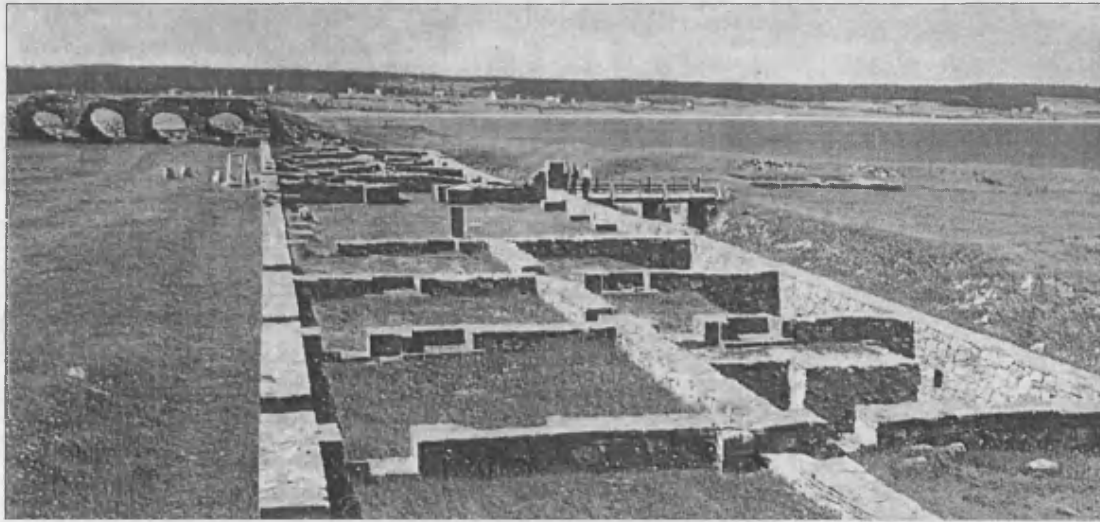
In 1921, the Parks Branch acquired some of the properties within the town site, and as noted, by 1928 had acquired the entire Louisbourg site; a caretaker position was established in 1921. In 1923, the British planner Thomas Adams, in Canada as a consultant to the federal government, was asked by the Parks Branch to visit Louisbourg and comment on its development potential. Adams, perhaps illustrating his exposure to British conservation theory, expressed a ‘Ruskinian’ opinion, arguing against any reconstruction, and encouraging the site to be maintained and presented as romantic ruins.<sup>41</sup> This dichotomy, the McLennan/Webster reconstruction vision, in the spirit of Viollet-le-Duc, and the more temperate approach of Adams, supportive of a romantic landscape with ruins of which Ruskin could surely have approved, defined the relatively minimal work undertaken at Louisbourg during the next four decades. In 1930-31, an engineer undertook a relatively primitive archaeological investigation, trying to establish the lines of original streets; considerable artefact material was produced, and partly to house this collection, a museum was built on site in 1936. Katherine McLennan, daughter of Senator McLennan, was engaged as Honorary Curator, a position she held for twenty-five years. Thereafter, work continued at an intermittent pace: on the identification of city streets and boundaries, the stabilisation of ruins, especially the King’s Bastion, and

<sup>39</sup> Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> HSMBC, minutes, 28 October 1919.

<sup>41</sup> See Johnston, ‘Persevering History’, p.73; and Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 66.

even the reconstruction of many walls, to limited heights. After decades at this leisurely pace, McLennan's initial 1908 vision suddenly re-emerged in the wake of an unlikely event – a 1960 Royal Commission on coal.



6.3-5. Louisbourg ruins from undated post card [1940s?]

### 6.3.3 The Site Reconstructed

In 1959, a one-person Royal Commission was appointed to study the issues of a declining market for Canadian coal, and make recommendations regarding both the future of the coal industry, and the future of those regions, including Cape Breton, economically dependent upon it. The sole Commissioner was Ivan Cleveland Rand, a former justice of the Supreme Court, and the Dean of Law at the University of Western Ontario. When Rand reported to Parliament in 1960, recommendation thirteen suggested: 'that beginning not later than in the year 1961 work on a scheme of reconstructing the ruins at the Fortress of Louisbourg as an historic site be commenced and that it be carried through to an appropriate completion'.<sup>42</sup>

Anticipated as a source of alternative employment for the coal miners in the faltering industry in the Louisbourg - Sydney area, Rand's recommendation owed much to discussions he held with senior officials in the Parks Branch; responding to Rand's specific enquiry regarding Louisbourg, civil servants had been sent to both Fort Ticonderoga and Colonial Williamsburg, to better understand the potential of an historic reconstruction project.<sup>43</sup> Yet Rand's discussion of this idea, in the forward to his report, suggested a vision far broader than a reconstructed wall or bastion; indeed,

<sup>42</sup> I. C. Rand, *Report of Royal Commission on Coal* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960), p. 53.

<sup>43</sup> See Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 176.

he believed Louisbourg's value was far more than ruins and artefacts. With reference to the architecture and culture brought to Louisbourg, 'at the direction of the most polished court of continental Europe', Rand asks,

as a revelation of European life of that century, and a remainder of the vicissitudes of North America's development, what could be more stimulating to the imagination or instructive to the mind ... than to look upon a symbolic reconstruction of the Fortress of Louisbourg ?<sup>44</sup>

When reporting on the Commission Report, the *Ottawa Citizen* announced, 'Rand Urges Direct Subsidies', but fails to mention in the article the recommendation to reconstruct Louisbourg, suggesting that it was not seen by the public as a crucial outcome of the study. Within a year, however, the Canadian government had announced that twelve million dollars would be spent over twelve years to partially reconstruct the eighteenth-century town.<sup>45</sup>

During the next twenty years, approximately a quarter of the original town site was reconstructed, including the King's Bastion and fifty other buildings (of an original one hundred and eighty), 1.2 kilometres of perimeter wall (of an original 2.7 kilometres), two of seven batteries, and two of seven gates. A large team was assembled to undertake this task, including researchers who, over extended periods of time, searched archives in France, Britain and the United States for documents which could help explain what eighteenth-century Louisbourg looked like; they also sought clues as to the social and economic patterns of the community. Archaeologists began intensive investigations of the site. Architects and engineers analysed the information being gathered, and developed plans for the actual reconstruction work. Eventually, builders and craftspeople joined the process, as the building phase began, presumably including former coal miners. By May 1962, over two hundred people were working on the project.<sup>46</sup> Inevitably, discord emerged within this large group, assembled quickly and given limited philosophical direction; the most obvious disagreement was between the researchers who wanted to extract maximum information from the available sources and ensure an 'authentic' design, and the builders, who wanted to respond quickly to the government directive and schedule, and create local construction jobs. In 1961, Ronald Way, noted previously as a proponent of Fort

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>45</sup> *Montreal Gazette*, 4 December 1962, p.16.

<sup>46</sup> Cited in: Terry MacLean, *Louisbourg Heritage, From Ruins to Reconstruction* (Sydney, Canada: UCCB Press, 1995), p.57.

George, was engaged as 'general consultant', to prepare a development plan for the project. This helped to reconcile, or at least marshal, the various factions; and indeed, Way became one of the most influential proponents of this project, developing a distinct vision for the reconstructed Louisbourg, and the role it could play within the world of Canadian heritage.

In his initial report, Way clearly presented his primary 'intention' for the reconstruction:

in the case of a structure, it is the attempt to take it back by rebuilding or repairing to either its original state or to some more desired period in its past history ... for its educational value ... The restored structure ... faithfully presented ... in original condition ... [as it] would have appeared at precisely the chosen time.<sup>47</sup>

Way seems to belie an influence of Viollet-le-Duc, but more importantly, he clearly situates a reconstructed Louisbourg as a forum for the recreation of history, for the interpretation and presentation of the stories of Louisbourg, rather than a primarily symbolic monument, such as the Port Royal Habitation, the Hôtel Chevalier, or even Fort George. As to which stories should be told, Way also held, and shared, a definite position; in his planning recommendations, he noted,

the Louisbourg restoration offers an absolutely unique opportunity for the visual presentation of a cross-section of the social life of 18<sup>th</sup>-century New France ... it is not inconceivable that Louisbourg's restoration may bring about the fortress' greatest contribution to Canada.<sup>48</sup>

As Taylor notes, Way was battling a position within the Parks Branch that held that the main story here was how, 'France staked her new world empire on the defences of Louisbourg, and lost'.<sup>49</sup> Way's view of the primacy of the interpretation potential did not weaken his commitment to an authenticity based on thorough research, as evidenced by his own research report on the defensive works of the King's Bastion;<sup>50</sup> nor did it totally compromise his position towards the existing resources:

Whenever walls are found in reasonably good condition, we should investigate the possibility of preserving such walls in their original location i.e. without

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<sup>47</sup> Ronald L. Way, 'Recommendations concerning the Louisbourg restoration project', Fortress of Louisbourg (FL) Report R 04, September 1961; cited: Eric Krause, 'Historical Authenticity and the Use of Evidence', FL report HF 89, December 1987, LI.

<sup>48</sup> Cited: Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, p.180.

<sup>49</sup> Taylor specifically discusses the position of J. D. Herbert; *ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>50</sup> Ronald L. Way, 'Report on the defensive works of the King's Bastion', FL Report HA 1, April 1962, LI.

taking them down ... we should be able to say, with honesty, that we preserved all that remained.<sup>51</sup>

After a detailed discussion of the reconstruction of the King's Bastion, Way writes:

While it might be argued that we could apply the roughcast (stone) directly to concrete with considerable saving, I cannot believe we would then achieve a sufficiently authentic effect. Moreover, I am sentimental enough to want to see as much of the original stone as is practical, reincorporated in the walls.<sup>52</sup>

Authenticity remained a major point for discussion and debate amongst the reconstruction team; however, as the project grew in scale and complexity, and as the number of people involved in the project also increased, determining 'acceptable compromise' became a major aspect of the process. Officially, the reconstruction was completed in 1982, and Fortress Louisbourg then became a site within the Parks Canada organisation. Terry MacLean, a senior historian in the reconstruction project and later a professor at the University College of Cape Breton, has published a detailed documentation of this process.<sup>53</sup> He writes,

Louisbourg represents the considerable heritage efforts of one generation of Canadians, with significant help from France, England and the United States ... it has set high and enduring research and development standards for future generations of public history adherents.<sup>54</sup>

Nonetheless, interpretation was and remains the essential *raison d'être* of the site; as early as 1963 a search was undertaken for a Superintendent, with, 'imagination and a keen sense of history, to interpret visually the history of the Fortress to [the] public'.<sup>55</sup>

Way successfully advocated the 'simple' approach to reconstruction of the site; that is, reconstructing to a single point in history, rather than a more complex approach that would reconstruct different parts of the site to different years in Louisbourg's forty-year history. In turn, the simple approach also became the basis for the interpretation – eventually, the summer of 1744 was identified as the point in time that the reconstructed Louisbourg would represent. In 1976, six themes were identified as the basis for this interpretation: Louisbourg as capital, fishing base, trading centre, fortress, naval port, and community.<sup>56</sup> In the 1970s, the food served within the site, at four locations, became part of the interpretation, based on the

<sup>51</sup> Way, 'Recommendations'.

<sup>52</sup> Way, 'Report'.

<sup>53</sup> MacLean, *Louisbourg Heritage*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>55</sup> *Montreal Gazette*, 15 February 1963, p. 19; annual salary for this position started at \$7020.

<sup>56</sup> MacLean, *Louisbourg Heritage*, p.115.

archival research undertaken: in the least-expensive eatery, patrons received only a spoon to eat with (the eighteenth-century patron would have carried their own knife), while at the most expensive venue an overwhelming array of cutlery was presented; no tomatoes were included on the menu, as the French did not eat them in 1744; and on Fridays only fish, no meat, was served. In the 1980s, an even more intense level of interpretation was attempted, wherein all the costumed animators were ‘assigned’ the biography of an actual citizen of Louisbourg in 1744, again based on historical research, so that a visitor could challenge any costumed staff person regarding their birthplace in France (or Louisbourg, or elsewhere), marital status, etc. Eventually, the programme was abandoned, as the level of biographical detail required was difficult to develop, and the seasonal staff often lacked the needed ‘acting’ skills to make the programme effective. Another early programme was the ‘Gossip’s Tour’, which retold, ‘from the historical documents, some of the venal and scandalous happenings in eighteenth-century Louisbourg’.<sup>57</sup>

Building at Fortress Louisbourg is now focussed primarily on the ‘re-capitalisation’ or repair of the reconstructions erected in the 1960s; however, the search for an ever more authentic interpretation continues. In 2009, the work (and indeed presence) of enslaved Africans at eighteenth-century Louisbourg was acknowledged, with the launch of a ‘Slavery Tour’, where, ‘interpreters describe the lives of more than 250 slaves who were servants of the French elite’.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, three hundred and fifty-eight slaves have been identified in the history of French Louisbourg. Reminiscent of the ‘slave auction’ at Colonial Williamsburg a decade earlier, although less provocative, this most recent chapter in the telling of the Louisbourg story continues to demonstrate the power of the reconstruction in helping to make the past a ‘foreign country’.

#### 6.3.4 Intention and Reception

The scale and complexity of this project results in many proponents, and many intentions, some complementary and some conflicting; however, some proponents have clearly had significant influence on the final reconstruction, and represent, in

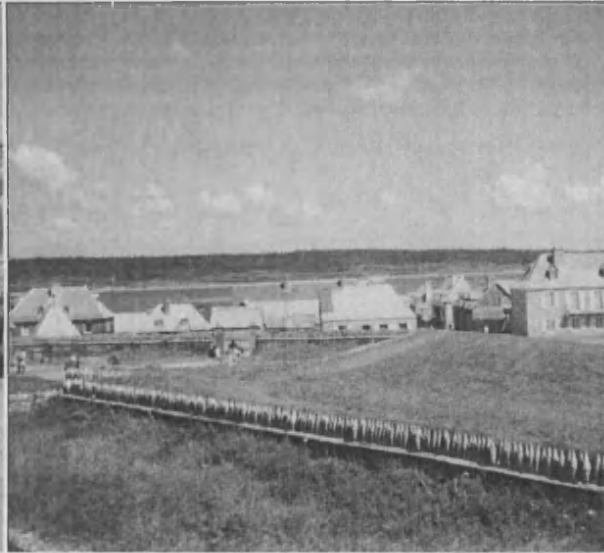
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<sup>57</sup> John Fortier, ‘Managing a Moment in Time’, in: Peter Rider, ed., *The History of Atlantic Canada: Museums Interpretations* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981), p. 100; this is a detailed discussion of early interpretation programmes at the site. Fortier became research director at Louisbourg in 1968, and Superintendent seven years later.

<sup>58</sup> Tera Camus, ‘Out of the Shadows of Nova Scotia History’, *The Chronicle Herald*, 30 July 2009.



6.3-6. Reconstructed Louisbourg

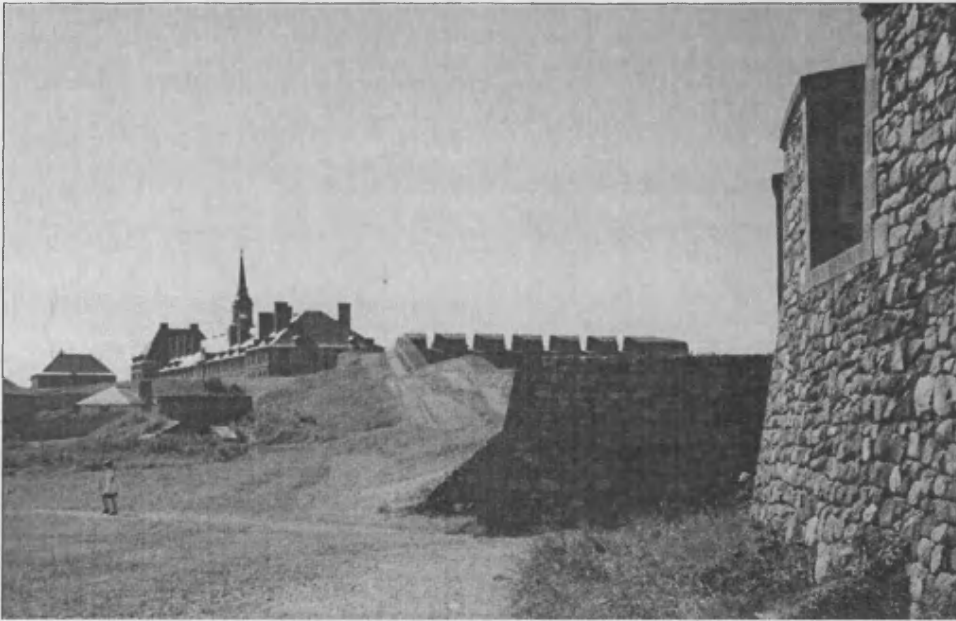


6.3-7. Reconstructed Louisbourg

their intentions, larger constituencies. Perhaps most obvious was the economic development intention of Rand, and of the politician who accepted his recommendation; and while the recommendation to reconstruct may have largely come from Parks Branch officials, Rand's role in seeking this advice, and especially in carrying it through into the Royal Commission Report, indicated his vision for the site. Another person appointed as Commissioner may well have minimised this idea as a response to a collapsing coal industry, and a reconstructed Louisbourg might not exist today.

Amid the interest in Louisbourg at the beginning of the twentieth century, and not withstanding Kennelly, McLennan was perhaps the first proponent of a reconstruction to have true influence on what a visitor sees today, although in this role of proponent, he also represented the view of associates such as Webster. As McLennan's writing illustrates, his interest in Louisbourg was focused less on the official chronicle of siege and conquest, and primarily on the community, as a working port and outpost of French culture; the ruins of the site had meaning not only as a memorial to the vanished town, but also as a reminder of the once-living town. This vision suggests that walls and buildings reconstructed on those ruins could be the portal through which the twentieth century could visit the eighteenth. Although the eventual reconstruction process directly involved hundreds of people, Way was perhaps the most influential proponent, partly due to his position in the early years of the process, but also due to his knowledge, skills, and strong point of view – a perspective, ultimately an intention, very close to McLennan's. The relative value of





6.3-8. King's Bastion, reconstructed at Louisbourg

the site as authentic, surviving evidence of eighteenth-century Louisbourg, as opposed to the foundation for a new, twentieth-century 'place', was certainly obvious to Way; and while he demonstrated some sympathy for the remnant fabric, the site as an opportunity to visit the past, rather than 'remember' or memorialise it, would seem to have been the most important value to him.

The reconstructed Louisbourg as a portal to the past, as a place not to witness a single, epic event, but to stroll down the street, eat lunch, and as a historian at Louisbourg suggested in 1982, to discover how some ordinary people lived and died in eighteenth-century Canada, fits within a larger tradition of reconstruction;<sup>59</sup> for example, Colonial Williamsburg, predating Louisbourg, and Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, a more recent attempt to take people to another time, both share with Louisbourg an attempt at both authentic architecture and authentic experience or activity. At Colonial Williamsburg, as with Louisbourg, buildings have been reconstructed on the foundations of the original, and while the Globe is removed somewhat, the proponents may well have seen its *in situ* reconstruction as a positive, had it been possible. Unlike these two examples, however, the physical context of Louisbourg has changed relatively little in the past two centuries.

While the decision to reconstruct *in situ* at Louisbourg contradicts current conservation principles and practice (and indeed, standards of the day, such as the Venice Charter), it was a position that seems to have provoked little conflict within

<sup>59</sup> Christopher Moore, *Louisbourg Portraits* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), p. vii.

the Canadian heritage community. As noted, Colonial Williamsburg and Fort Ticonderoga were the models, notwithstanding that each was undertaken decades prior. More recent reconstructions, undertaken with the intention to recreate daily life and demonstrate the connections with our own, and with extant ruins or archaeological remains, have generally been built adjacent to the original site - for example, L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, the site of a sustained Norse settlement one thousand years ago. This site was discovered in 1961, by Norwegian archaeologists Helge and Anne Ingstad, just as the Louisbourg project was being initiated. Located on the northern tip of Newfoundland, looking across to the southern shore of Labrador, several archaeological investigations were carried out in the 1960s. In 1975, the site was taken on by Parks Canada, and in 1978, it was designated a World Heritage Site, based on its value as, 'unique evidence of the earliest known European presence on the American continent'.<sup>60</sup> Archaeology suggested that the original settlement included several timber-framed, sod-covered buildings serving as workshops and communal residences. Following the world heritage designation, Parks Canada constructed four 'replicas' of these structures, based on the information provided by the archaeological investigations; in the brief summer tourist season, these reconstructions are now used to demonstrate, together with costumed interpreters, the 'ordinary' nature of daily life for the Norse settlers (and Irish slaves), in the eleventh century. At L'Anse aux meadows, the vision that McLennan and Way had for Louisbourg, seems replicated.

Reception to Rand's intention for the reconstructed Louisbourg is straight forward; tens of millions of dollars have been spent at the site by the federal government to sustain a social and economic structure in the region. One could question how that investment, if made more broadly across the heritage sector, might have paid dividends, although it is unlikely these monies would have been spent on other heritage projects in any case. Since the 1960s, a key aspect of Canadian federalism has been the attempt to 'develop' economically depressed regions of the country, and annually billions of dollars are transferred from 'have' provinces such as Alberta to 'have-not' provinces such as Nova Scotia, to maintain national service standards in the areas of health care and tertiary-level education. In this context, Rand's intention is now a typical Canadian endeavour.

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<sup>60</sup> Cited: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/4> ; [accessed: 25 September 2010].

Reception to the reconstructed Louisbourg as a product of Way's, or McLennan's, intention is more complex. The thoroughness and accuracy of the research and investigation is acknowledged by the academic and heritage community, however, the Louisbourg project has played a significant role in developing that community in Canada; as Colonial Williamsburg did much to foster development of heritage conservation in the United States, Louisbourg has helped to establish standards for heritage research and practice in Canada. The interpretation programme at Louisbourg, the key element of Way's vision, has been a more contentious area of reception; however, the presentation of Louisbourg has been popular with the visitor, illustrating what Freeman Tilden, who in 1957 first defined interpretation for the U. S. National Park Service, considered the important 'provocation' of the visitor by the site, the point of connection between the site and the visitor's own life.<sup>61</sup> Academics, however, have questioned the interpretation.

In 1987, George Galt, a Canadian writer on travel and architecture, suggested that, 'Canadians are inept at incorporating their material past into the present'.<sup>62</sup> He was referring to the several houses removed from within the walls and in the vicinity of the Louisbourg townsite, in the twentieth century; for Galt, a 'normal' community removed, so that an eighteenth-century French community could be reconstructed, with the aim of demonstrating how 'normal' that community was. More recently, Erna MacLeod, a professor at Cape Breton University, has called for 'a decolonised historical representation' at Louisbourg, a more pluralistic story that includes the perspective of 'others': slaves, women, and Mi'kmaq. She suggests that, 'crafting meaningful representations of history is an ongoing process of selecting and combining fragments of history to reclaim historical and cultural difference and construct forms of collective memory and cultural identity that resonate with contemporary experience'.<sup>63</sup> Within an 'ongoing process', however, Way's 1961 vision of Louisbourg, developed within the context of Canadian society at that time, is surely as valid as a 'decolonised, pluralistic' interpretation might be in the twenty-first century; and in either case, the interpretation of the site is ultimately a greater reflection of the present than the past.

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<sup>61</sup> Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1957).

<sup>62</sup> George Galt, 'Making History' *Saturday Night*, 102/3682 (1987), pp.130-34 (p.134).

<sup>63</sup> Erna MacLeod, 'Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisburg National Historic Site', in Garry Sherbert *et al*, eds, *Canadian Cultural Poesis* (Waterloo, Canada, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), pp.361-80 (p.378).

## 6.4 Africville Church

The last Canadian historic reconstruction to be examined is the Africville Church, in Halifax, Nova Scotia.<sup>1</sup> As with the Port Royal habitation, this structure was totally destroyed, with not even evidence of the foundations surviving; yet unlike the previous case studies, this site has existed within living memory. Reconstruction of this site has not yet been undertaken, although recent developments suggest that the project will commence within the near future. The reconstruction of the Africville Church will address the grief and sense of loss still felt by the community with which the original site is associated – another significance difference from reconstructions such as the Port Royal Habitation or Louisbourg. Like Fort George or Place Royale, the reconstructed Africville Church will be a tangible element defining a group, but not in the traditional sense of nationalism. From Marshall McLuhan's notion of the 'global village' in the 1960s, to contemporary scholarship on 'post-nationalism', the idea of group identity outside of, or co-existing with, the concept of 'nation-state' has been increasingly viewed as part of an emerging 'post-modern' world.<sup>2</sup> The reconstruction of Africville Church may in part be seen as an expression of this 'new world' order.

### 6.4.1 The Original Site

People of African descent have lived in Nova Scotia since the initial European colonisation, and from the eighteenth century onwards, have represented a significant and diverse society within the province.<sup>3</sup> Mathieu da Costa, a translator with Sieur de Mons at the Port Royal settlement, is generally considered the first African to visit Canada, although current scholarship provides little detail about his origins.<sup>4</sup> Slavery at Louisbourg has already been discussed, but with the British acquisition of mainland Nova Scotia in 1713, a significant number of slaves were brought to the colony,

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<sup>1</sup> This church has had several names, some the subject of controversy. Founded as Campbell Road Baptist Church, the name Africville Baptist Church was adopted in the late-nineteenth century. In the mid-twentieth century, this was changed to Seaview Baptist Church – the term used in the planning for a historic reconstruction. The generic 'Africville Church' has been used throughout this section.

<sup>2</sup> With particular relevance to Africville, Appadurai suggests, 'In the postnational world we see emerging, diaspora runs with, and not against, the grain of identity, movement, and reproduction.' Arjun Appadurai, 'Patriotism and Its Futures', *Public Culture*, 5 (1993); pp. 411-29 (p.423).

<sup>3</sup> For a general discussion of African-Canadian history, see: Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada, A History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> See: A. J. B. Johnston, 'Mathieu Da Costa and Early Canada', unpublished report, Parks Canada; Johnston suggests that Da Costa may have been of combined Portuguese-African ancestry.



6.4-1. Map showing location of Africville

generally to work in household or artisanal roles rather than in large-scale agricultural operations.

Throughout that century, enslaved people were regularly brought to American colonies, and sold; in 1752, for example, the *Halifax Gazette* announced, 'Just imported, and to be sold by Joshua Mauger at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several Negro slaves'.<sup>5</sup> The

advertisement describes in detail the attributes of the several slaves to be sold: 'brought up in a Gentlemen's family, speaks English, skills in needlework, ironing and cooking'. Brenda Dunn, a retired Parks Canada historian, suggests that in 1767 there were approximately one hundred slaves in Nova Scotia, half in Halifax.<sup>6</sup> Slavery was ultimately abolished in Nova Scotia, as in most of the British Empire, in 1834.

In 1782, a large migration of African-Americans began, from the United States to Nova Scotia; this included slaves brought by Loyalists, but most immigrants were former slaves, who had been given their freedom in exchange for support of Britain against the American revolutionaries. Termed the 'Black Loyalists' in the twentieth century, this group is estimated to have been over 3,500 in number, compared with 1,232 slaves brought to Nova Scotia by Loyalist owners;<sup>7</sup> in 1792, considerable numbers of the Black Loyalists re-settled in Africa, in Sierra Leone.<sup>8</sup> In 1813, another large migration of former slaves from the United States to Nova Scotia began, this group similarly promised freedom by the British in return for their support, in this case during the War of 1812.<sup>9</sup> Whereas the Black Loyalists settled throughout the province, this later group settled primarily in areas near Halifax; the largest such community was Preston, about ten miles north of the city. By the mid-1840s, and possibly by the late-1830s, descendants of the Preston founders moved to

<sup>5</sup> *Halifax Gazette*, 30 May 1752, p. 2; NSARM microfilm no. 8152.

<sup>6</sup> Brenda Dunn, *History of Port Royal / Annapolis Royal* (Halifax, Canada: Nimbus, 2004), p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> Bridglal Pachai, *The Nova Scotia Black Experience* (Halifax, Canada: Nimbus, 2007), p.43.

<sup>8</sup> See: Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, pp. 61-95.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of this second wave of immigration, see: Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Press, 2006).

the northern edge of the Halifax peninsula; at that time, this was an undeveloped part of the city, yet only three miles from the centre.

The two original settlers, William Brown and William Arnold, bought land here, approximately six acres each; and while these transactions were recorded in 1848, an examination of census material undertaken by Dalhousie University's

NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM



6.4-2. African-Nova Scotian vendors, Halifax market, c. 1900 /NSM

Institute of Public Affairs, suggests that they may have occupied the land earlier.<sup>10</sup> In 1836, the city constructed a road along the northern edge of the peninsula, called Campbell Road, and the community that

subsequently developed along this route, largely the descendants of African American immigrants, was first referred to by that name, although in 1858, one official report referred to the community as 'African Village'.<sup>11</sup> The most common name for the community, from the late-nineteenth century onwards, was 'Africville', a name first recorded in 1860, in a petition to the provincial government from William Brown; he referred to 'Africville, in the City of Halifax'.<sup>12</sup> Minutes of the Halifax City Council variously refer to the community as Campbell Town in 1852, the Black Settlement in 1854, and Africville in 1867.<sup>13</sup> City directories, published annually in Halifax from 1864, first include residents of Africville in 1869-70. In the 1880-81 directory, individuals are included in the alphabetical listing of city residents, with the street

<sup>10</sup> This research was undertaken in the late 1960s, by a team headed by sociologists Donald H. Clairmont (now professor emeritus at Dalhousie University) and Dennis Magill (now professor emeritus at the University of Toronto); the original report entitled, 'Africville Relocation Report', completed in 1971, is available online at: <http://www.library.dal.ca/ebooks/africville/>; for discussion of Brown and Arnold's initial land purchase, and other early settlers, see this report p. 42-45; [accessed: 15 July 2010].

<sup>11</sup> Cited: Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, *Africville, Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1999), p.38.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) Archives, City of Halifax Fonds, Series: Halifax City Council Minutes, Retrieval Code 102-1A (microform).

address given as, 'Campbell Road, Africville', although Africville is omitted from the street listing at the end of the volume. By 1900-01, the alphabetical listing references 'Africville' as the street address, and in street listing, Africville is included, as an appendage to Campbell Road; no street numbers are provided for the Africville addresses, just a reference to east or west side of the road.<sup>14</sup>

City directories and federal census, from 1881 onwards, provide some insight into the evolving Africville community. Males are most frequently described as 'labourers' which suggests the primary reason for settlement here – proximity to cash employment in the city – although other occupations are also recorded; for example, in 1881, William Dixon, age 24, is listed as a shoemaker, Charles Dixon, aged 52, a storeman, David Brown, age 50, a seaman, and Albert Brown, age 60, a crab hawker. All are described in the census as African and Baptist.<sup>15</sup> In 1908, the city directory lists thirty-one households in Africville, plus the church and the school; in addition, several industrial operations were located nearby, including N.S. Fertilizer Co., Caritte-Patterson Mfg. Co., Imperial Oil and Hartlen's Slaughter House – these indicate another source of employment for unskilled labour.<sup>16</sup> The school, mentioned in the 1908 directory, was erected by the provincial government in 1883; accommodating two classrooms, it was staffed by Black teachers, and served the community until 1953, although the condition of the building was reported as far below acceptable standards, especially in its latter years.<sup>17</sup> A postal outlet was established in Africville in 1936 and continued until 1967, and for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 'penny stores' operated, that is, small stores, often located within people's houses, selling a small inventory of basic dry goods; in 1964, two such stores were still in existence.<sup>18</sup> In 1850, eight families were living at Africville; a hundred years later, approximately eighty families formed the community, mostly contained within the land area originally purchased by Brown and Arnold.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *McAlpine's Halifax City Directory* (Halifax, Canada: McAlpine Publishing); 1880-81 and 1900-01 directories cited.

<sup>15</sup> Census of Canada, 1881; LAC, RG31, microform C-13168, pp. 90, 110, 172.

<sup>16</sup> *McAlpine's*, 1908, p. 249.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Judith Fingard; paper read before the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax; 17 December 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Clairmont, *Africville, Life and Death*, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Clairmont, 'Africville Relocation Report', p. 52.

In 1849, a Baptist church was established in Africville by Richard Preston, a former slave from Virginia who came to Nova Scotia around 1816, and was ordained in London in 1832.<sup>20</sup> From ordination until his death in 1861, Preston was minister of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax, possibly the oldest and most influential Black church in Nova Scotia. In this role Preston was responsible for the establishment of several churches in Black communities throughout Nova Scotia, and in 1854 was instrumental in the organisation of the African United Baptist Association in the province. In 1895, the first written history of the African Baptist Church in Nova Scotia, prepared by Peter MacKerrow, a Baptist minister of African descent, originally from the West Indies, noted that the Africville church:

this little Zion, of late has been the subject of much comment, being in such close proximity to the city with a fine day school in which nearly all the children of schoolable age takes advantage ... a community of intelligent young people, much is expected of them.<sup>21</sup>

The Africville Church was a symbol of the community, both figuratively and physically. As sociologist Donald Clairmont observed, after interviewing dozens of former residents in the late 1960s:

An important component of Africville's social structure was the church, and the roles and organizations that it engendered. The church was as old as the community itself and embodied much of Africville's historical continuity. [It] contained within itself the principal formal organizations in the community, and through religious services, youth and auxiliary organizations, and a missionary society, provided residents with a collective identity and fostered sentiments of solidarity.<sup>22</sup>

The church was described in 1959 as, 'the heartbeat of Africville. This church is the breathing, living soul of our community. As long as this church's here, we'll be here'.<sup>23</sup>

These references to institutions suggest a well-defined and cohesive community, albeit adjacent to, and economically dependent upon, the City of Halifax and its predominantly white population. Throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, however, several developments demonstrate an increasing marginalisation of Africville, both the physical infrastructure and the social community, by the City of Halifax. The Nova Scotia Railway Company, soon after its

<sup>20</sup> Image of Preston drawn by J. Gilpin, c. 1850; Nova Scotia Museum, History Collection, P149.29.

<sup>21</sup> P. E. MacKerrow, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1822-1895* (Halifax, Canada: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1895), p.41.

<sup>22</sup> Clairmont, 'Africville Relocation Report', p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Charles Saunders, 'A Visit to Africville', *The Spirit of Africville* (Halifax, Canada: Formac, 1982), p.23.



incorporation in 1853, began construction of a main line from central Halifax to the rest of the province, a route running through the nascent settlement of Africville.<sup>24</sup> Several families were moved due to land expropriation, and in 1860 William Brown was still seeking compensation, through petition to the provincial government.<sup>25</sup> Additional tracks were constructed through the community in the 1880s, in 1901, and during World War Two. Other developments that served to marginalise the community included: the construction of Rockhead Prison, in 1855, on a hill overlooking Africville;<sup>26</sup> construction of an infectious disease hospital nearby, in 1870; the location in the area of a 'night soil' repository, and various industrial establishments including a slaughterhouse, throughout the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in 1956, the re-location of the city dump, within three hundred feet of Africville houses.<sup>27</sup>



6.4-3. Aerial map of Africville, c. 1965 /NSARM

<sup>24</sup> Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1853, c.1, and c. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Cited: Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville, A Geography of Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p.80.

<sup>26</sup> Designed by architect Henry Hill, this building served as the city prison until 1957.

<sup>27</sup> Some sources suggest, without reference, that the dump was relocated in 1958; most authors suggest the relocation was undertaken in the mid-1950s; a plan dated 23 September 1956, showing properties and structures in the area, specifically indicates a dump (HRM Archives, plan # SS-2-14262).

Throughout Africville's history, the City of Halifax consistently refused to provide basic services, such as water, sewer and in large measure, policing. In 1909, twenty-four residents petitioned the Halifax City Council, 'for a public well for the use of our village ... [because] a recent automobile accident and other causes have destroyed our only available water supply for cooking, drinking and ablutionary purposes'.<sup>28</sup> Basic services were never extended to Africville, and in 1962 there were three cases of paratyphoid (caused by a strain of salmonella) in the community. Following an investigation by the City, an official noted, 'practically all the wells in Africville are contaminated and posted signs have been placed on them advising the people that the water should be boiled.'<sup>29</sup>

At the beginning of World War One, port facilities in Halifax underwent considerable expansion, including the double-tracking of one of the rail lines running through Africville, a project that resulted in the demolition of the Africville Church, remembered by former residents as 'the little brown church'.<sup>30</sup> In April 1916, the City gave permission for the residents of Africville to erect a new church on city-owned land, the structure that is currently the subject of reconstruction plans. To date, no building records have been identified relating to the construction of the 1916 structure, nor any contemporary written descriptions.<sup>31</sup> The best record is photographic, especially extensive photo-documentations made of Africville by Bob Brooks, in 1962-65, and Ted Grant, circa 1964.<sup>32</sup>

The 1916 church was a simple, timber-frame structure, with a front-facing gable roof, and a centrally-placed bell tower projecting from the front (directional north) façade. The main entrance, located within the tower element, incorporated an arch design. On the west side of the front elevation, adjacent to the bell-tower projection, is a tall, thin, flat-headed window, with a round-headed window farther to the right. The east elevation had three round-headed windows, rising almost to the eaves-line; to the west, an obvious addition had been added by the 1960s, with a more

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<sup>28</sup> HRM Archives, Document # 102-1B-1909-23.363.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Allan Morton to Mayor and Council, 9 August 1962; cited: Clairmont, 'Africville Relocation Report', p. 106.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>31</sup> Author interview with Patricia Townsend, archivist, Atlantic Baptist Archives, Acadia University; 16 July 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Bob Brooks (1927-99), was a Nova Scotian photographer whose work appeared in *Time-Life*, *The London Times*, *Paris Match* and *National Geographic*; Ted Grant (1929- ) is a photo-journalist, who began with the National Film Board in the 1950s, and whose work has appeared in *Time*, *People*, and *National Geographic*.

shallowly sloped roof, and an elevation that included two round-headed windows (possibly from the original wall), and a secondary entrance. The south or rear elevation incorporated two, centrally located, square-headed windows, similar to the one described in the front elevation, and to the left, another round-headed window,



6.4-4. Africville and church, c. 1964 (Grant) /LAC

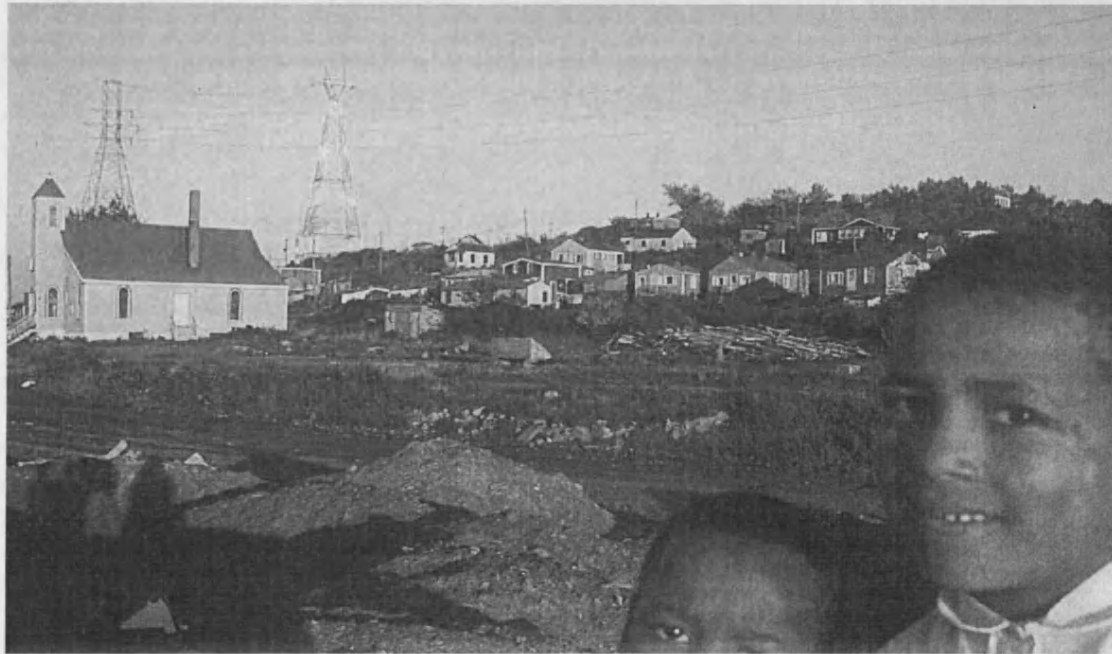
corresponding to the presumed addition. In the photographs from the early 1960s, the building appears to be clad with wood shingles, and with an asphalt-covered roof. Small windows in the foundation wall suggest that a basement extended

beneath the entire structure. While the church looked out over the Bedford Basin to the north, the dump formed the western boundary, and train tracks the southern boundary.

The photographic record suggests that the interior consisted of at least three distinct spaces: a small entry porch within the base of the bell tower, the main sanctuary, and an auxiliary space to the west (the presumed addition). Within the sanctuary, the walls were plastered, with a wooden wainscoting rising to the window sills; the ceiling appears to follow, at least for some distance, the slope of the roof, and was plastered. Pews occupied the centre of the sanctuary plan, with aisles on either side, together with additional pews along the side walls, facing into the centre of the room. A raised platform ran along the entire front of the sanctuary, with a centrally-placed pulpit, flanked by an organ and an upright piano.

The 1916 Africville church building was simpler, with less architectural references, than two of the more prominent African Baptist churches in the Halifax area: Saint Thomas, North Preston and Emmanuel, Hammonds Plains. While both these buildings have now been substantially altered, mid-twentieth century photographs suggest that one design was used for both, although reversed. This design makes formal reference to the Gothic revival, including a tripartite window with pointed arches in the centre of the (ecclesiastical) west elevation, and the continued use of the pointed arch in the asymmetrically placed main entrance, and the windows

of the side elevations. Saint Thomas was built in 1879, while the construction date of Emmanuel has not been established. In terms of design, the Africville church is more closely associated with small churches erected throughout rural Nova Scotia in late-nineteenth century; the round headed windows used in Africville are also reminiscent of the preference of Nova Scotian Baptists for Greek Revival and Neo-Classical styles from the 1840s onward, as opposed to the Gothic Revival style, generally more popular with other protestant denominations in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia.<sup>33</sup>



6.4-5. Church and Africville, c. 1965 (Brooks) /NSARM

#### 6.4.2 Destruction of Site

Almost from its establishment, the community of Africville was threatened, by larger social and economic trends, and specifically by the power structure within the City of Halifax. From Brown's petition in 1860 requesting compensation for expropriated land, the City of Halifax continually treated Africville as a 'temporary' settlement. In 1916, when Africville requested land for construction of a new church, the city engineer recommended:

that the City should not part with any of its property in Africville for any such purpose, as it is probable that in the near future, all property in this district will

<sup>33</sup> Most academic examination of ecclesiastical architecture in Nova Scotia has focused on 'high style' rather than vernacular, though the Province of Nova Scotia undertook an extensive survey of rural church buildings in the 1980s. Examples of rural Baptist church buildings employing Greek-revival and Neo-classical elements are Amherst Point Baptist Church, Cumberland County, and Milford United Baptist Church, Annapolis County.

be required for industrial purposes and it will be abandoned as a residential area.<sup>34</sup>

In 1947, the city adopted a master plan, which incorporated explicit recommendations for Africville:

In keeping with its policy of preserving values as well as creating improved values wherever possible, your Commission suggests that the northern slope of the city be redeveloped in accordance with the sketch presented herewith ... It will provide approximately 700 fifty foot building lots with the necessary space for public services and recreation. The removal of the city prison, the old abattoir and Africville will make this area a most desirable residential section ... It is suggested that a community shopping centre be strategically located in the area.<sup>35</sup>

In 1948, City Council established an *ad hoc* committee to consider 'the Africville problem'. At a meeting held in February 1948, residents of Africville expressed, 'a desire to remain in Africville and pledged their cooperation to any move made by the City to improve conditions there'.<sup>36</sup> No services were extended to the community, and six years later, in 1952, City Council adopted a report recommending the relocation of the entire Africville settlement, to an area immediately to the southwest, so that the industrial potential of the fifteen-acre waterfront site of the historic neighbourhood could be exploited. While this plan was also shelved, it served as the harbinger of Africville's ultimate destruction.

In 1956, Professor Gordon Stephenson, a professor of town and regional planning at the University of Toronto, was hired by the City of Halifax to study housing conditions throughout the city; and while his report, submitted the following year, addresses the entire city, his comments regarding Africville are especially damning;

There is a little frequented part of the City overlooking Bedford Basin, which presents an unusual problem for any community to face. In what may be described as an encampment or shack town, there live about seventy negro families ... the citizens of Africville live a life apart. On a sunny day, the small children roam at will in a spacious area and swim in what amounts to their private lagoon [Bedford Basin] ... In terms of the physical condition of the buildings and sanitation, the story is deplorable. Shallow wells and cesspools, in close proximity, are scattered about the slopes between the shacks... The families will have to be rehoused in the near future. The land

<sup>34</sup> Cited: Donald Clairmont, 'Africville: an Historical Overview', *The Spirit of Africville* (Halifax, Canada: Formac, 1982), p. 36-51 (43).

<sup>35</sup> City of Halifax, 'Master Plan', 16 November 1945, p. 56; HRM Archives, file # 711.45.H17

<sup>36</sup> Minutes, Halifax City Council; cited: Clairmont, 'Africville Relocation Report', p. 105.

which they now occupy will be required for the further development of the City... They are old Canadians who have never had the opportunities enjoyed by their more fortunate fellows.<sup>37</sup>

Stephenson's report became a core document in the 'relocation' of the residents of Africville, and was frequently cited in subsequent studies, reports and motions. It effectively placed Africville within a larger context – of 'urban renewal', slum clearance and 'de-segregation'. Within this larger context, however, the distinctive character and history of Africville was easily lost.

In 1962, yet another report was prepared for City Council recommending the relocation of the residents of Africville. Prepared by Robert Grant, the city development officer, this report makes extensive reference to Stephenson's work, ultimately identifying three options: do nothing ('this has been the basic approach for over 100 years'); 'remove the blight' and limit compensation and assistance to the minimum legally required; or "remove the blight and, at the same time, temper justice with compassion in matters of compensation and assistance".<sup>38</sup> In a discussion of the implementation of the two relocation options, Grant introduces a crucial new aspect to the debate; while acknowledging that families from Africville, in the face of relocation, would prefer to remain together in one area, he notes,

it would seem desirable on social grounds to offer alternative housing in other locations within the city. The City is a comprehensive urban community and it is not right that any particular segment of the community should continue to exist in isolation.<sup>39</sup>

Establishing that the continued 'segregation' of the Africville community was a negative, and integration within the larger Halifax population a desired goal, Grant's report laid the foundation for the call, a generation later, for the reconstruction of the Africville Church, as the symbol of the community's physical and institutional history, and of its social structure.

In 1962, with the assistance of Toronto-based human rights activist Alan Borovoy, a local organisation was founded to respond to the city's relocation proposal. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee (HHRAC), composed of

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<sup>37</sup> Gordon Stephenson, 'A redevelopment study of Halifax, Nova Scotia', 1957, p. 27; HRM Archives, file # 711.45 .S8.

<sup>38</sup> Development Department, 'City of Halifax, Africville', report dated 23 July 1962, file # D862, p. 4; Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MG28, vol. 75, R3286-15-X-E.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.



6.4-6. Meeting in Africville church, 1962 (Brooks) /NSARM

some Africville residents but with a majority from other parts of the city, was in place until 1967, and held numerous public meetings in the Africville Church, and elsewhere in the city. Soon after formation, the HHRAC suggested that, for reasons including the, ‘strong sense of community in Africville’, the City Council should, ‘engage a person of outstanding qualifications ... to study Africville in depth,’ and that such a person could initially be invited to Halifax to determine if such a, ‘study in depth is indicated’.<sup>40</sup> Albert Rose, a professor of social work at the University of Toronto, visited Halifax for two days in 1963. While Rose suggested that, ‘there is literally no community in Canada, perhaps none in North America, quite like Africville’;<sup>41</sup> nonetheless, he believed that relocation was inevitable, and that, ‘no further research in depth is required or is likely to be helpful in the solution of the problems described’.<sup>42</sup> This incongruence continued as Rose noted that relocation could take away from many of the residents not only their housing but also ‘their sense of community’ and that, ‘the dislocation attendant upon expropriation and relocation will be so disruptive of existing living patterns’, that many will require

<sup>40</sup> Albert Rose, ‘Report of a Visit to Halifax’, 6 December 1963, p. 1; HRM Archives, document 102-1B.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

public assistance.<sup>43</sup> Yet Rose then echoed Grant's 'politically correct' position by asking rhetorically:

Can a minority group be permitted to reconstitute itself as a segregated community at a time in our history, at a time in the social history of western industrialized urban nations, when segregation either *de jure* or *de facto* is almost everywhere condemned?<sup>44</sup>

The City of Halifax moved swiftly to implement the plan to relocate Africville; as residents dispersed to public housing projects, to sub-standard city-owned buildings also slated for future demolition, or to accommodation which they found themselves, Africville effectively became a 'diaspora', *albeit* contained within the greater urban boundary.

The actual relocations, which took place between 1964 and 1970, were much publicised, and in specific cases, illustrated overt racism. Most residents received a standard \$500 compensation package, hardly sufficient to re-establish a household, especially compared to the relatively low daily expenses most Africville residents had experienced; people were literally moved in city garbage trucks, ironic in that Africville had never enjoyed garbage collection as a city service; and in several cases, a resident's lack of literacy or understanding of legal rights may well have been used to finalise settlements. The question of the Africville Church was more complex, sited on city-owned land, leased by the church since 1916. In 1967, the church trustees requested a settlement of \$20,000 for the building; however, with limited bargaining power, they eventually accepted \$15,000. The money was used to establish a trust fund to assist in the education of Black children in the region, with preference to the children of Africville residents, and with the church trustees as directors of the fund.<sup>45</sup> Soon after this settlement, the church building was demolished by city staff, in the middle of the night while most of the remaining residents slept, and when no one was present to record the symbolic end of Africville.<sup>46</sup> In 1969, one resident remained in Africville – 72 year old Aaron 'Pa' Miller, and with expropriation notice and other pressures, he finally accepted a settlement on 30 December. A few days later, a local newspaper published an interview with Aaron, in which he says,

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210; it is unclear how that trust fund evolved.

<sup>46</sup> An interview with an Africville resident, then an adolescent, included in the documentary: *Remembering Africville*, National Film Board of Canada, 1991, Shelagh Mackenzie, director.



The day I left my home a part of me inside died...I was born there, got married and raised my family there... I'm getting ready to die so what the hell do I want to leave for – I liked it there ... If I had been a little younger the city would never have gotten my land ... I would have fought then to the end... No sir, when you spend a lifetime in one place it's hard to get used to someplace else ... I never will.<sup>47</sup>

Aaron's comments eloquently summarised the Africville relocation story.



6.4-7. Ralph Jones House, prior to demolition, c. 1965 (Brooks) /NSARM

#### 6.4.3 Re-discovery of Site; planned reconstruction

As the last houses in Africville were being demolished, the eastern end of the former settlement had become a large construction site; today, piers, abutments and approach roads for a second bridge across Halifax Harbour occupy this area. Much of the Africville site was turned into Seaview Park; poorly designed and difficult to access, it has become a park used mostly by dog walkers. A memorial in the form of a large sundial was placed near the site of the Africville Church by the city, although, ironically it does not tell the correct time.<sup>48</sup> Although dispersed, the former residents of Africville maintained a 'sense of place', although a sense that even within a few years was defined by the selective nature of memory. In a 1976 interview, a former resident told radio host, in reference to the demolition of houses by the city,

<sup>47</sup> Jim Robson, 'Last Africville Resident', *The Mail Star*, 12 January 1970, p.1.

<sup>48</sup> 'Africville Now', The CBC Digital Archives Website, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; story broadcast on 5 September 2001; <http://archives.cbc.ca/society/racism/topics/96-494/>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

if they called them shacks, we called them our castles; it was (*sic*) our homes... if they would give us back our settlement, give us sewerage out there, transportation, I know we'd all fight to get back out there [Africville], we still call it home.<sup>49</sup>

While individual or personal memories are sufficient for former residents, relocated as adults, to retain this sense of place, maintaining Africville as a real and 'experienced' place for subsequent generations, has been effected through other means. An important element of this process has been the use of the geography of Africville in creative expression.<sup>50</sup> The album *Africville Suite* by jazz pianist Joe Sealy, whose father was from Africville, includes pieces entitled 'Kildare's Field' (a long-used name for a part of the community along the water's edge), 'Train's Commin'', and 'The Road'.<sup>51</sup> George Elliott Clarke, a poet well known in Canada and the United States, and a member of the University of Toronto faculty, has written several poems 'remembering' elements of Africville geography, for example sunrise services at the water's edge: 'at negro point, some forget sleep to catch the fire-and-brimstone sun rise all gold-glory, over a turquoise harbour'.<sup>52</sup> More recently, the hip hop band Black Union, whose members were all born after the relocation, has included the song 'Africville' on the album *Hate Crimes*; the accompanying video was shot in Seaview Park.<sup>53</sup>

Most important, however, has been the continued physical interaction of Africville residents and descendents, especially through the annual gathering held every summer on the site of Africville, when for three days Africville is again populated, *albeit* by residents who afterward return to other homes across Canada and the United States. This annual event combines geography and history to keep alive the sense of place, notwithstanding the altered topography and shoreline of Seaview Park, and the increasing number of 'Africvilleans' who have no personal memory of the place; that is, who were born after relocation. This annual event began with an

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<sup>49</sup> 'Former Residents are Homesick', The CBC Digital Archives Website, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; story broadcast on 31 May 1976; <http://archives.cbc.ca/society/racism/topics/96-490/>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

<sup>50</sup> For a general discussion of 'Black geography' within the Canadian context, see: Katherine McKittrick, '“Their Blood is there, and they can't Throw it Out”: Honouring Black Canadian Geographies', *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7 (Spring 2020), pp. 27-37.

<sup>51</sup> Joe Sealy, *Africville Suite*, Sea Jam Recordings, Toronto, Canada, 1996.

<sup>52</sup> George Elliott Clarke, 'Campbell Road Church', *Saltwater Spirituals and Deeper Blues* (Porter's Lake, Canada: Pottersfield Press, 1983), p. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Black Union, 'Africville', *Hate Crimes*, Uncurable Productions, Canada, 2008; for accompanying video, see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ip91m82m82s>; [accessed: 21 July 2010].

'acquaintance day' organised in 1982 by three former residents – Brenda Steed-Ross, Linda Mantley and Deborah Dixon-Jones – who had all been teenagers at the time of relocation. Although the event was planned simply as an opportunity for older and newer generations to gather, and in some cases be introduced, the former Africville site seemed obvious to the group as a venue. Steed-Ross recalled that:

Some of us had already started going out there on our own from time to time, just to have picnics or go fishing or whatever, so we could spend some time out home again. Even though all that was left was just a field, it still felt like being home. The school ground was still there and right over from that was the church. I knew where my house used to be because I always identified it with a certain pile of rocks ... all sort of memories would come back to me.<sup>54</sup>

From the success of 'acquaintance day', a formal organisation was established, the Africville Genealogical Society (AGS), in large part to ensure that this weekend event would become an annual gathering. As the organisation evolved, however, it gradually became more politicised, and took on a more overt advocacy role. The fourth, and current, AGS president is Irvine Carvery; a teenager at the time of relocation, he has been the public face of this change since the late 1980s. In 1987, Carvery made his first appearance before City Council, asking that former residents be allowed to return to Africville and rebuild their homes; he later noted that the request 'went to the basement or wherever those things go'.<sup>55</sup> The organisation quickly developed a more articulate and sophisticated advocacy strategy, based on the goals of acquiring a public acknowledgement that the relocation of Africville was unjust, receiving a public apology from the City of Halifax, and the rebuilding of Africville Church, as a partial reclamation of that site. As early as 1991, the Nova Scotia government promised monies to enable the reconstruction (notwithstanding that the relocation had essentially been a city action), but the promise was not realised, and twenty years of advocacy and negotiation ensued. In 1996, Africville was designated a National Historic Site; the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) recognised Africville as, 'a symbol of the ongoing struggle by African-Canadians to defend their culture and their rights. Seaview Park, created on the site as a memorial to Africville, speaks to the enduring significance of

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<sup>54</sup> Cited: Africville Genealogical Society, ed., *The Spirit of Africville* (Halifax, Canada: Formac, 1992), p. 80.

<sup>55</sup> Cited: Stephen Kimber, 'A Dream Deferred', *The Coast*, 27 July 2006.

community'.<sup>56</sup> In 2004, the story of Africville and the ongoing reluctance of the City to address this recent history, received international consideration, when Doudou Diène, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Racial Discrimination, publically called for reparations to be made to the former residents of Africville, a development which Carvery believes was a 'watershed'.<sup>57</sup>

While negotiations continued with the City, resources were obtained to begin planning the reconstruction of the Africville Church, and the development of an interpretive centre. In 2005, a team led by A. L. Arbic Consulting, and including WHW Architects, was selected by the Africville Genealogical Society to undertake this task; the team's initial report was delivered in June 2006.<sup>58</sup> The site identified for the reconstruction is 'nearby' the original church site, and is adjacent to, but not part of, the current Seaview Park. It borders on the Bedford Basin but includes a considerable area of 'filled land that did not exist' during the period in which the church stood.<sup>59</sup> While there appears little concern that the reconstruction will not be built on the exact site of the original, and indeed the change to landform and topography would make this difficult to achieve in any case, the consultants have raised the issue of visual connection between the reconstructed church and the larger Africville site. Similarly, longer range views from the site have been considered, with highways and industrial development largely eroding the historical authenticity of views to the east, south and west, while the view to the north, over the Bedford Basin, is more intact.

Information sources for the proposed reconstruction are limited, despite the relatively recent date of the Africville Church's destruction. The prime source is the photographic record, especially the Grant and Brooks collections. A great deal of information is evident in these photographs, or can be extrapolated, such as approximate building dimensions and cladding materials. A limitation of this source, however, is that a limited time frame is depicted, with the photographs all dating from the early-1960s. This reveals nothing about the evolution of the structure over fifty years, for example the possibility that the western portion was in fact an addition. This

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<sup>56</sup> Extract from the plaque text prepared by the HSMBC in 2001.

<sup>57</sup> This was included in a draft report following the 2001 'World Conference against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance', held in Cape Town, South Africa. See: Bill Power, 'HRM a No-show to Talk About Africville', *The Halifax Herald*, 30 March 2004.

<sup>58</sup> Andrea Arbic, principal of the lead consulting firm, kindly participated in two interviews with the author, on 26 July 2008 and 21 July 2010.

<sup>59</sup> A. L. Arbic, 'Seaview Baptist Church, Phase One Report', June 2006, p. 3.

may be a less important concern for this project, where there seems to have always been a presumption that the reconstruction date would coincide with the immediate pre-relocation period, and the image of the church which most residents remember. Another curious observation is that the photographic record appears to omit the north-east corner, which admittedly would be a difficult pose to capture given the sun angles; and while images of the this part of the building may exist in private

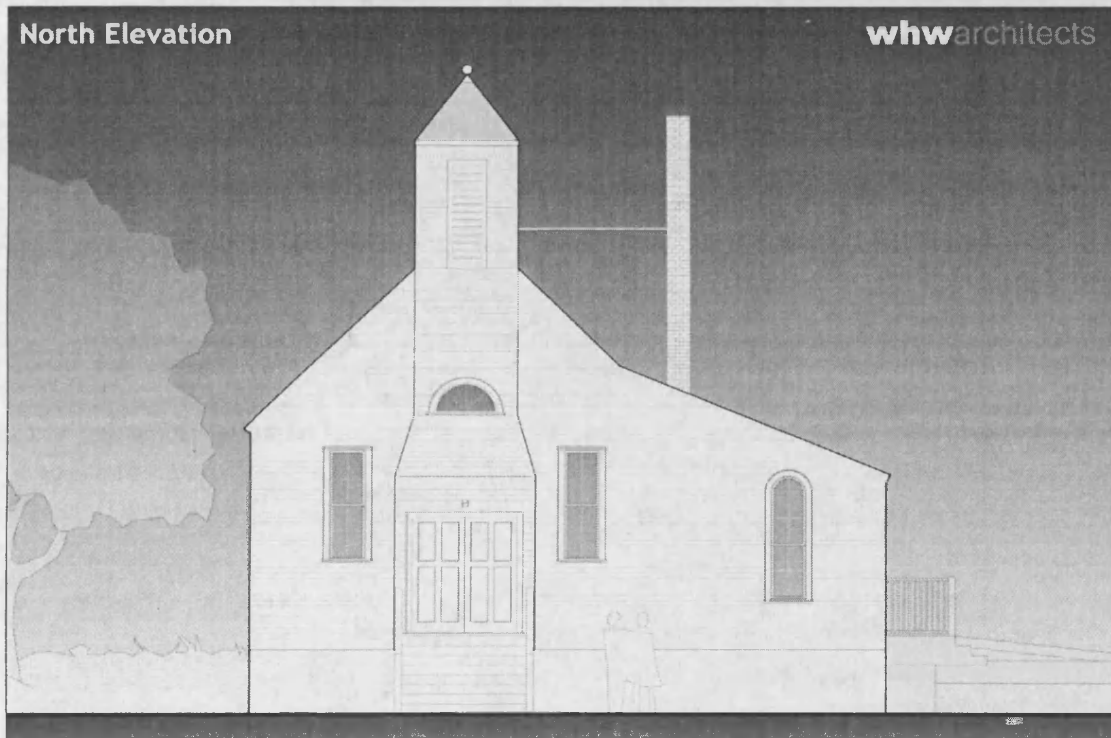


Figure 6.4-8. Proposed reconstruction, Africville church (WHW Architects) / Africville Gen. Soc.

collections, it begs the question of whether the front (north) elevation had a symmetrical design. While several photographs exist of the interior of the main sanctuary, they were taken either at meetings or during services, and obviously not to record the architecture; consequently, details such as floor finish or ceiling design are absent from this record.

A second source is the memory of residents who had been in the building, although sometimes this source can provide more questions than answers; for example, some residents recalled that the ceiling had a 'texture', but it was not possible to determine whether this may be a type of plaster finish, pressed-metal finish (not uncommon for this period, building type, and location), or some other treatment. The consultant has recommended that the ceiling, constructed of plasterboard, be given a smooth finish, pending more information about the

remembered textured finish of the original.<sup>60</sup> An archaeological investigation of the original site was undertaken in 1992, prior to construction of a service road across one corner; however, the results have not been published, and it seems that project provided little information (for example, evidence of architectural finish materials) relevant to the reconstruction. At some point prior to 1995, preliminary drawings of a possible reconstruction were prepared by L. Beaubien, but the architect for the current project is WHW Architects.

At the beginning of 2010, the City of Halifax and the AGS reached an agreement on reparations for the relocation of Africville. The terms of the agreement included three million dollars to reconstruct Africville Church, the land on which it will be built, the renaming of Seaview Park as 'Africville', and an apology, formally given by the Mayor, Peter Kelly:

On behalf of the Halifax Regional Municipality, I apologize to the former Africville residents and their descendants for what they have endured ... You lost your houses, your church, all of the places where you gathered with family and friends to mark the milestones of your lives. For all that, we apologize. We apologize to the community elders, including those who did not live to see this day, for the pain and loss of dignity you experienced. We apologize to the generations who followed, for the deep wounds you have inherited and the way your lives were disrupted by the disappearance of your community. We apologize for the heartache experienced at the loss of the Seaview United Baptist Church, the spiritual heart of the community, removed in the middle of the night. We acknowledge the tremendous importance the church had, both for the congregation and the community as a whole ... Our history cannot be rewritten but, thankfully, the future is a blank page and, starting today, we hold the pen with which we can write a shared tomorrow. It is in that spirit of respect and reconciliation that we ask your forgiveness.<sup>61</sup>

#### 6.4.4 Intention and reception

The main, perhaps the sole, proponent of the Africville Church has been the Africville Genealogical Society, with a broad and diverse membership, but certainly personified by Irvine Carvery. Born in 1951, Carvery grew up in Africville, part of the last generation to do so. The Africville School had closed by the time he came of school age, and in 1994, Carvery recounted to Stephen Kimber, a journalism professor at the University of King's College, his initial education experience at a city school.

The first time Irvine realized the world wasn't all black, in fact, was when he went to Mulgrave Park Elementary School for the first time and encountered

<sup>60</sup> Arbic interview, 2010, *op cit.*

<sup>61</sup> Halifax Regional Municipality website, <http://www.halifax.ca/Africville/apology.html> ; [accessed: 24 July 2010].

white students and teachers. Africville's black students, Irvine recalls, mostly stuck together but there were times, he says, when you'd be kept after school and you'd have to walk home to Africville through north-end Halifax by yourself. You'd end up on the wrong street and somebody'd say, 'Get out of here, nigger,' 'Go back to the shit-shore where you belong, nigger.' You'd go into a corner store or a barber shop and someone would say, 'No niggers allowed here.' Africville was a refuge from all of that.<sup>62</sup>

Carvery, unlike most Africvilleans, went on to higher education, at Dalhousie University, and subsequently a position with the Post Office. He suggests that his appreciation for Africville, and what was lost by relocation, came with the birth of his first child.

Having a child makes you think about more than yourself. And I thought about what it was like when I was young and the importance of being on my grandmother's front porch listening to her talk to my great-grandfather about what it was like when they were growing up. There was a sense of belonging, a real pride about who you were and where you came from. And I thought, 'my son is never going to have that.'<sup>63</sup>

While Carvery's experience may be atypical, his response to parenthood probably defines, nonetheless, a major intention of the AGS in advocating for the reconstruction of the Africville Church.

From the earliest claims for reparation, the reconstruction of the Africville Church has been a central part of the overall request; however, it is the building not the institution, that is symbolic of Africville. In fact, Clairmont has argued that the Africville Church – the institution – had lost much of its authority and influence in the last decade of Africville, as fewer people attended services, and as younger people in the 1950s generally held less respect for elders and institutions.<sup>64</sup> In community meetings in 2006, Arbic initially met some reluctance to the idea of a reconstructed church, until it was determined that a reconstruction of the church building, not a re-establishment of the church as an institution, was envisioned.<sup>65</sup> As a building, however, the reconstructed Africville Church represented not only the religious but also the structural framework of Africville as a community. Reconstruction of the church will be tangible evidence of the community's return to, and reclamation of, the site. It will assert both the history and geography of the place to define Africville.

<sup>62</sup> Kimber was a regular contributor to the now-defunct *Halifax Daily News*; this quote is from a 1994 article, cited on Kimber's website: <http://stephenkimber.com/books/reparations/africville/irvine-carverys-a-born-optimist>; [accessed: 24 July 2010].

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Clairmont, 'Africville Relocation Report', p. 89.

<sup>65</sup> Arbic, p. 36-37.



6.4-9. Africville church, c. 1964 (Grant) /LAC

While reconstructions at Fort George and Place Royale were used to ‘prove’ an official version of the past, the reconstruction at Africville will serve to demonstrate that the community still exists, and has ‘returned’. Africville is more than a ‘sub-national’ group, with Canadian and American members, yet not a group claiming sovereignty, nor a group deriving a sense of identity through the negation of dismissal of other such identities. The fact remains, however, that loss of the original site was the result of violent, human intent, and the reconstructed church will be an attempt to partially heal that. Furthermore, Africville was a community subject to ‘diaspora’, and shares an experience with the Acadian *Grand Dérangement*, or the removal of people of colour from District Six, in Cape Town, during the same period as the Africville relocation;<sup>66</sup> in each case, an apology and a figurative return to the site, with tangible, physical elements reconstructed or reclaimed, have been part of the healing process. Thus, the intentions of the proponents for a reconstructed Africville Church are three-fold: the proclamation of the community’s survival, the

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the use of historic reconstructions by later generations of diaspora to reclaim ‘place’, see: Wayde Brown, ‘Left-behind Places of Memory: Grand Pré and New Echota’, in *Imagining Home: Migrants, Belonging, Self-Identity*, Eric Bouvet, ed. (Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press), in press. District Five is an inner-city and historic area of Cape Town from which 60,000 people of colour were removed in the 1966-82 period under South Africa’s apartheid laws; <http://www.districtsix.co.za/frames.htm>; [accessed: 24 July 2010].



community's reclamation of 'place' through a remembered *genius loci* remade, and a community that continues to heal.

## CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Framework Reconsidered

This thesis has sought to identify the role of historic reconstructions in the development of the heritage conservation movement in Canada. To articulate that role it is useful to first reconsider the framework within which historic reconstructions have been analysed, a framework illustrated by the preceding discussion of such sites in France, Britain and the United States. Three principal elements define this framework.

First, within the context of heritage conservation, historic reconstructions express one side of a fundamental debate: the relative value of the actual material or fabric of a historic resource or artefact, as opposed to the value of the original design, or the intention of the author of the resource or artefact. Within the heritage conservation movement, 'authenticity' has often been understood to refer to the former, although more recently the idea of authenticity of process, and design intention, has gained validity. In part, this may be due to an increasingly international focus on heritage, and especially the nature of heritage within different cultures. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), for example, organised workshops as early as 1994 on the topic of authenticity, with special reference to the Shinto temple complex at Ise, Japan, where the material fabric of structures is replaced every twenty years, but within an authentic process that has remained unchanged for over a millennium.<sup>1</sup>

The second defining aspect of this framework is the presence of two entities which engage with the reconstruction in distinct ways: the 'proponent', which initiates the project with certain intentions or goals, and the 'audience', which responds, often over several generations, to the historic reconstruction. It is the combination of intention and reception that ultimately defines the role of the historic reconstruction. The proponent can range from a government to an individual or group, the latter variously defined by culture, ethnicity, geography or other criteria; the audience may be even more varied, and almost always will change over time. The proponent's goal in making a historic reconstruction may be achieved, at least initially, but as the

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<sup>1</sup> Knut Einar Larsen, 'Authenticity in the Context of World Heritage: Japan and the Universal', in: *Workshop on Authenticity and World Heritage, Proceedings*, Knut Einar Larsen, ed. (Oslo: Riksantikvaren, 1994), pp. 65- 82.

audience and site management changes, reception to a site will also change. Thus, the ‘role’ of any historic reconstruction is no more static than the audience.

Lastly, the role of a historic reconstruction, the combination of proponent intention and audience reception, ultimately reflects a ‘use of the past’. The French, British and American historians (and sociologists) discussed in earlier chapters each identify two distinct ‘usages’ of the past: the official record or chronicle of events, approved by the establishment, and usually considered as ‘the history’, and the community memory of the past, the ‘collective memory’. In France, Nora believes that the latter no longer exists, other than as ‘buried’ references in *lieux de mémoire*, or ‘places of memory’. In Britain, Samuel suggested that both history and memory were alive and vibrant, and indeed, were co-dependent; he further suggested that this dynamic enabled Britain to respond positively to the increasing pluralism of that society. In the United States, Bodnar also agrees that both official history and collective memory – a ‘vernacular’ expression of the use of the past – exist, but suggests that the dynamic is competitive rather than complementary, that the past is a resource over which the state authority and the ‘common man’ fight, *albeit* in abstract terms. Use of the past seems to ultimately be an attempt to define the present; thus, the role of a literal reconstruction of the past, such as an historic reconstruction or perhaps a historic re-enactment, can be considered within these paradigms of history and memory, given that the relationship between history and memory may be either antagonistic or interdependent. Halbwachs wrote that, ‘A society needs to find landmarks.’<sup>2</sup> With historic reconstruction, landmarks are made, or perhaps ‘re-made’.

## 7.2 The Role of Reconstructions: France, Britain, United States

In France, the pre-eminence of the design or intent value of historic sites is obvious, from the early-nineteenth century, and continuing to at least the late-twentieth century. The role of the state as proponent has also been constant, notwithstanding the formidable influence of Viollet-le-Duc, whose contributions, however, were ultimately in furtherance of the goals of a particular regime. The role of historic reconstructions in France, at least in the nineteenth century, is suggested by Philip Kohl, Chair of the Anthropology Department at Wellesley College, who notes that, ‘the American and French revolutions ... ushered in the age of modern nation-

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<sup>2</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser, ed. (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.222.

making'.<sup>3</sup> In France, successive post-Revolution regimes used historic reconstructions, especially through agents such as Viollet-le-Duc, to provide tangible reference to a past that both supported a contemporary, secular nation, and excluded the latter vestiges of the monarchy. In the late-twentieth century, the French government maintained, with the initial proposal to place Carcassonne on the World Heritage List, a commitment to 'intent value'.

In Britain, although 'fabric value' has been a widely-accepted and even core aspect of heritage conservation since Ruskin and Morris, historic reconstructions are still undertaken, but as 'rogue' projects, by individuals and special-interest groups as proponents. While Castell Henllys may represent an attempt to support a contemporary Welsh nationalism, the other historic reconstructions discussed illustrate a vernacular use of the past. Castell Coch was the product of two proponents, Bute and Burges, whose vision for the reconstruction was unique, but still an attempt to 'use the past' to define some aspect of the present. The question of proponent and intent at the Globe Theatre is more complex; Wanamaker, the main proponent, was an American, only moving to Britain when he was thirty-three, and Crosby, the architect, grew up in South Africa. Also, the Globe Theatre is an international symbol, and the constituency supporting its reconstruction was likewise broadly-based, both geographically and in terms of discipline, encompassing literature, drama, history and architecture. In all reconstructions, however, there was an attempt to 'access' the past, but always in the service of the present. If these were visits, in Lowenthal's terms, to 'foreign countries', then the travellers seemed not to have worried about strange languages.<sup>4</sup> In Britain at least, these projects demonstrate Samuel's theory that history and collective memory are co-dependant, in a positive sense.

The American use of historic reconstructions has been far more extensive than in Britain, and less dogmatic than the French approach. In the United States, historic reconstructions have been undertaken by individuals, groups, and the federal government, the latter through the National Park Service. Historic reconstructions in the United States have been used to support aspects of the official history, for example, giving definition to 'American identity', especially by inciting patriotic

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<sup>3</sup> Philip Kohl, 'Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27 (1998), p.223-46 (p.227).

<sup>4</sup> The title of Lowenthal's book references the opening line of a novel: L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Betweens* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953).

sentiments, and celebrating Westward expansion and the ‘exceptional’ nature of America. Historic reconstructions have also been used to present ‘vernacular’ versions of the past, for example the first New Salem reconstructions, and New Echota. Several American reconstructions have supported new roles, emerging long after the project’s construction, for example, the ‘slave auction’ held at Colonial Williamsburg and the reconstructed gate at Andersonville Prison. These attempts use historic reconstructions to give voice to a broader range of groups within society, to make the past more accessible. Although Bodnar sees an adversarial dynamic here, in many cases these American reconstructions might instead be better interpreted as illustrating Samuel’s complementary model.

### **7.3 The Role of Reconstruction in Canada**

Historic reconstructions in Canada represent the range of ‘roles’ or uses observed in France, Britain and the United States; however, Canada has not emerged as a modern nation through political revolution, such as France and the United States, nor through the social and economic change of Britain’s industrial revolution. The product of policy and legislation, Canada – notwithstanding the 1867 British North America Act – is essentially a twentieth-century creation, akin to other post-colonial nations such as Australia or New Zealand. The Canadian case studies considered in this thesis suggest four primary roles for historic reconstructions within the heritage conservation movement in Canada. They can be summarised as: ‘Euro-centrism’, demonstrated at the Port Royal Habitation; ‘nationalism’, demonstrated by Fort George and Place Royale; ‘accessibility’, demonstrated by Louisbourg; and ‘reclamation and reconciliation’, demonstrated by Africville.

At the Port Royal Habitation, the principal proponents were an individual, Harriet Taber Richardson, and the local community, represented by the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal; ultimately, the federal government undertook the reconstruction, albeit substantially influenced by the architect, Kenneth Harris. This project demonstrated a total commitment to ‘intent value’, as no original fabric survived, and even location of the original site was open to question. The role of this site is first indicated by the proponents’ intent, especially that of Richardson. An enthusiastic francophile, Richardson’s intent was demonstration that the region’s past could be presented within a European context, that is, a context of ‘civilisation’. In selecting elements from the Port Royal story that can be romanticised, or made the

subject of nostalgia – the Order of Good Cheer, the Theatre of Neptune – the proponents have used the past, and the reconstruction, to frame this place, four centuries later, within a European context. The primordial physical context, or the intimidating journey between Port Royal and France, these are nowhere present within the original reconstruction schema; when native people appear, they are placed in subservient roles, not as ‘hosts’ who might be sharing their own, non-European, civilisation.

Although Richardson’s motivation may be largely explained by an unabashed francophilia, reception of the Port Royal Habitation coincides closely with her original intentions. Visitors continue to appreciate the ‘civilised’, or European, nature of the early-seventeenth century settlement at Port Royal. Notwithstanding the eventual involvement of the Canadian government, this project was effectively an expression of ‘vernacular’ history. This role for a historic reconstruction seems unique to Canada; in the United States, for example, the past was used primarily to define a nation, but as a unique and independent (post-colonial) one, not as a proto-European community within the North America wilds.

The role of the historic reconstructions at Fort George and at Place Royale obviously parallels the role of historic reconstructions in France: legitimising an official history, defining the ‘nation’ and nationalism. These two sites represent two very distinct stories: an anti-American and pro-British Ontario, and an anti-British, pre-conquest Québec. Yet, in each case, the historic reconstruction provided a tangible landmark, supporting an official version of the past: a use of history to engender a sense of nationalism. At Place Royale, the value placed on the eighteenth-century design intention is indicated not only through the process of historic reconstruction, but also by actually removing fabric that, while of some inherent historic value, is inconvenient to the illustration of the proponent’s larger goal. The intense criticism of this project from heritage professionals in Québec illustrates a departure from the comparable situation in nineteenth-century France, and suggests that such an overt use of the past to define an official history has become a less effective tool, even within a relatively homogenous society. At Fort George, a generation prior to the Place Royale reconstructions, there was no public questioning of the propagandist message of patriotism and a pro-British, Canadian nationalism; yet even here, the story of conflict between Britain and the United States in 1812

would seem to be ever more removed from the experience, and ‘memory’, of an increasingly pluralistic Canadian society.

The reconstruction of Louisbourg is the product of several proponents, over many decades, although ultimately the state – the federal government – was responsible for its realisation. It clearly presents the primacy of the value of intention or original design, even placing the reconstruction *in situ*, on the actual foundations of the original structures, and thus destroying surviving original fabric. Indeed, intent value has been carried beyond the actual physical dimensions of the place, with an increasing emphasis on re-enactments as an interpretive tool. Louisbourg is similar to Colonial Williamsburg in several ways; and both these reconstructed and re-animated places share some attributes with ‘open-air’ sites such as St Fagan’s National History Museum, in Wales. The latter site, however, uses ‘real’ buildings to present equally selective perspectives of the past, perhaps a more elaborate version of Lenoir’s *fabriques*. The reconstructed Louisbourg makes the past, a selected past – indeed, the past at a certain date in the eighteenth century – accessible to a contemporary audience. For Lowenthal, this is the basis of the contemporary notion of ‘heritage’, the past as a ‘foreign country’. Effectively, this normalises the past, or presents the past, notwithstanding the detailed research and authenticity of detail, within a totally contemporary context; concepts ranging from ‘family’ to ‘hygiene’ retain, for most visitors, a twentieth-century definition. Sites that provide ‘access’ to the past may also illustrate the use of the past to support an official history; but such sites inevitably provide an opportunity for the ‘audience’ to use the site to explore a vernacular use of the past, to accept or reject, remember or forget whatever aspects of the site they wish. In this way, Louisbourg illustrates Samuel’s notion of a complementary history and collective memory.

The community of Africville, subject to diaspora, *albeit* within a limited geographic area, shares several experiences with other ethnically-defined, sub-national groups who have witnessed cultural landmarks destroyed in an effort to erase the group’s past, and memory of the past; the villages at Grand Pré and New Echota are historical examples, the destruction of Warsaw after the Second World War and the bridge at Mostar are more recent examples. Reconstruction of the church at Africville performs two roles: first, it represents reclamation of the site, both literally and figuratively; and second, it plays a part in the reconciliation process, between descendents of Africville and descendents of those who destroyed Africville. As with

the other Canadian examples, this reconstruction unapologetically assumes the primacy of the intent or design values of the structure, and the proposed reconstruction is based on little hard information, relying mostly upon limited photographic images and living memories of the structure demolished in 1967. In some ways, the use of the past at Africville suggests, in Bodnar's terms, a victory of the vernacular over the official, with the reconstruction of the Africville Church representing a rebuttal of the official story of 'urban renewal'.

Africville, in part ethnically-defined yet culturally distinct from the larger African-Nova Scotian community, has remained intact for two generations without a physical site. A mental geography – a collectively 'remembered Africville' – has perhaps been the most important element defining the community. Through a single reconstructed structure, that memory will be given tangible form, and Africville will reclaim some part of its physical geography. (Indeed, it is unlikely that many current members of the Africville community would want to literally live on this site, beside the highway, beneath the bridge abutments). In this, Africville, and the role played by the reconstruction of the church, suggests the emerging debate over the 'future of the nation state', and a post-national world. In Canada, as in most western states, the traditional, shared national vision is fast dissolving; for many contemporary Canadian communities, 'stories' such as the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, the War of 1812, or Expo '67, are increasingly less important in defining 'their Canada'. Perhaps Africville offers an example for reconciling the community with the increasingly pluralistic nation, for accommodating one within the other. If so, Nora was right to worry about the declining power of history, but wrong to assume that memory had become fossilised; and Samuel was right, in understanding the continuing vitality of memory within our society, and indeed, its ultimate democracy.

#### **7.4 Future Research**

Several areas for future research are suggested by this thesis. First, there is the need for a broad survey history of the heritage conservation movement in Canada, addressing not only federal government initiatives, but also provincial and community-level endeavours. Second, there is an opportunity to consider historic reconstructions within other geographic and cultural contexts. Rudy Koshar, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, has written about 'preservation and national



memory' in the re-united Germany, including the reconstruction of Goethe's House.<sup>5</sup> Little critical examination of historic reconstructions in other countries has been published, however; the large-scale, post-war reconstruction of Warsaw and reconstructions in post-colonial nations such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa would be obvious points of departure. A study of reconstructions in non-Western societies such as India or Japan would provide a greater understanding of the nature of 'authenticity', even within the Western tradition. Lastly, this thesis suggests a need for greater research on the relationship between heritage conservation, as a contemporary area of professional activity, and academic research within other disciplines, especially memory studies. Many working in the field of heritage conservation underestimate the influence of their work, and do not necessarily understand that they are 'using the past' to further some larger agenda. But, as St. Augustine observed, 'Great is this force of Memory, excessive great, Oh my God; a large and boundless chamber.'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp.231-33.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Pusey, ed., *Confessions of Saint Augustine* (London: J M Dent, 1907), p.213.

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